

**ROBERT CECIL MOORE**

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Southern Baptist Seminary

THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

OF

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

IN CHILE

THE ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

A Thesis

Submitted OF the Faculty

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

IN CHILE

In

Partial Fulfillment

of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

Robert Cecil Moore

1914

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1944

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PREPACH

The writer, during a quarter of a century's residence in Chile, has come to have a keen appreciation for the genial and virile people D E D I C A T E D but, as he has gone up and down the land, he has to Her painfully depressed by the great economic Who for twenty-five years of living across and an ardent admirer of sked himself in be- aldermont again the Chilean people, 197 What has happened here? What is the exp M Y W I F E his undeserved backward- ness? After much pondering he has come to the conclusion that the root of the matter is to be found in the religious influence that held the country as in a vise for all the Colonial Period, and only slightly less tightly until recent decades. The religion that held all of life in its tre- mendous inescapable power did not minister constructively to the full-rounded development of this people; it has been an opiate instead of a stimulant.

This modest study is the attempt to justify that con- clusion.

The writer is much indebted to a host of

friends who have loaned their

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Fulfillment of his task; to Dr. J. B. Weatherston for professional guidance and friendly counsel; to Messrs. Jack Kelly and Griffith Henderson for reading the manuscript and helpful suggestions for its improvement; to Dr. Leo Grimsen

#### PREFACE

The writer, during a quarter of a century's residence in Chile, has come to have a keen appreciation for the genial and virile people of that Republic. But, as he has gone up and down the land, he has been painfully depressed by the great economic backwardness with a wage scale of from one-eighth to one-sixth that of the United States and a standard of living correspondingly low. He has asked himself in bewilderment again and again: "Why is this? What has happened here? What is the explanation of this undeserved backwardness?" After much pondering he has come to the conclusion that the root of the matter is to be found in the religious influence that held the country as in a vise for all the Colonial Period, and only slightly less tightly until recent decades. The religion that held all of life in its tremendous inescapable power did not minister constructively to the full-rounded development of this people; it has been an opiate instead of a stimulus.

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The writer is also under heavy debt to many friends in Chile for source material; to Professors Moisés Poblete Troncoso, René Ramírez, Santiago Labarca, Guillermo Fellet Cruz, and the late Prof. Luis Galdames for their fruitful classes in the Summer School of the University of Chile; to the Chilean Section and the Barros Arana Historical Section of the National Library of Chile; to the Congressional Library and the Library of the National Catholic University--to all of these for aid in finding material. The text itself reveals how great is the writer's indebtedness to those masters of Chilean History, Barros Arana, the Amunáteguis and José Toribio Medina, as well as the late Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz and Silva Cotapos, and others as the text will indicate.

To these helpful friends the work owes any merit that it may be discovered to possess; its grave defects are exclusively the responsibility of the author.

Robert Cecil Moore  
Louisville, Kentucky, August, 1944.

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"GODLINESS IS PROFITABLE FOR ALL  
THINGS, HAVING PROMISE OF THE LIFE  
WHICH NOW IS, AND OF THAT WHICH  
IS TO COME" - CHAPTER I

Paul.

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

A man's religion, and a man's goods are two of the most dynamic forces in his existence, and they are closely related at many points. What a man believes will affect his acquisitive desires, as it will modify also the distribution use that he will make of his goods once acquired.

A community that believes religiously in the Ten Commandments, and measurably governs its life accordingly will undoubtedly have a more stable and trustworthy economic status than another comparable community that has thrown overboard all religious authority and restraint. It is a truism that real estate dealers evaluate residential proper-

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CHAPTER I

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

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1 Art. "The Moral Foundations of Economics" in the autumn number of World Affairs Interpreted, 1943.

ties somewhat in relation to the churches.

Many Grateful titles will bear testimony to the very tangible economic worth of a religion like that of the Salvation Army; here religious belief becomes articulate in lives saved from the refuse pile of humanity, lives with a very tangible social and economic worth.

The observation of Sunday rest day in the whole civilized world is a custom that has vast economic consequences. But Sunday, whatever it may be now, is indisputably religious as to its origin.

So illustrations might be added of how religion and economics are indeed closely related. Dean Rockwell Hunt, of the Graduate School of the University of Southern California, in a trenchant article says: "A candid recognition of the moral foundations of economics by economists themselves would go far towards eradicating the social maladies which many of them have either ignored or comfortably relegated to some remote region of ethics or religion.

To be sure ethical standards differ in different countries, in succeeding epochs, and among differing individuals; but to deny the existence and potency of morals in the broad realm of economics would be clearly to believe the facts of history and shut our eyes to the contemporary science."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Art. "The Moral Foundations of Economics" in the autumn number of World Affairs Interpreted, 1943.

Dean Hunt concludes: "Economics, law, morality, religion; these four; at their base there is unity, not disunity; harmony, not disharmony; cooperation, not conflict. My task as an economist is to consider the wealth side of man's life which is also impinged upon by legal, moral and religious aspects."

Conversely the religionists are showing a new awareness of the intimate relation of economics to religion. Pope Pius in his 1942 Christmas message, the Archbishop of York's Malvern Conference, and other pronouncements by the Federal Council of Churches in the United States, the American Institute of Judaism and other equally authoritative bodies have all stressed the economic note in their messages.

But if there is a close interplay of economics and religion today, when religion has lost its control over many aspects of the individual and social life which it formerly held without question, how much more necessary to take into account religion in the study of economics, or economics in the study of religious phenomena in centuries of the past when religion controlled so much larger areas of life than now.

In this study we propose to investigate the effects of the religious beliefs and practices of colonial Chile on the total economy of the country. We are well aware of the extreme difficulty of any just or precise appraisal of the

many entangled factors involved. Many data studied are capable of being interpreted in other ways; much, indeed most of the data is intangible and no precise weighing is possible. The hope is held however that in this exploratory study trends and positive influences may be pointed out which other more capable and expert minds will use as material for a more exact study.

Max Weber more than a generation ago, stirred up much controversy by his pioneer study of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. Whatever may be one's conclusion as to the soundness of his thesis, all will admit that he rendered a service in calling attention to the strong connection between religion and economic thinking and practice.

Sir Josiah Stamps cautions against two extremes to be avoided in any such study as this: that the Christian ethic would be of overmastering influence in economic affairs, or that it would have no influence at all.<sup>2</sup> Both extremes are wrong certainly.

To get reader and author on common ground, it will be useful to take a swift look at colonial Chile, even when this is done with more detail and calm further on.

Chilean life for about two centuries and a half-- from the founding of Santiago in 1541 to about 1790--was a

<sup>2</sup> The Christian as an Economic Factor, passim. Almost without exception, are Catholic.

transplantation from feudalistic medievalism in its theology, its church control and organization, in its social thought and the relation of the Church to Government. It is necessary to remember this from the start. Comparison of any of the Spanish colonies with English colonies of the same period is next to impossible. They were widely separated in almost every detail of life, even in physical things, but much more so in their mores. Politics, theology and life itself was rigidly held as in a vise. "Thought was in a dungeon". Chile was tightly enclosed with no outlet except Spain. "Of the four hundred years of Chile's existence, more than two-thirds of this time it has been a colony under the absolute control of Spain".<sup>3</sup>

Thought was intensely medieval and "the whole fabric of medieval civilization rested on a religious basis".<sup>4</sup> Amunátegui says: "That which for centuries assured to the Peninsula in Europe control of a world was not the armies, nor the navies, nor the fortifications but the feeling, the deep religious feeling of the oppressed peoples themselves."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Historia Económica de Chile, Dr. Daniel Märtner, Univ. of Chile, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation, Geo. O'Brien, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Los Precursores de la Independencia, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, member Royal Spanish Academy, and Royal Academy of History.

Note: The practice will be followed of giving the full titles of the Chilean authorities in the first citation, using afterward abbreviated forms. It may be said that all of these, almost without exception, are Catholic.

That this fanatic religiosity and rigid exclusivism had have effects on the economic well-being of the country cannot be doubted. Martner quotes the Minister of Finances, Benavente, in the young struggling Republic, just after Independence, as saying on the floor of the Senate in 1824, after protesting his fervent catholicism: "I am not sufficiently ignorant as to believe that it is in accordance with Divine Right that, even while the Fatherland is perishing for lack of resources, in Valparaiso alone sixteen clergymen should possess 1,620,000 square feet of land, that is 101,250 square feet each (11,250 varas), in a city where the people are piled up and there is no room to spread out."<sup>6</sup>

The influence of catholicism on Chilean life was both direct and indirect. Its very large and choice properties, the tithes and offerings collected, as well as the charges for ecclesiastical services are instances of the former while the indirect are much less evident and harder to discover. But the treatment of the Indians by the Spanish conquistadores, in which the church had both a direct and indirect participation; the very large part the church took in the government of the Colony; the actual beliefs of the people, in so far as they were fostered by the Church,

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<sup>6</sup> Martner, op. cit., p. 124.



## CHAPTER II

### THE FIELD FOR INVESTIGATION

The Spanish colony, Chile, offers a peculiarly fitting field for a study of the economic influences of Roman Catholicism. For the long period of two and a half centuries the even stream of its history was undisturbed by extraneous influences. It was hermetically sealed against confusing or modifying currents. The towering Andes on the east, the vast Pacific on the south and west, the desert pampas of Atacama to the north shut it in as if in a closed box. As we shall see again and again, it was hermetically sealed against the intrusion of unwelcome ideas, whether political, religious, or social.

Scarcely could there be found in all of history an analogous field for such a study. The nearest approach to it, would be Geneva under the theocracy of Calvin and his immediate successors; but Geneva was but a single canton and endured under such conditions at most for two generations, while Chile is a sizeable country, as large as Texas, and this closed-in situation endured for ten generations, long

enough to give ample time to see the permanent effects.

The first permanent settlement in Chile was made by Captain Pedro de Valdivia. Born in Castuera, Extremadura, Spain, about 1500, he had come to Peru as one of Pizarro's lieutenants and had quickly become rich in land and gold. But, restless and ambitious, after Almagro's disastrous expedition to Chile he resolved to gain glory, riches and an empire for himself and prepared to conquer Chile. He set out from Cuzco with 150 Spanish soldiers, six priests, Inez Suárez as his common law wife, and about 1,000 Indians as burden bearers and slaves. After a painfully slow march across the desert mountains of the south of Peru, and the plains of north Chile, Valdivia solemnly planted the Spanish flag and set up his insignia of authority in what is now Santiago on February 12, 1541. He had been on the road nearly a year.

The land he proposed to take for Spain was immensely rich in many natural resources. Reaching nearly 2,000 miles in length and 500 in width (as a colony it included what is now part of Argentina), it has a bracing, varied climate, fertile soil and varied mineral wealth. Manuel Salas, learned and diligent Assessor of the Royal Consulate in Santiago at the close of the Colonial period, wrote in an official communication to the King: "Without doubt Chile is the most fertile country in America, and the most suited

to human welfare, (and yet) It is the most wretched of all the Spanish dominions."<sup>1</sup> Pedro Valdivia himself wrote to the king: "Here cattle do well just as in Peru, producing wool so long it drags on the ground. There is an abundance of all food-stuffs cultivated by the Indians for their own keep, such as beans, corn, potatoes and red pepper. The people are well developed physically and are home loving and friendly, fair and beautiful of face, men as well as women, and are all dressed in woollens according to their custom though the clothing is somewhat rough."<sup>2</sup>

The vast Inca Empire had extended itself through the north of Chile to the Maule River, some distance south of the capital. These subjected Indians were already accustomed to being a tributary people and hence offered comparatively little resistance to the Spanish soldiers, mounted and armed with fire arms and steel body armor, though they did come near wiping out the Spanish settlement a little more than a year after its beginning. They "were far from primitive savages". "The Incas introduced the cultivation of maize, pumpkins, beans and taught how to prepare the soil and harvest the crop."<sup>3</sup> They had constructed irrigation

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Martner, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Historia de la Agricultura en Chile, Correa Vergara, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Industrial Development of Chile.

canals, the remains of which may still be seen near Santia-  
ago. They had a regular system of roads and posts over all  
the Empire, including the subjected part of Chile. "Chile  
was the land of gold. The tribute to the Inca (Emperor)  
was paid in it; fourteen and a half quintals (667 pounds)  
each year, carried on the backs of four Indians to each  
barrel, made of canes. These porters were frequently  
changed and thus carried the tribute from the Mapocho river  
to the capital at Cuzco, 1,500 miles."<sup>4</sup>

But Valdivia and his successors were to find a very  
different sort of Indian further to the south, the sturdy  
independent Araucanian, or Mapuche, who would carry on a  
war to the bitter death with the Spanish invaders and would  
make no abiding peace until after the beginning of the Re-  
public. Though more barbarous, the Araucanian had some  
qualities better calculated to fuse with the brave Spaniard  
to form a hardy race than the Indians of the north, and it  
is they who have materially influenced the racial character-  
istics of the modern Chilean nation. "The Chilean race  
bears in itself the characteristics of the two peoples who  
intervened in producing it, the Spanish (70%) and the  
Araucanian (25%)."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. passim.

<sup>5</sup> History of the Industrial Development of Chile,

This human element offered a source of great potential wealth. But Valdivia and those who came after him for many decades, did not consider the Indian as worthy of much attention except as slave labor. They were seeking gold and gold they would have, as abundantly and as quickly as it could be gotten. Valdivia is reported to have had several thousand Indians, men and women slaves, washing gold for him; and in Concepcion, a few weeks before his tragic death at the hands of the Indians, is said to have exclaimed: arms up to the elbows in gold dust and to have exclaimed: "Now I can live; now I am rich."

Estimates of the number of Indians inhabiting Chile at the time of Valdivia's arrival vary from half a million to three times that number; probably there were some over a million. The terrible treatment they received from the Spaniards as beasts of burden, as veritable human machines for mining and otherwise soon reduced their number in the parts dominated by the Spaniards to one tenth, or less, of their original number. In the Province of Santiago the conquistadores estimated there were 60,000 Indians; sixty years later there were said to be no more than 4,000.

Pope Alexander VI issued a bull in 1493 establishing a line of demarcation between the Spanish and the Portuguese possessions in the New World, this line to be 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. All east of that line was

to belong to the Portuguese and all west to the Spaniards.

This was modified later by the Treaty of Tordesillas to 260 leagues further west.<sup>6</sup> This imperial gesture of the Pope in so royally

dividing a world between his regal friends, was a source of much suffering for the Indians and one of the potent economic influences with which we have to deal. The fundamental principal discovered from the careful study of the Code (of the Indies) is that the King of Spain, not the Spanish nation, was the absolute and exclusive owner of the Americas, its soil and its inhabitants, its mines and its seas by virtue of the gift made by Pope Alexander VI to the Catholic Kings and their successors . . . . It was the king who should designate by his own choice and whim all the officials, civil and military, and it may be said, the ecclesiastical officers as well; make laws, impose taxes, and exercise the most absolute and efficient sovereignty over these countries ever held by any other.<sup>7</sup>

The Spaniards came seeking gold but they were intensely religious and fanatic Catholics and along with their quest for gold they brought the mission of "christianizing" the Indians, however brutal and terrible their religious

<sup>6</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, (N. Y., 1912) Art. "Spain".

<sup>7</sup> Diego Barros Arana, Historia de Chile, 14 Vols., Santiago, 1884. Vol. I, p. 345. Vide Historia del Salario Indígena, Guido Zolezzi, p. 24.

woolings may appear to moderns. No one can doubt the real sincere intention of the rulers to carry out this mission. But they believed that the soil and the very souls of the inhabitants belonged to the King of Spain; had not the vicegerent of Christ himself given them to him, and charged him with making Catholics of these pagans? So the soldier entered into his campaigns in the spirit of a crusader. Thus was born the deep conviction that . . . God must not economize on even the most prodigious miracles in order to carry (their campaigns) to a happy conclusion. "This belief came to be a very dogma which none dared to question for fear of falling into terrible penalties in this life and of losing salvation in the life to come . . . The Indians had no right to resist the arms of the Christians; they were duty bound to submit to a domination authorized by the Pope, direct representative of God on earth. He had delivered these Americas to the kings of Spain. Hence it was a divine duty to submit to them; failure to do so a mortal sin."<sup>8</sup>

So it was logical that Church and State should be strongly united, as indeed they were; not only united but so interlocked that often they were indistinguishable in function. The kings of Spain were proud of the honors and

<sup>8</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 276 ff.

titles conferred on them by the Pope and considered themselves not only sovereigns but apostles, quite as much officers of religion as of government. Calderon in "Teatro" makes one of his characters say to Charles III:

Ya se acerca, Señor, o es ya llegada,  
La edad dichosa en que promete el cielo,<sup>9</sup>  
Una grey y un pastor solo en el reservado.  
Por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservados.

Sir, the time is near, or already here  
That happy age in which Heaven promised  
One flock and one only Shepherd;  
By fortune reserved for you.

"In the 17th century it was already common to understand the Biblical prophecies as applicable to Spain and to see the fulfillment of the Biblical promises in the Spanish feats of arms. A higher apotheosis of the Fatherland was indeed impossible. This was God's right arm and his instrument in his actions in the world."<sup>10</sup> The Spanish conquistadores were a people with a powerful messianic conviction. They were avaricious seekers for gold but one grossly misjudges them if he fails to take into account the fanatic sense of mission, of religious mission, that moved them to the greatest sacrifices on its own account. From the powerful grandees of Castile and Aragon to the humblest soldier

<sup>9</sup> Ideas of the Spaniards of the 17th Century, M. Herrero García, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Herrero García, op. cit., p. 15.

in the line against the Indians this sense of messianic calling was real and powerful. But it was the King whom they saw as God's representative to all practical purposes, not the Pope.<sup>11</sup>

This fusion of Church and State, this nation with a messianic complex brought to Chile the determination to make it a Spanish and a Catholic empire, to the absolute exclusion of any other confusing ideas. Spanish despotism brought along with it the narrow egotism of its religious ideas, its theocracy with its hierarchical organization. Its exterior pomp and interior rotteness was set up in America at the same time the feudal nobility and the militant conquerors were imposed upon it, all swelling with cruelty and rapacity.

"Diligently every idea of industry and of intellectual advancement was kept away from the middle classes; the same deadening uniformity, religious and political, held alike the Negroes and the Indians."<sup>12</sup> It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the whole colonial regime was strongly medieval, and that in the Middle Ages it was the Church that dominated all of life. The keynote of the Middle Ages,

<sup>11</sup> Vide Luis Miguel Amunátegui, *Los Precursores de la Independencia de Chile*, 3 vols. Santiago, 1909.

<sup>12</sup> *Encomiendas de los Indígenas*, Domingo Amunátegui, Vol. I, p. 3.

its life and activities is to be found in the Feudal System . . . . duties and services are rendered to a Divine Feudal . . . . religious and social services are rendered to a Divine Feudal Overlord. The door of social service has a lever to move even the Divine. The ever-present power of penitence served only to place religious relations on a basis of bargaining with God, or a feudal basis. In this feudal relation God was represented by the priests . . . . God had become a feudal Lord."<sup>13</sup>

And a present day social writer, Luis Alberto Sanchez, says: "And our feudalism was much worse than that of the Europeans since, to be explicit, it has only sufficient characteristics of that to make a good caricature . . . ."

Spanish feudalism in America was harder than in Europe, more medieval than that of the Middle Ages itself, a mixture of fetichism, of race, and of feudalism proper."<sup>14</sup>

There was one difference in European medieval feudalism and the colonial type. The medieval serf surrendered his lands and his person to his overlord in exchange for certain fairly well-defined and guaranteed rights of protection and security. The Indian serf had no rights at all, no

<sup>13</sup> The Social Achievements of the Christian Church, E. H. Oliver, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> El Pueblo en la Revolución Americana, (Buenos Aires, 1942), p. 38.

Guarantees, until the close of the long dreary period. He was a serf in name, a slave in fact with few exceptions. 15

The Negro was a slave de jure; the Indian, de facto. And to maintain this state Spain and her Colonial governments were committed with a fanatic zeal to a policy of rigid exclusivism. Other laws might be disregarded with more or less impunity, as indeed most of them were, but any violation of the laws referring to introduction of foreigners, or foreign books, or political ideas not Spanish, or the slightest suspicion of heresy against the Catholic Church; these were not to be tolerated for an instant and quickly felt the heavy iron hand of repression. To show that this was no empty threat, at the close of the eighteenth century, after 250 years, there were to be found in all of Chile according to a Government census made just before Independence, only seventy-nine foreigners. All these were Catholics except four, and one of these was on the point of becoming a Catholic.

It is hard to conceive of a system better calculated to guard against any possibility of a Renaissance or a Reformation. The Reformation, in addition to its theological controversy, a return to the simplicity of the Gospel and the reaffirmation of justification by faith;

15 Luís Galdames, en loco; a proverb in Chile.

was also a revolt of the laity against clerical tutelage; a rebellion of the individual against tradition and convention; emancipated human reason against the conscience of man against the protest of the rational conscience of man against the corruption of the Roman penitential system, and an attack of the secular power upon the accumulated wealth of the religious.<sup>16</sup>

Here are six powerful elements of social change; not one of them had the slightest possibility of working in Chile until the close of the Colonial period, with the

sixth constituting a possible partial exception. These potent sources of social change simply could not get into Chile. The Colony was, and must needs remain until the end, medieval to the core, feudalistic, fanatically Catholic, and proudly Spanish.

But one hardly needs to point out the powerful economic effects of this closed system; the ecclesiastical and the civil, the social and the economic so interwoven that they are inseparable. The Professor of Economics in the University of Chile, Daniel Mártner, alludes to the disastrous consequences of the closed policy again and again. "The possessions which the Crown held in these times (early colonial),

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<sup>16</sup> Encyc. of Social Sciences, Art. Renaissance and Reformation.

would have placed in the hands with a mind to industry, would have meant riches simply beyond estimate."

"The lack of liberty in the colonial period did not permit regime of the country in the initiative toward economic development and toward a commercial policy that would have stimulated national development.

"It was evident that the treatment accorded the natives by the foreigners (conquistadores) caused the former to distrust everything. By this the very foundation of credit was destroyed in society as a whole."<sup>17</sup>

"Within the (Latin American) countries at the time of Independence, conditions were not far from barbarism. There was practically no economic life, no money, little agriculture, less industry. Vast land-holdings were in the hands of a few families and the Church; the great mass of the population was illiterate, penniless, and little better than serfs."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Historia Económica de Chile, pp. 77, 33, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Encyc. of Social Sciences, Art. Latin America, Herman G. James.

## CHAPTER III

### PRIESTS AND PROPERTY

Any religious organization must have some property and when that organization is a church charged with the entire tutelage of a nation, the amount of this property will naturally be large. But as one reads the history of colonial Chile the abundance of testimony forces the conviction that the Catholic Church passed far beyond its legitimate needs as a church and became an economic liability of considerable proportions. The whole economic balance was destroyed by the excessive number of priests, monks and nuns supported by a poverty ridden people, and the amount of property held by the Church and thus withdrawn from production, and, as tax free, from sharing in the common administrative load of government.

Also let it be cheerfully conceded that not all is negative. The monks in Chile, as in medieval Europe, did keep alive the flickering spark of culture and civilization. Chile had practically no schools, but for most of the colonial period, whatever hope for education existed

was to be found with them. Just now, however, we must look not at the legitimate calling of the ministry, nor the praiseworthy use of property for the church, but at the abuse of both.

Emilio Portes Gil, while Attorney General of the Republic of Mexico (1934), wrote a stinging indictment of the Church's economic and cultural and political activities during the history of that country. His work bears a foreword of commendation from the President of the Republic. Speaking of the Spanish Colonies in general he says: "The Church was an institution dedicated to the exploitation of all; Indians and Spaniards, poor and rich. The whole life of the individual turned about the Church; all his acts were chained to the most extreme tyranny that can be imagined; from the day he was born a human being till the moment he died, in every act of his life, even the most insignificant, the domination of the Church made itself felt. Everything was religious, fiercely religious." "Behind every Conquistador was a friar at his orders. Preaching heaven, they possessed themselves of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

According to Bishop Silva Cotapos, there were in La Serena, in 1610, eighty years after the nation was started,

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<sup>1</sup> La Labor Seditiosa del Clero Mexicano, Emilio Portes Gil, pp. 44, 30, 65.

only forty-six houses; thirty-five of which had thatched roofs, but for these forty-six dwellings there were a church and three convents with the curate and eight monks.

In Santiago in the same year, there were two hundred houses, six convents and the cathedral; there were two hundred fifty-six monks and nuns exclusive of those attached to the cathedral. The frontier town of Chillan had fifty-two houses, one church, three convents, the curate and twelve monks and nuns.<sup>2</sup>

A little later, in 1632, Bishop Salcedo writes to the King regarding the first of these towns mentioned: "I tell your Majesty what I saw in La Serena when I visited it, that notwithstanding the few inhabitants, they have four convents, a curate and a vicarage, a hermitage and a hospital (in charge of monks), and there are more monks than heads of families . . . They win all the legal disputes in the Audience (Royal Governing Council) since they have so many relatives and friends and since the Audience holds them in such respect--or maybe fear, I can't say--that there isn't a Town Council, provision of employment, an encomienda to be granted, a marriage, or anything else where the Governor or the Audience have any part, where these do not

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<sup>2</sup> Historia Ecclesiástica de Chile, Bishop Carlos Silva Cotapos, p. 60 ff.

have a finger in the pie with injury to those who have less resources. Some have money and credit with which they go to Buenos Aires to bring Negroes and other merchandise, outraging thus other good men. And they defraud the Royal Audience for they bring in all they buy in Buenos Aires without paying duty."<sup>3</sup>

In 1568 when the city of Santiago was struggling to get on its feet, the people had to pay what Barros Arana considers extremely severe taxes on minerals produced, the King's "fifth", plus a new tax on everything imported from Peru or Buenos Aires, "At the same time the poverty stricken city was taxed \$1,000 per year to pay for the wine and oil (for the lamps) of the two convents of the city . . . . In addition there was the tithe which must be paid by all on cattle and farm produce and which was applied to the salaries of the bishop and canons and the general support of the church."<sup>4</sup>

The salary of the Bishop must not have been very great at that time but a century later in 1662 it was \$6,000 which Silva Cotapos says, "would be equal to \$60,000 now (1925)." And twenty years later in the depreciated currency, it would be nearer two and one half millions.<sup>5</sup> Another

<sup>3</sup> Barros Arana, quoting letter to the King, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Appendices B and C.

century later Silva Cotapos says the Bishop's income was more than \$17,000 pesos, plus fourteen benefices of \$3,000 each and that of the dean and four canons of \$2,000 each.<sup>6</sup>

The life of a priest was very productive. Apart from the profits from their encomendas and gold washings which were the industries of all the colonists, the priests had also their fees for masses, burials, series of sermons, masses for the dead, etc., all of which must have been considerable among Spaniards of the sixteenth century. Whether because the Cabildo (Town Council) found the clerics charging too much, or whether they were just copying from Spain, they set up a scale of prices for the ecclesiastics just as they had for the tailors, shoemakers and blacksmiths, so much for each mass according to whether it was recited or sung. Nevertheless these prices, just as we have seen to be the case with a great number of the ordinances of the Cabildo, were not respected in practice and the ecclesiastics went right on charging higher prices than those of the established tariff which were already high. The colonists, for their part, despite their fervent devotion, frequently let their Indians die without having them christianized to avoid the payment of the burial rate. (Unbaptized, they could be buried anywhere; baptized, they must be buried in

<sup>6</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, and Acts of the Cabildo, Santiago, Dec. 29, 1543, and Nov. 13, 1552.

<sup>7</sup> Silva Cotapos, op. cit., p. 94.

consecrated ground under the care of the priest.) This fact, in the light of the religious beliefs of the time, gives the measure of the sentiments of these men, encomenderos as well as ecclesiastics."<sup>7</sup>

Chile, as one of the poorer and less developed of the Colonies, suffered less from this economic burden of an excessive number of priests and nuns and church property than some of the richer Colonies like Peru and Mexico. Spain itself was extenuated under the same excessive drain. "Phillip II was proud of the title of Champion of the Faith . . . Historian Cabrera de Córdoba recounts a case where Phillip had a man beheaded for striking a canon in Toledo (Felipe II, Book XI, Chap. 11) . . . The clergy, lay and regular, came to hold such riches that they eclipsed in their luxury even the grandest lords. In 1579 the Assessors of the Court of Madrid called the attention of the King to the fact that the churches and monasteries and religious works are taking up the largest part of the resources of the Kingdom."<sup>8</sup>

However, it is quite possible that, though Chile did not have to support such excessive numbers of needless priests and property, yet because of much greater poverty of

<sup>7</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, and Acts of the Cabildo, Santiago, Dec. 29, 1543, and Nov. 13, 1552.

<sup>8</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 152.

people and wealth, the drain may have been even more damaging to her general economy and social welfare. But there were other ways than direct ownership in

which the clergy and the religious ideas of the time influenced property. In 1647 the struggling city of Santiago was devastated by earthquake. There was much discussion as to whether to rebuild on the same spot, or move to what was considered safer ground. In a big mass meeting it soon was revealed that nearly all the lots of the old site were mortgaged to the religious orders and to remove the city to a new site would cause these orders to lose their investment. The audience "obedient to the religious ideas of that day, sided with the clergy and the city was rebuilt on the old site."<sup>9</sup> In a praiseworthy and unselfish effort to help the stricken city the Governor gave generously from his own purse and secured funds from the Viceroyalty in Lima and private collections in Peru. Later it was discovered that these funds "had been used almost entirely in rebuilding temples and convents and in aiding the priests and nuns; only the most insignificant part had gone to aid the most urgent needs of the poorer classes."<sup>9</sup> Later the King sought through his Governor to have these mortgages cancelled in the interest of the rebuilding of the city and the people

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<sup>9</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 435, 437, 442.

desperately needed this aid. After long and arduous litigation all that could be secured was the lowering of the interest rate from 5% to 3%.<sup>10</sup>

Concepcion has suffered more than any other city of Chile from earthquakes. In July, 1730, the town had been once more destroyed. Aid was slow in coming and small in amount. The Town Council of Santiago, however, sent what they could. The Governor again gave aid from his own purse and granted extraordinary funds from the Royal Treasury. "But the distribution was far from equitable, the monasteries and convents, owners of large and valuable landed properties and enjoying also considerable income from their mortgages which burdened almost all the houses of the city in their favor, received the donations which in fairness should have gone to the needy people. Even the Jesuits, whose income at that time was larger than that of the Royal Treasury from taxes, secured relatively large aid from the Council."<sup>11</sup> But they were not satisfied and on appeal to the King, received additional aid toward rebuilding their temples.

Twenty years later Concepcion again suffered from earthquake and sea and this time the authorities and the

<sup>10</sup> Barros Arana, *Ibid.* Tend the Indian dwellers,

<sup>11</sup> Barros Arana, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 72.

entire populace planned to remove the city to its present site, ten miles inland from the sea. But they had not counted on the opposition of Bishop Toro Zambrano. He fought the removal with everything in his power, and that was enough to prevent anything being done. Finally, after his death some years later, the removal was made. The picture is not pleasant; a whole city held up, houses in ruins, all development stagnated and paralyzed for years because of the improper use of his powers by a money-hungry cleric. Alas, that this was but one of the many similar cases.

The most powerful weapon in the hands of the clergy, that of excommunication and ban, seems not to have been used for economic purposes to any great extent. One wonders why. Possibly because the priesthood had other means better suited to economic situations, reserving this instrument for other uses. But there were some cases, notorious ones, of the use of power of excommunication and bans to achieve economic ends. In August, 1602, the canonical Justice gave orders that a certain piece of land in dispute in Concepcion should be turned over to the canon who claimed it. A sub-deacon named Luís Méndez was charged with taking it over for the ecclesiastical authorities. He did so "with inhuman violence", expelling from the land the Indian dwellers, firing their huts with all their possessions, food and

clothing. "To be sure such proceedings were not rare in those times", but the Governor wished to make an example of one who had committed such an outrage and, after due legal consultation, had Méndez arrested, placed on a mule and sent to the port of Valparaiso to be sent to Peru. The bishop, Pérez de Espinoza, made all sorts of energetic protests and finally threatened that if Méndez were not loosed at once he would excommunicate all who had any part in the affair, from Governor down. Méndez was released and never punished in any way.<sup>12</sup> Governor Ribera was later condemned to pay a fine of 200 ducats for touching the inviolable person of a sacred priest.

Later the same Governor, Ribera, learned that a certain monk had been caught in illicit relations with the jailer's wife by the outraged husband, and in the fight the monk hit the jailer over the head with a candlestick seriously wounding him. The Governor ordered the monk arrested and beaten with 200 stripes. The Bishop immediately placed the whole city under ban, finally lifting the ban but excommunicating the Governor, and kept him so for years. The ecclesiastical authorities took no steps whatever to punish the criminal; only defended him against the civil authorities.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Extracted from a letter of Ribera to the King, Feb. 5, 1603. Quoted by Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 413.

<sup>13</sup> Extracted from the legal documents concerned, vide Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 414.

This same bishop Pérez de Espinoza exasperated the Royal Audience to such a point that they finally ordered his arrest in 1612. "But the prelate had in his hands a power sufficiently great to overcome the Audience and force them to do his will. He abandoned Santiago and went to live in a solitary place outside the city but on leaving placed the city under the dreaded ban. No one could say mass or carry on any religious function. Faced with the fear and consternation caused by this in the city, the Audience was forced to yield and revoke their order."<sup>14</sup>

In 1618 the Audience of Santiago, desirous of putting an end to the abuses of the ecclesiastics in the matter of parish charges, set up a tariff for baptism, masses, burials, etc. much higher than that charged in Spain but, withal, on a fixed scale. The canon judge of Concepcion refused to communicate or publish the scale and went so far as to ex-  
 communicate the civil judge who had ordered its publica-  
 tion there. His clergy attacked the civil judge, gave him a beating and broke his insignia of office. The Audience immediately ordered the arrest of the canon judge but he had already boarded ship for Peru. When, still in harbor, he learned of the order of arrest, he pronounced the sentence of the dreaded ban upon the whole city of Concepción.

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<sup>14</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 240.

Faced with the superstitious fear of the populace the Govern-  
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nor was forced to revoke the whole tariff.  
Numerous other examples are found in old documents  
to show that the Church did not hesitate to use its extreme  
power when necessary to protect its property or economic  
interests.

SOLDIERS, SHEEPS, AND SLAVES

15 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 242. early

life of Chile or of any other Spanish American colony,  
quickly discovers that the encomienda<sup>1</sup> was, barring the  
Church, the most potent institution in the formation of  
the nation. Its all-enveloping sinister influence con-  
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stitution. It has left its indelible mark everywhere, even  
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Spain suddenly found herself possessed of an  
empire very times larger in area and population than Pen-  
insular Spain itself, she had no adequate policy. Devout  
to fanaticism and with an incapacity for economic affairs  
which seemed almost inspired<sup>2</sup> she had but three major

<sup>1</sup> The word "encomienda" is untranslatable by a single  
term in English. "Encomienda" means a charge, or ward, or  
allotment. The Indians became the wards of the "encomendero",  
or plantation owner.

<sup>2</sup> Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, R. H. Tawney,  
passim.

#### CHAPTER IV

### SOLDIERS, SERFS, AND SLAVES

Any investigator setting out to uncover the early life of Chile or of any other Spanish American Colony, quickly discovers that the *encomienda*<sup>1</sup> was, barring the Church, the most potent institution in the formation of the nations. Its all-enveloping sinister influence continues even to this day and no treatment of any aspect of the life of these countries can avoid dealing with this institution. It has left its indelible mark everywhere, even on the very character of the people.

When Spain suddenly found herself possessed of an empire many times larger in area and population than Peninsular Spain itself, she had no adequate policy. "Devout to fanaticism and with an incapacity for economic affairs which seemed almost inspired"<sup>2</sup> she had but three major

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<sup>2</sup> Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, R. H. Tawney, passim.

articles in her empire creed: Extend the possessions and glory of the monarchy; exploit the native resources, human and natural, of the new territories; and make them all Catholic. The King found it easier to pay his soldiers in lands than in money and at the same time to carry out his third point, the christianization of the natives. The encomienda was the answer. Large grants of land were made to the soldiers, not with full title but as fiefs to the King. In theory the land could revert to the Crown at any time and must do so at the death of the grantee. The encomendero obligated himself to christianize the Indians on his land and in exchange for the expenses herein incurred, he was authorized to exploit the labor of these in working his mines, farm, or industry during certain days of the year. The practice went back, in theory, to the grant by the Pope of these lands to the King of Spain (See Chapter I). Hence the lands were held to belong to the King, and he, personally, was charged with evangelizing the subjects. But of course these were under Divine obligation to obey without question their Lord and King, the Monarch of Spain. If they failed to do so, they were rebels and heretics and worthy of the direst punishments, death or, mercifully, slavery. This was exactly the basis on which the Spanish conquistadores proceeded.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Compare Encyc. of Social Science, Art. "Native

In the battle for the founding of Concepción, Valdivia captured 400 Indians. For their crime of resisting their Christian sovereign, Valdivia explained to them, he had one ear and right hand cut off, and sent them home bleeding and dying as an example, threatening to treat in like manner all who rebelled against their Spanish masters. Valdivia wrote to the King about this battle: "God Seems to be using us" and proceeds to recount miraculous appearances of St. George and the Virgin in an effort to keep the Indians from attacking the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup>

Pedro Valdivia distributed the land and the Indians on it from the deserts of the north (Copiapo) to the River Maule, some 500 miles long and extending from the sea to the Andes, to thirty-two men.<sup>5</sup> Later he distributed the lands farther south reserving for himself a large part, as was natural. He was said to have had on his lands 100,000 Indians, probably an exaggerated estimate. One of his friends, Pedro Olmos de Aguilera, received a large grant south of Concepción with Indians estimated as numbering from 10,000 to 30,000.

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Policy; Latin America," by José Ots y Capdequí; Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 273-274; Domingo Amunátegui: Encomendas en Chile, Vol. I, etc.

<sup>4</sup> From the writings of Pedro Valdivia to the King, and the minutes of the Cabildo of Concepción, quoted by different historians.

<sup>5</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 131.

this was the beginning of the institution which has dictated the method of production even into modern times.

Chile is still cursed with the great latifundia, and the primitive methods of agriculture and semipeonage in direct line of descent from colonial times.<sup>6</sup>

According to the Agricultural Census of 1936, the latest available, of a total of 201,997 agricultural holdings, 161,575 or 80%, accounted for only 7.4% of the total area and 24.7% of the total assessed valuation; while on the opposite end of the scale 636 holdings, or .03% accounted for 52% of the acreage and 24% of the value. There are progressive and public spirited farmers in Chile but the major part of the country still feels the heavy drag of the encomienda conception of labor and the patriarchal ideas of the cultivation of the soil.

Likewise there is no possible justification for the terrible loss of potential wealth which these million Indians represented to the young Colony. Of splendid physique, strong independent spirit, and an amazing capacity for endurance, the Araucanian Indian might have been a source of great wealth to the Spanish colonists if he had been treated with even a minimum of humanity and sense of fairness. On

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<sup>6</sup> Carlos Keller, *La Eterna Crisis Chilena*, *passim*; and Amunátegui op. cit., Vol. I, p. 60.

the contrary we find a sordid, dreary tale of war, of treachery, of the most inhuman exploitation and of declination to the point of extinction. <sup>7</sup>Where there had been 12,000 there were scarcely 30 left<sup>8</sup> reported a contemporary

priest and historian, González Najera, of one area. One of the King's Counsellors, (oldor), Hernando de Santillán, wrote to the King soon after the death of Pedro Valdivia: "Thus do they kill large numbers of the Indians, sometimes setting dogs on them, sometimes burning them. They cut off hands and feet, ears, nose or breasts; steal their goods, violate their wives and daughters; they burn their settlements and destroy their crops."<sup>7</sup> The King wrote on May 27, 1582, to the Bishop of Imperial: "We are informed that in that land the Indians are being exterminated by the harsh treatment accorded them by the encomenderos and that said Indians have decreased so that in some parts they are less than one third and they treat them worse than slaves; and as such they are bought and sold by one encomendero to another, and some are killed by beating, and women burst (reventan) under heavy loads; and other women and their children are forced to toil in the fields and have to live there and raise their children there . . . and many hang

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<sup>7</sup> Royal Archives, quoted by Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>8</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 367, 370.

themselves, and others die from not eating, and others poison themselves with herbs, and there are mothers who kill their children at birth."

Pedro Valdivia's orders reveal what he thought of the Indians. They were punished with extreme cruelty for the slightest offenses; for instance throwing stones at a horse was punishable by cutting off the hand. Later, when Negroes had been brought in, any slave suspected of sexual offense was mutilated "and whatever other punishment the judge deemed fitting for the carrying out of justice, since thus it is fitting for the service of God and the King."

Barros Arana comments: "The repetition of this latter clause in all the documents of the time, even in those prescribing the harshest cruelties against the Indians and Negro slaves, reveals the way of thinking of the Spaniards of the day. It is easily understood thus that men who identified the interest of their own avarice with the service of God and the King would be a mixture of the wildest fanaticism and the fiercest and most uncontrolled passion."<sup>8</sup>

The oidor from Lima, Fernando de Santillán, worked out a salary scale and other conditions which the encomenderos were ordered to fulfill in protection of the Indian serfs. This fixed a wage of a definite sum and the minimum

<sup>8</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 367, 370.

days the Indian could be required to labor for the encomendero, and other guarantees. It was stoutly resisted by all and was never effectively in force. Later, in 1620, the Scale of Esquilache was promulgated. The Indian serf was to receive a wage of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  centavos (one real) per day and could not be obliged to work more than 162 days per year. Mártner comments: "This wage was only nominal. The many charges against it reduced it in reality to about four centavos per day."<sup>9</sup> Later still this "personal service" was abolished and a money tax was substituted. The Indian's wage did not vary substantially for two centuries. Out of his pittance of one real--12 $\frac{1}{2}$  centavos--he was to pay a tax of from \$7. to \$9. per year, while living on his ancestral lands and for no other reason than for the privilege of being a subject of the Spanish King, and of being christianized by the missionary paid by the plantation owner. Naturally he did not pay it and the encomendero was legally justified in holding him in serfdom to oblige him to work out the taxes. Amunátegui adds:--"This scale was never carried out except in the part favoring the encomendero.

"In practice the Indians, once located on a ranch, never left it during their life time. These encomiendas were the

<sup>9</sup> Mártner, op. cit., passim; Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 420, etc.

legitimate forerunners of the (Chilean) sharecropper." and  
 these encomiendas were only abolished in reality

twenty-seven years before Chile's Independence by Ambrosio  
 O'Higgins, who in his proclamation, said the Indians "lacked  
 nothing of full slavery,"--a phrase reiterated by Bernardo  
 O'Higgins, son of the former and first President of Chile,  
 in one of his early official communications.

But can the Church be held responsible in any way  
 for the prevalence of this terrible institution which  
 blasted the Indians and blighted the economic and social  
 life of a nation for three centuries and still clutches at  
 its feet like chains? Did not the Church rather offer refuge  
 to the hunted Indian, and did not her ministers fight for  
 his liberty and rights? As often happens there is something  
 to be said for the Church on both sides.

Among the very first encomiendas granted by Valdivia,  
 were those for his friends, two of the six priests who  
 had come with him from Peru. The other four later received  
 encomiendas also. González Marmolejo, the first Bishop of  
 Chile, and Juan Lobo were the first to be favored. All six  
 became wealthy and all loaned money to Valdivia. This  
 despite the fact that in the grants of all early encomiendas  
 the clause was added: "With the provision that neither now  
 or in the future may this be sold to cleric, friar or other  
 ecclesiastic; and if they shall be sold or transferred to

such person, they shall be lost to the owner or owners and shall revert to the city.<sup>10</sup> Valdivia knew his priests! yet he himself paved the way for the violation of his own rule; it was never observed.

In fact neither the Indian, nor any one else, could see any difference between the churchmen and the soldiers or encomenderos in their treatment of them. Archbishop Errázuriz (d. circa 1935) says: "The poor Indian heard sublime doctrines preached which his intelligence did not always comprehend, and moreover he heard them to the accompaniment of the rattle of his slave's chain; he had to do at one and the same time with the priest who would teach him Christianity and the soldier who would snatch away his property and his personal liberty; and he rolled the two together in one hot hatred and under one same curse."<sup>11</sup>

The Indian knew that the many churches built were paid for one-third by his own sweat and forced labor, one-third by the encomenderos, and one-third from the king's treasury.

The noble, high minded Padre Las Casas, defender of the Indians, made the mistake, which he later bitterly re-

<sup>10</sup> Annals of the Church. In 1601 Philip III, on recommenda-

<sup>10</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 280, 283.

<sup>11</sup> Orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena, passim.

<sup>12</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 185.

gretted, of suggesting that Negro slaves be introduced in order to meet the need for labor, and thus spare the Indian. The introduction of Negroes into Chile never met with much success and in view of the need for workers in the northern part, removed from the frontiers where Indians were more plentiful, request was made to the King to allow the northern encomenderos to carry Indians from the south "in payment of taxes." The King referred one such request to the Viceroy of Peru and ordered him to "consult with the titled theologians and other persons who have been recently in Chile to see if such a measure is permissible." Barros Arana adds, "The theologians decided against the Indians."12 The encomenderos, with their fanatic regard for the Catholic Church, could have been held in check at any moment had the leaders in the church taken even a reasonably firm stand in defense of the Indian's personal rights and his liberty. On the contrary, at every new aggression the soldiers and encomenderos felt themselves backed with the full, and often official sanction of the Church. It is impossible for Catholicism to escape a large part of the responsibility for the dire social and economic consequences of the encomienda. But it was not only serfdom which received the approval of the Church. In 1601 Phillip III, on recommenda-

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12 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 135.

tion of the Augustinian friar Juan Bascones, expressly authorized that all Indians taken in armed rebellion be marked with a hot iron and reduced to slavery.<sup>13</sup> In a council of the Governor, Bishop Humanzora, and all the provincials, heads of the religious orders, except the Jesuits, all expressed the opinion that Indians, above ten years of age, taken in war should be reduced to slavery with their wives and children. The maintenance then of slavery counted as its decided supporters the Governor of Chile and the unanimity of the ecclesiastics.<sup>14</sup> Archbishop Errázuriz says: "We find that all the superiors of the orders in Santiago, along with all the ordained priests unanimously approved slavery for the Indians taken in rebellion."<sup>15</sup> Nothing could have suited the avaricious soldier better. Both his King and his Church had given him free rein. It was always an easy matter to provoke the Indians to "rebellion"; forays, punitive expeditions for fancied wrongs, burnt houses, and ravished women served a double purpose.

Bishop Salcedo complained to the King in a letter of January 20, 1620, "The Indians, large and small, which the soldiers capture in war, they mark with hot irons in the

<sup>13</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 359.

<sup>14</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> Origenes de la Iglesia Chilena, passim.

face, and they are then passed from one owner to another, the greater part of them being sent to Peru.<sup>16</sup> Public opinion soon began to question the propriety of branding the Indians in the face. Some leading theologians said that since men was made in the image of God, and the face was the point of most resemblance, it was contrary to divine and natural law that the captives should be branded in the face.<sup>17</sup>

From then on they were branded on arm or leg. The infamous decree of Phillip III was revoked two years later only to be reestablished by Phillip IV. It remained in force till fear of retaliation in kind caused the Spaniards to cease the practice.

There were some clerical defenders of the Indians. Soon after the beginning of the war with the Indians along the Bio Bio River, which came to be more or less the frontier for nearly two centuries, friar Gil González attacked the soldiers, even preaching against their right to make war on the Indians at all. He was a disturbing factor and the military element quickly found a defender in friars Juan Gallegos and Antonio de Molino. González, in the violence of his attacks, did not spare the clergy and accused them of complicity with the laymen in the cruelties and inhuman

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<sup>16</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 208.

<sup>17</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 209.

treatment of the Indians. But he soon gave up in despair and returned to Lima.<sup>18</sup>

The Jesuit Luis de Valdivia, head of the order in Chile, was one, almost the only one, who ever made a consistent and continued defense of the Indians. A talented linguist and of energetic character, he and his companion padre Aguilera claimed to have baptized 70,000 Indians on a single trip through the Indian country. The Indians were soon in rebellion and all this was lost. But Valdivia earnestly sought to better the conditions of the Indian and the treatment accorded him by the Spanish soldiery.

Valdivia and the efforts of the Jesuits for more humane treatment were met by bitter opposition on part of the clergy of Santiago, particularly "because they admitted the Indians to communion." Finally Valdivia also gave up and retired to Peru.<sup>19</sup> Across the long terrible years, no other clerical defender of the Indians of any importance appears till about the close of the colonial period. Had the Indian looked to the Church for any effective aid, he would have looked in vain.

Here was Roman Catholicism, charged by the King of all powerful Spain with the christianization of the Indian

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<sup>18</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 254.

<sup>19</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 167.

and backed without limit, morally and otherwise, for the execution of the task. It had control of the minds and of the wills of the Spaniards as never a religious or social institution has had again. It held all the control. There was no contender or rival admitted. None was possible in colonial Chile. There was, on the other hand, a pool of all but infinite potential wealth, human and natural, in the country and in the Indian people. As Mártner and other economic-minded historians have lamented, one cannot even imagine the difference it would have made for the wealth of Chile had these resources been used constructively. Instead, the Roman Catholic Church releases the lowest brutal passions of avarice and cruelty by its sanctions and even its participation. The potential wealth represented by the Indian population is squandered, beaten down by inhuman cruelty and wasteful, selfish exploitation.

CHAPTER V

TITHES AND OFFERINGS IN A FRONTIER ECONOMY

The colonist in Chile had to pay exceptionally heavy taxes. Twenty per cent of the gold and silver extracted from the mines, or the gold washings, belonged to the Crown as the "Royal Fifth"; he had to pay a five per cent import-export tax on all goods brought in or shipped out and a sales tax of from two per cent to six per cent on real estate and movable goods. In addition there were frequent impositions of "derramas", a special tax according to the occasion, whether it be to build a canal to bring fresh water, to rebuild flood control walls along the river, or to help the afflicted on the occasion of a natural calamity,--earthquake, pestilence, etc., which were frequent. Then the Royal Treasury was always empty; many ways were sought to help replenish it. To this end nearly all public employments were sold to the highest bidder. One is rather shocked to read that, perhaps the only man in town capable of holding, let us say, the job of notary must pay a handsome sum into the Treasury for the privilege of being appointed to

the job.

Then there were the ecclesiastical taxes, notably the Great Tithe. Now if any person wants to give a tenth of his income to the support of religion that is a noble act and surely a determination that will repay the giver in spiritual uplift and character far in excess of the expenditure involved. But when a rigid tithe is imposed by a custom sterner than law and collected by force, this is an entirely different matter. One who has seen settlers carving farms from the frontiers under the most difficult circumstances of lack of roads, and, as was the case in colonial Chile, lack of even the most elemental tools, can well imagine what a drain on initiative and how serious an economic liability such a tithe would be. "One of the most vexing and burdensome drags on agriculture was the tithe."<sup>1</sup>

"The income of the clergy was derived from tithes and 'firstfruit' offerings and from the fees for baptisms, marriages and funerals.

"These fees and firstfruit offerings belonged to the curate. The tithes were paid in livestock and grain, and each year the collection of these tithes was auctioned off to the highest bidder, by provinces."<sup>2</sup> One ninth of the

<sup>1</sup> Carlos Keller, *La Eterna Crisis Chilena*, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Silva Cotapos, *Historia Ecclesiastica de Chile*, p. 106.

tithe belonged to the Crown and three eighteenths was designated to the support of the hospital when there was one, all the rest belonged to the clergy for their support and that of the church. The tithes for Santiago as early as 1559, only eighteen years after the founding of the city when there were probably no more than 200 houses, were auctioned for \$5,567, a sum which would represent fifty times as much today.<sup>3</sup> A century and a half later, for Santiago, "they must have yielded from \$25,000 to \$30,000."<sup>4</sup> In an attack on this tithe a member of Congress in 1853 said: "This tithe imposed a tax of ten percent not only on land owners but even on the laborer; not only on the net income but even on the capital investment; not, in a word, on the common produce of the soil but on the most essential articles of consumption which were taxed as raw material."<sup>5</sup>

The system of farming out the tithe to publicans greatly added to the heavy burden already imposed on the people. The rich, by cunning and political influence, knew how to get their tithe reduced but for that the onerous burden fell all the more heavily on the poor. "On these poor unfortunates this unjust tyranny fell without surcease

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from official documents by Thayer Ojeda in *Historia Económica de Chile*, passim.

<sup>4</sup> Silva Gotapos, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> From a speech of a member of Congress, in the Congressional Library of Chile.

or mitigation. The collector of the tithe, who might better be called the destroyer (diezmador), once in possession of the authorization to collect was the sole arbiter of his avarice, and this had to be satisfied without hindrance. There was no way to escape his will. . . . There was no way to resist it. It was necessary to pay the collector even the tithe of the pig which was killed to feed the family. It was necessary to pay the tithe for the produce, even when this was imaginary, of two or three fruit trees. It was necessary to pay the tithe.<sup>6</sup> The tithe drew more and more the ire of the people and greater and greater resistance. Mártner says that often 30% instead of 10% was collected.<sup>7</sup> When the liberal element was fighting in mid-nineteenth century to free agriculture of this burden, referring to the appearance of the priestly collector at any time to collect the hated tax, a witty legislator said: "Vigilate et orate, quia necitas diem nec horam."<sup>8</sup> Only in 1857, under the Republic, was the hated tax somewhat ameliorated. It was transformed into a direct tax on the land and the Government undertook its collection, paying over a fixed sum to the Church each year.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Conversion of the Tithe, A Legislative Debate, Congressional Library of Chile, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Mártner, *Historia Económica de Chile*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew 25:13.

But if it were such a clog about the feet of agriculture in the early days of the Republic, how much more terrible the drag on the development of agriculture and the whole economy of the country in the days of the struggling Colony.

But the tithe was not all; there were the "first-fruits" and many other offerings more or less obligatory. For a fanatically religious people whose every act of every day was connected in some way with the Church and ritual, the charges for ecclesiastical services constituted no small tax on the economy of the colonists. For the interest it may have for the reader, the scale of prices is here reproduced which the Cabildo sought to impose on the ecclesiastical authorities soon after the founding of Santiago, and which the Church fathers resolutely fought, not so much as being an intrusion in their affairs but as being too low. As usual they disregarded it and made their own prices.

"In the Cabildo of December 29, 1543, it was agreed and so ordered, that:

"Whereas, this city is once more settled (after the destruction by the Indians in 1542) and it is necessary that all know how much the priests shall collect in alms and charges for masses, services, prayers for the dead, funerals and other services relating to their holy office, let them be paid the following:

For a solemn mass, chanted, with the \$5 gold preparatory service, 5.  
 Solemn mass for the rest of the soul (descenso) 2.  
 Recited mass, 40.  
 Burial with "wake" and chanted mass, 20.  
 Burial of a Spaniard, with prayers, 6.  
 Burial of a Christian Indian, 30.  
 For a series of nine masses, chanted, 30.  
 For a series of thirty masses, chanted, 130.  
 For the thirteen masses called "of the Cross," 39.  
 Chanted vows, 10.  
 Solemn honors, nine "readings", 100.<sup>9</sup>

It is well to remember the much greater purchasing power of money at that time than now. Later, many years later, the wage for a master carpenter or mason was about 40 centavos a day and for a common laborer 12½ cents. Comparing these with the prices above one realizes what a terrific charge their religion was to the colonists.

But the tithes, the various kinds of offerings, more <sup>9</sup> Quoted from official documents by Archbishop Errázuriz in Orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena, p. 78, 79.

or less obligatory, and the ecclesiastical charges for services, were not all the forms of taxes the colonists paid to Roman Catholicism. We have yet to consider the many forms of "Bulls" or indulgences which were also practically obligatory, some of them entirely so, for Indian and Spaniard.

"In 1509 Pope Julian II had decreed in favor of the kings of Spain the Bull called 'of the Crusades'. This was a permit to the faithful to be excepted from the duty of abstinence from meat on days when this was prohibited as food. The King had the right to sell this Bull to his subjects. The Spanish monarch, always hard put to it for funds for his exhausted treasury, established this new source of income from his colonial subjects.

"The Bull was first proclaimed in Chile in 1577, on which occasion the preachers announced from their pulpits the grace granted by the Pope to those who would buy this Bull; and then the Bull was distributed to all the inhabitants since its purchase was strictly obligatory, and Spaniards as well as Indians were obliged to buy it and pay for it.

"The Bull was of three grades: 'For Indians, Negroes and such as serve others, two reales (.25); for other Spaniards at eight reales, (\$1.00); for those who held any sort of office or concession, (encomenderos) sixteen reales

(2.00). No one knew how much this produced for the Royal Treasury but 'it constitutes one of the largest sources of income', wrote a public official.<sup>10</sup> There were many other classes of Bulls, some of them positively immoral, and most of the others were directly for the benefit of the Church, not for the government. For example, there was one called the Bull "de Compositio'n", a "fix-it-up" Bull. One bishop illustrated how to make advantageous use of this Bull saying that if one had \$41. or otherwise--he gives \$1.50 as alms, that is to buy this Bull, and then with the Bull he has a right to pyramid his capital arranging his ill-gotten gains by buying more Bulls until he can reach a total of \$1,237. "For larger amounts one must appeal directly to the General Commissary in Lima."<sup>11</sup> Forgiveness strictly on a sound investment basis!

There was another Bull of special interest in the economic effect it might have had, that of En Coena Domini, issued in the Middle Ages but reaffirmed by several later Popes, Pius V in 1567, Paul V in 1610, and Urban VIII in 1637. It affirmed the supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power, and pronounced a curse on any lay judge who

<sup>10</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 244.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from writings of Bishop of Quito, 1668, by Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 244.

dared judge ecclesiastics or cite them to appear in the  
civil courts, and pronounced excommunication on any prince who  
increased taxes in his dominions without papal sanction. 12

Of course the ingenious priest could always discover  
additional sources of income to help fill his treasury.  
For instance there was the Curate of Valparaiso in later  
colonial times who levied a "contribution" of \$20 in bene-  
fit of his church building fund on each ship's captain who  
brought his ship into the harbor; those who refused to pay  
were visited with excommunication. 13

12 Vide Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, passim.

13 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 285 note e.

up to the degree of fanaticism. When his  
career as a soldier had been directed by a wound which left  
him crippled he turned to the Church. After difficult and  
unfavorable beginnings he was able to organize a new order  
of militant servants of the Church, the Company of Jesus,  
or the Jesus-ites, shortened to Jesuits. They were con-  
sidered as the shock troops for the Pope and their special  
task was to spearhead the counter revolution. Their  
activities in Europe and all over the world have justified  
the hopes placed in them. They have been ready shock troops  
for Catholicism and have aided the Pope more than any other  
order, even as they also have been the source of more trouble.  
The immutable absolute authority which they needed they

## CHAPTER VI

### THE JESUITS

Because of their exceptional influence on the life of Chile and especially their impact on the economic side of that life, the Jesuits demand a separate word of treatment.

Ignatius Loyola, their founder, born in 1491, grew up to be a typical young Spaniard of that day, intensely proud, religious to the degree of fanaticism. When his career as a soldier had been blasted by a wound which left him crippled he turned to the Church. After difficult and unfavorable beginnings he was able to organize a new order of militant servants of the Church, the Company of Jesus, or the Jesus-ites, shortened to Jesuits. They were conceived as the shock troops for the Pope and their special task was to spearhead the counter revolution. Their activities in Europe and all over the world have justified the hopes placed in them. They have been ready shock troops for Catholicism and have aided the Pope more than any other order, even as they also have been the source of more trouble. The immutable absolute authority which they needed they

ascribed to the Church by identifying the ecclesiastical with the divine. The Church in its highest form became for them the visible realization of God's will; it was to be semper eadem; its dogmas, like its constitution and ritual, were unimpeachable. Having evolved such a conception for the church, the Jesuits found in it ample justification for any means they might employ to preserve it from the inroads of change. Their aim constituted an injunction to intellectual rigidity and to obduracy against pity.<sup>1</sup>

The first members of the order, eight of them, arrived in Chile at the request of the authorities in 1593. In a very short time they were to become the outstanding power in politics, the best, indeed, the only real defenders the Indians ever had from ecclesiastical circles during colonial times, and were to amass huge fortunes in their multiple agricultural and industrial ventures. They were to be the pioneers in many social and educational ventures as well.

Their arrival was accompanied by extraordinary miracles, according to their chroniclers. On the voyage from Callao "there arose the fiercest tempest ever known on those stormy seas up to that time. When the ship was

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Goetz in Encyc. of Social Science, Art., Jesuits.

about to sink the Jesuit fathers cast an image of St. Matthias into the sea. No sooner did it touch the waves than the sea became calm. Soon after, the food supply ran low and all were threatened with hunger. Father Piñas retreated to his cabin and after a few moments of prayer reappeared on deck. Immediately a vast school of fish surrounded the ship and were so easily taken that enough were caught to supply them the rest of the trip.<sup>2</sup>

On a superstitious and religiously-minded people they were to continue to use the most stupendous miracles, as an efficient means to get hold of the people's minds, wills, and pocketbooks. They settled in Santiago and quickly spread to other cities. To win the masses they suffused religion with sensuality. Their missionaries transmuted it into a superstitious cult. While not universally approved by their members, their characteristic ethical values represented the perfection of causuistry; equivocation, mental reservations, the doctrine of probabillism, according to which any act could be assumed to be legitimate if not known to be prohibited, were resorted to and condoned to provide the necessary latitude for their activities.<sup>3</sup> Barros Arana

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<sup>2</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Goetz, op. cit. July 20, 1934.

adds: "They invented endlessly the most absurd miracles, religious ceremonies were multiplied, many saints' guilds were organized, the Company of Jesus piled up immense riches; but public morality gained nothing by all these innovations."<sup>4</sup>

With their aggressive and energetic methods and their hold on the people, they quickly came into possession of numerous legacies and valuable farms. They brought in members of their order from Germany who introduced new industrial methods and techniques into Chile. For instance, better methods of pottery making, tanning, the manufacture and repair of clocks, and others. Agustín Edwards, one-time president of the League of Nations, says in an article in *El Mercurio*: "The Jesuits were at this time bankers, manufacturers of cloth, glass, crockery, clocks, artistic silverware, agriculturists, vinedressers, wholesale and retail merchants and contractors for public works."<sup>5</sup> We get here a revealing glimpse of the widespread economic activities of this order. Indeed another historian of the order, not so friendly, says: "Viewed in a proper light, they were indeed nothing else than a great commercial company which carried on commerce all over the world, and their

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<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> *El Mercurio*, Santiago, July 29, 1934.

different mission houses in Japan, China, the East Indies, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Buenos Ayres, might be considered as just so many counting houses and warehouses. . . . They were traders, not retail but wholesale."<sup>6</sup> In a like manner Prof. Luís Galdames, Director of Secondary Education for Chile, expressed himself in a seminar in the University of Chile: "In addition, from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 17th centuries, the whole economic regime in Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador was in the hands of the Church." Luís Alberto Sanchez writes: "The Inquisition, which was the eye and the arm of the royal power was subject as much to the Church as to the State. This was proved by a thousand examples. . . . For another thing, even in the ecclesiastical field there were religious orders whose activities were more important in temporal affairs than in spiritual; one among them was the Company of Jesus."<sup>7</sup>

And numerous other authorities could be marshalled to testify to the predominant economic activities of the Jesuits, in Chile and in other colonies. Without a doubt these economic activities of the Fathers resulted in some good. The whole tempo was quickened, the energetic management of the Jesuit farms stirred

<sup>6</sup> Theodor Griesinger, The Jesuits, Eng. trans., p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> Luís Alberto Sanchez, El Pueblo en la Independencia Americana, p. 90.

others to emulation and all of agriculture gained thereby; new methods of improved cultivation, new crops and new plants and animals were introduced by them. However, this beneficial influence could easily be overestimated. The other religious orders were "there first" and they were not disposed to accept the overshadowing influence of the Jesuits without any effort to counteract it; and counteract it they did. There were many unecclesiastical bickerings and dissensions and even fights. Nor were the encomenderos disposed to allow the Jesuits to come in and tell them how to run their farms. They were strictly in favor of no change; the Jesuits were a disturbing element. Padre Luís de Valdivia, one of the earliest provincials to head the order in Chile, carried on a long and sacrificial fight for better treatment of the Indians, both those in captivity and in "personal service"--slavery to be more exact--and the unconquered Araucanian as well. The Jesuits, as early as 1608, fixed a salary scale and a fair labor code for the Indians on their ranches. There was to be a minimum wage, no work for women except under exceptional conditions, care of the sick, each worker to receive a plot of ground for his own use, and all accounts to be balanced twice each year, on St. Johns and

Christmas days. This dangerous innovation was stoutly opposed by the other encomenderos, and seems to have lasted

only for a short while.<sup>8</sup> However, in their praiseworthy defense of the Indians against the slavery the encomenderos sought to impose on them, the Jesuits were not consistent. They made strong attacks on others who held slaves; there is no record that they ever freed one of their own. On the contrary they accepted them along with the many estates which fell to them through legacies and by other means. Domingo Madureira gave more than \$40,000 and property "including his slaves". The will of Fernández de Lorca by which he left valuable property to the Order, ends: "and lastly all his slaves, that they might serve in the cultivation of the farm". In Concepción in 1612, at the very time Luís de Valdivia was carrying on the campaign on the frontier against enslaving the captured Araucanians, and while he was head of the order in Chile, Juan García de Alvarado donated a farm, la Magdalena, of some 5,400 acres to the Jesuits with "many Indians of service." By subsequent additions Magdalena came to be the largest farm in the whole region. With alms collected from the people Padre Diego Rosales, author of an extensive history of early Chile, bought the valuable ranch Huenquehue. The Jesuits, declared enemies of forced labor, had on this farm 150 "yanaconas",

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<sup>8</sup> Vide Domingo Amunátegui, Historia Social de Chile, and Enrich's La Compañía de Jesús en Chile.

<sup>9</sup> Vide Barros Arana, Las Riquezas de los Antiguos Jesuitas en Chile, p. 72.

or serving Indians, and many outright slaves, a large vineyard and wine cellars, much cattle, full farm equipment, and a tannery.

Barros Arana comments: "We would call attention in passing to the fact that the Jesuits had gone to Concepcion to seek the suppression of forced labor and that later history has regarded them with the most pompous tributes for this philanthropic spirit with which they were acquiring this property they were acquiring. But meanwhile, in each province they were acquiring in the south they retained for their own personal use the yanaconas, or labor Indians, just the same as the other encomenderos against whom they were preaching, and just as they themselves had been doing in (the Province of) Santia-ago."<sup>10</sup> "The Historians of Chile have often referred to the sacrificial labors of the Jesuits to free the Indians from oppression and to convert them. But they have always accepted Jesuit sources. Let them read the few existing documents from a different source, the reports of the soldiers of the conquest, of a few lawyers (letrados) and they will see the obverse of the coin; that is, that the Jesuits wormed themselves into the affairs of Government in order to appropriate to themselves the lands, to reduce the Indians to vassalage to them, and to turn to their own profit

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<sup>10</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 68-70.

the sacrifices of the royal treasury and those of the colonists.<sup>11</sup>

Allusion has been made to the speed with which the Jesuits came to be possessors of large farms, vineyards, flocks and slaves. It will be of interest to discover how they managed to amass such fortunes in such a short time. Barros Arana quotes many instances, citing the original documents. "In June, 1696, the Sheriff (alguacil) of Santiago, Antonio Martínez de Vergara, lay dying, leaving no heirs except numerous illegitimate children. Martínez had never married but the children were proof that he had been no ascetic. Now if Martínez had been poor he would not have merited even a prayer from the Jesuit padres; but he possessed a valuable ranch, a well-stocked wine cellar, and minted silver. In order to wipe out the follies of youth and to insure the masses that would carry him to Heaven, he had open before him an easy way: disinherit his illegitimate sons and daughters, or leave them a little minted silver, and bequeath all his property to the Jesuits of the Convent of San Pablo, who would in turn bind themselves to say the customary masses and carry out a mission to Putaendo and Aconcagua each year. In this way the padres came into possession of the valuable ranch of Chacabuco."

<sup>11</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 64 and 52.

<sup>11</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 68-70.

Captain Fuenzalida was a poor man but his wife had an inheritance of some value, which, as was the custom, passed into his power at their marriage. Moved by his intense piety--or perhaps by the persuasive powers of the Jesuits--Fuenzalida donated the property of his wife to the company leaving his numerous children penniless. He died soon after and the sons, now grown, set out to nullify the gift of the father of a property which indeed was not really his. The case was fought bitterly by the Jesuits and carried from one ecclesiastical court to another and finally appealed to the Audience where again it was decided against the priests. Only after sixty-five years did the sons receive the last of the money and then it was barely the value of the property when it had been made over to the Company. It was one of the very few times the Jesuits ever lost a case in court.<sup>12</sup>

Only when the Jesuits were driven out of Chile by royal orders in 1767 did it appear how much of the country they had come to own. Barros Arana cites from the official inventory of that occasion. The ranches were classified as large, medium, and small. The largest was Longaví with 310,000 acres, another with 90,000, and so forth. There

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<sup>12</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 64 and 52.

<sup>13</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 99-101.

were eleven of these "large" ones, and eight "medium" ones. Barros Arana says that from these "medium" ones in many cases six or eight large ranches have been carved from each of the original. "In order to appreciate duly the wealth represented in these ranches let it be remembered that they were, not only for their size but for the quality of the soil, the very best of the whole country."<sup>13</sup>

Also, in order to see the economic reach of these facts one must remember that almost all the land of the country belonged to some fifty families. These holdings of the Jesuits would hardly weigh for better or for worse in a country of large and extended wealth. But in a frontier economy, where still there was only a beginning, for so large a share to be in the hands of the Jesuits was extremely burdensome; and this was the most important, but by no means the only one of the orders that held vast properties. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Clarissa nuns, and others also had very large holdings.

Probably the largest economic effect on the country derived not so much from the clerical ownership as from the subtraction of taxes and the unfair competition with those other landholders who were obliged to pay taxes. Not only were the agricultural holdings withdrawn from paying taxes,

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<sup>13</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 99-101.

thus throwing in compensation a much heavier load on the other properties, but even the multiple and varied industrial and commercial activities of the orders also enjoyed this exemption. The Jesuits had forests and from their own lumber built small ships which they sold as far away as Peru. They owned mills in which they ground their own grain and even bakeries which supplied the bread market, thus making a double or triple profit from their own superior tanneries and selling the finished leather or exporting it. They traded in Buenos Aires and Lima and brought in cloth and other goods which they sold through their own stores. Although they were supposed to pay duty on these goods, going and coming, they did not do so. Other merchants were under the heavy handicap of having to pay a new duty each time their merchandise passed from one colony to another even though all these were Spanish, but the Jesuits, since they were working for the benefit of the Church, avoided these onerous taxes, thereby increasing the handicap on the lay merchant.<sup>14</sup>

Without a doubt these practices formed one of the powerful reasons why the Spanish Crown felt compelled to banish them from all the Spanish domains in 1767. It is superfluous to call attention to the obvious far reaching

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<sup>14</sup> Vide Barros Arana, op. cit., pp. 104-110.

economic effects of such practices and such a state of affairs as had been described.

Luis Alberto Sanchez writes a damning indictment of the economic activities of the Jesuits giving as an instance of what the people thought about them, the Act of Rebellion in Paraguay in 1746: "The religious of the Company of Jesus have always held this wretched province under their subjection, depression and ruin. At the cost of the sweat, anguish and vigilance of the citizens who bear arms, they enjoy for themselves the choicest of their income. They hold the people in subjection by threats; they keep them in extreme poverty, taking the best of the lands of the province, and then the very ones who have defended these lands with their blood and their lives from the savages have to turn around and pay rent for the use of them. They rob other people's properties, burning down the houses of the citizens . . . And all these lands are to maintain a school that never has more than five or six students, while on the land more than 200 families might be located who now are roaming about without a foot of ground on which to settle down . . . #15

But did not the possession of these large properties and industry and business by the Jesuits stimulate to larger

activities and thus set forward the whole economic order among the people as a whole? Were there not sufficient compensations on the positive side to balance the picture factors? On the contrary the more one studies the picture the greater does the detriment appear as paralyzing to the whole economic order; the country suffered irreparable injury from which it has not even yet recovered despite its natural riches and its resourceful people. And it must not be forgotten; we have been dealing with what was Roman Catholicism par excellence, the shock troops of the Pope and the chosen guardians of the Catholic orthodoxy. We anticipate here the partial conclusion: Roman Catholicism, as a religious way of thinking, does not conduce to the best economic welfare of a country or a people.

... can be said that no country can be widely prosperous when its people are generally ignorant. If the direct sequence of cause and effect do not exist, undoubtedly there does exist a close parallelism. Who coincidences of ignorance and poverty is a universal? *Why not the vice versa*  
*Why not, perhaps most, economists would classify the basic elements in the constitution of wealth as Labor--*  
*whether of brain or brain--Natural resources, Capital of*

1 Education and Economic Well-being in an American Democracy, Education Policies Commission, Washington, 1940, p. 87.

CHAPTER VII

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

It is now necessary to turn to the consideration of a factor in a nation's well-being which is not strictly economic, but which does powerfully affect the economy of the nation; that is, the education of the masses of its people. It can hardly be said that the economic condition of a country is directly the fruit of its education; there are too many other factors involved. But, certainly, it can be said that no country can be widely prosperous when its people are generally ignorant. If the direct sequence of cause and effect do not exist, undeniably there does exist a close parallelism. "The coincidence of ignorance and poverty is a universal phenomena".<sup>1</sup>

Many, perhaps most, economists would classify the basic elements in the constitution of wealth as Labor-- whether of brawn or brain--Natural resources, Capital of

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<sup>1</sup> Education and Economic Well-being in an American Democracy, Education Policies Commission, Washington, 1940, p. 27.

all sorts, and Management and Organization. Obviously general education, even elementary education, will greatly affect at least three of the four. At the same time the interest in education looks toward factors more important than the creation of material wealth. "The human resources of a nation constitute its primary wealth. Nations have grown rich and powerful in the absence of outstanding physical resources by developing their human assets. Others have remained poor and backward in the presence of unusual natural resources."<sup>2</sup> Attention will be centered, however, in this study on the direct relation between education, especially public elementary education, and general national prosperity. Ralph Waldo Emerson has said: "Efficient universal education is the mother of national prosperity,"<sup>3</sup> and a present-day socially-minded industrial executive says: "The basic process by which the productive capacity of society is maintained or increased is by education;"<sup>4</sup> and Taussig, the economist says: "A wide diffusion of education is a most effective means towards productivity."<sup>5</sup>

Now we have shown that Roman Catholicism was totally in control of religion and almost totally controlled every

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, citing F. W. Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, *passim*.

other social and economic factor in Chile during the whole colonial period. This was no less true of education. There could be no education whatever except under the control of the Church. What did Roman Catholicism do with this powerful weapon, this vital formative influence on the nation's life and, indirectly, on its economy?

Barros Arana, in his monumental History of Chile, repeatedly calls attention to the excess of churches and convents and priests (See Chapter 4), and in an eloquent passage he laments: "It never occurred to anyone to build a school for the education of the children of the conquistadores. It would be useless to search the documents of the epoch for any slightest reference to any measure tending toward the enlightenment of the people."<sup>6</sup> And a preeminent educator of present-day Chile, Amanda Labarca, tells us that in the middle of the 17th century there were a total of 4,986 inhabitants in Santiago with one ecclesiastic for each eight of the population, not counting the nuns, but no schools, except in the monasteries, and these were extremely limited. She continues: "In fact the teaching profession was considered the function, not of the State but of the Church, essentially religious . . . What was sought to inspire in the (conventual) classrooms was sacro-

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<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 230.

sanct submission to the established order."<sup>7</sup>

Returning to follow briefly the development of education, we find the first notice of a school of any sort in Chile in 1578, thirty-seven years after the foundation of Santiago, when the minutes of the Cabildo mention a "certain Salinas, who taught how to read and write." But it seems he had to go to the wars and nothing more is heard of him or his school.<sup>8</sup> Surely even the conquistadores themselves needed a teacher; of the 150 who accompanied Pedro Valdivia, only 89 could sign their names and that barely. González Marmolejo, later the first Bishop, was the only one, except Valdivia, who had any formal education.<sup>9</sup> Six years after the disappearance of Salinas, Diego de Céspedes asks "permission to set up a school to teach children to read and write" but nothing more is heard of it.<sup>10</sup> Juan de Oropesa, the first Chilean to set up a school, sought the permission of the Cabildo November 27, 1615; a few months later he was ordered to close his school and send the children to the school of the Jesuits--by pressure from them? One would like to know. Two years later he again tries, but again

<sup>7</sup> La Historia de la Enseñanza in Chile, Amanda the Labarca, pp. 7, 24, 25, 30.

<sup>8</sup> Instrucción Pública in Chile, José Toribio Medina, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Labarca, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Medina, op. cit., passim.

disappears. "In 1621, eighty years after the beginning of the city, there was no school in Santiago. The Cabildo searched for nearly a year before a man could be found with whom to start one."<sup>11</sup>

And "there was no school whatever opened for women in this period (up to 1740) two centuries after their daughterization of Chile. Some rich parents educated their daughters in the convent; to read and write, simple arithmetic, some music and dancing, but mostly just to be good housewives."<sup>12</sup>

Very early in Chile's history the King, solicitous for the conversion of the Indians, had ordered that a school be set up to teach the Indian tongue to the missionaries. There were no students and the school soon died. Much later, as has been indicated, the convents fitfully maintained some sort of school. But these never had many students and their teaching was entirely with the view of preparing priests, or at least priestly helpers. Later, when the Jesuits had come in and set up a rivalry, all the orders began amplifying their school work. But the teaching imparted in these schools even as late as the middle of the

<sup>11</sup> Medina, op. cit., passim.

<sup>12</sup> Medina, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>13</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 362.

18th century "seemed to be conceived with the purpose of impeding the awakening of the reason".<sup>13</sup> To show just what sort of schools these were, it will be enough to copy some of the official instructions to the teachers of such schools. These were given in Lima by Benito Juárez Gil, and were in force in Chile just before the end of the colonial period.

1. That no girls be received to learn reading or writing or to repeat the prayers indecent as it is and to avoid improper consequences".
2. The teacher must hear each child recite once a week in reading and writing.
3. Each child must leave his pen (quill) in the school to be sharpened for the next day.
4. - 7. The teacher must set a copy of the alphabet for writing once a month, and similar details.
8. After he has heard the children recite and corrected them, all together shall repeat the Christian Doctrine in this way: In the morning the Confession "In the Commandments, the Confession and in the romance" (i.e., in Spanish) and in the afternoon the rest so that each day they shall have recited the whole primer of prayers and shall know it by memory, and likewise also they shall repeat "the table."
9. Classes every day except Saturday afternoon, when the teacher must examine each one as to his knowledge of the prayers, and afterward all together shall recite the prayers, and the teacher shall teach

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<sup>13</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 362.

- them how to help in the Mass.
10. Those who study "counting" shall stay after school to practice.
  11. The teacher may make no extra charge except for copy book paper. (There were no books, it appears.)
  12. Teach them each morning that when they arise, they must bow the knee before some image, and after making the sign of the cross, give thanks to God for having let them come to that hour and in His holy service, and to keep His common mandaments. Then recite the four common prayers of the Church, parents, the Pope, for themselves, the King, etc., and that their priests, be brought under all the authority of the Church and all heretics may be brought under the authority of the Church and pagans be converted to the Church and thus be saved, seeing that outside the Church none can be saved or please God.
  13. That they hear Mass every day, know how to help . . . hear it kneeling, and the Gospel standing.
  14. When they enter the church, to take a little holy water, kneel, make the sign of the cross and bless themselves.
  15. That when they pass in front of a church, a cross or a saint, to take off their hats.
  16. That each one repeat each day a rosary of our Blessed Lady . . . and be very devoted to our Lord Jesus Christ.
  17. That when they hear the bells of Mother Church ringing for prayer, to get down on their knees, repeat some prayer, give thanks to God for having given us the Savior Jesus Christ in the Mass by means of the sacrifice which we offer each day to the Eternal Father; and when the bells



live or for other spheres of life than the strictly religious.

The list of books known in the schools during the Colony did not go beyond ten or fifteen, all of them with the express approval of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The commonest ones were Ripaldi's Catechism, Plnton's Historical Compendium of Religion, Abriged History of Spain, by Duchesne, Padre Flores' Key to History, Fr. Manuel de San José's The Child Instructed in the Divine Word, Fleurli's Catechism of History, etc.<sup>15</sup>

Though the priests gave much attention to Latin, it was not the literature, but the ecclesiastical Latin only, and that in a very limited form, that was taught. Several historians testify that Spanish grammar was not taught in any of the schools until just before Independence.<sup>16</sup>

During the whole Colonial period the Church was constantly attempting to found schools for the Indians and the settlers in Chillán and along the whole Indian frontier. However these schools were not for the imparting of general knowledge but for making Catholics. As contributions to education they are hardly worth taking into account. Surely any knowledge may be better than none, but of the prepara-

<sup>15</sup> Labarca, op. cit., p. 33.  
<sup>16</sup> E.g., Labarca, op. cit., p. 34.

tion for citizenship or the worthy development of person-  
 ality there was a very minimum in these as in the schools  
 in all the monasteries and convents.  
 A few, very few, of the aristocratic class were able  
 to send their sons to Lima where San Marcos, one of the  
 oldest of American universities did something to dispel the  
 abysmal ignorance that reigned everywhere. In the last  
 decade of the 18th century a farsighted, public-spirited  
 Chilean, Manuel Salas, did more in five years to break the  
 yoke of medieval superstition and darkness than the Church  
 had done in two centuries and a half. As Assessor of the  
 Royal Consulate, he started a public school and though  
 opposed, and ordered to close it, he held on and with fine  
 tact and diplomacy at last won the authorities over to his  
 side but only after he had put his own modest fortune into  
 it and thus maintained it for two years against official  
 indifference and clerical opposition. A new day was dawning  
 for Chile, but how pitifully late. New England under the  
 Puritans had passed a law as early as 1642 ordering that  
 "all children be taught to read," presumably in their homes,  
 and a general education law was passed in 1647 requiring  
 that every village of fifty families have a grammar school  
 and every town of a hundred families a Latin school. Similar  
 dispositions were soon taken by other colonies. Do we not  
 have here the essential difference in the progress of those

two colonies? "The Calvinists everywhere had a program for political, economic and social progress which has left a deep impress on the history of mankind. This program demanded the education of all and in the countries where Calvinism became dominant, the leaders included general education in their scheme of religious, social and political reform."<sup>17</sup> The Protestant believed that each individual must be responsible in the last analysis for his own salvation and in order to know what he ought to do, must needs read the Bible for himself. Hence the pressing necessity for each child to be able to read and form judgments for himself. The Protestant philosophy urged toward the development of the most widespread education possible; the Catholic to its extreme control and limited prevalence under the Church. The Church needed leaders and the education of these should be provided for; the rest could learn all that was needed and "believe what the Holy Mother Church believes", and no more.

Herein lies the terrible indictment of the Catholic Church, for holding a virile people in the bonds of ignorance and intellectual slavery for two centuries and a half. Chile as a colony had many resources and advantages that

<sup>17</sup> Brief Course in the History of Education, Paul Monroe, (N.Y., 1915), p. 203f.

Massachusetts Bay did not. Yet Chile could not advance. Indisputably the difference was one of general education. In each case this accounts for a great part of the difference in progress. And educational policy was determined in each case not by political forces, but by religious thinking; the difference in progress of the two colonies is ultimately chargeable in a very considerable measure to their respective religion.

Chile's education was still largely in the grip of the Catholic Church following Independence and only after 1850 did it begin to break away gradually. Now it has reacted to the opposite extreme and education is becoming increasingly available to the children of the whole country; but it is education dominated, in the main, by materialistic-minded teachers; most of them no longer hold even to the forms of Catholicism; many are communists, socialists or neutrals in politics but agnostics in religion. Chile is only now beginning to overcome the terrible handicap laid on her by two and a half centuries of lack of education. And these were the centuries when Roman Catholicism held all the reins; no other power--political, social, and much less religious--could dispute one inch of the ground with her. Whatever Chile did or did not do in these dark years of medievalism, the responsibility is laid squarely on Roman Catholicism. Chile's extreme and unwarranted poverty

is thus very largely due to her lack of education, and this in turn is directly chargeable to the domination of Roman Catholicism. Even yet the Incubus has not been shaken off, the handicap overcome. Chile is infinitely behind other countries that have inferior resources, not because of inferior race, but because of a religion that gives inferior economic results. Is it too much to say that Chile is poor because it is Catholic?

Whereas the Catholic domination of Chilean life affected more or less directly the economic status of the nation; it will be necessary, in order to complete the picture, to give a passing glance at some of the many minor ways in which such domination effected the lives of the population in general and, hence, also the economic life.

For the Catholic domination included absolutely every phase of life down to the smallest detail. Prof. Luis Galdeano, Director of Secondary Education, stated before a class in the University of Chile: "The Church possessed a power that came to be all-inclusive (omnímodo); it often held political power greater than that of the civil officers . . . But the power of the Church was exercised more in controlling the customs and the thinking of the people through the confessional, penance, etc. The hospitals and poor relief, such as existed, were all in the hands of the Church. The political power of the Church, however, was

## CHAPTER VIII

### ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Attention has been given to a number of the factors wherein the Catholic domination of Chilean life affected more or less directly the economic status of the nation; it will be necessary, in order to complete the picture, to give a passing glance at some of the many minor ways in which such domination affected the lives of the population in general and, hence, also the economic life.

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probably greater through its indirect control exercised by means of the catholicity and faithful submission of the Governors and other authorities. When García Hurtado, the first regularly named Governor of the Colony of Chile, arrived in La Serena, the ecclesiastical authorities came to welcome him with the procession of the Host. García Hurtado, to show his profound subjection as Governor and Catholic Church, threw himself prostrate on the ground and had the Host pass over his body.<sup>1</sup>

The members of the colonial Government considered themselves as much apostles of the Catholic Church, as civil officials of Spain. "The principle of religion or, better said, of Catholicism dominated and inspired all the activities of colonial society."<sup>2</sup>

Class distinctions were rigidly upheld by the Catholic Church. Rates for burials and other ecclesiastical services were different for Indians and slaves, higher for the working-class Spaniard or Chilean-born "Creole", and a still higher price for the upper class Spaniards. Punishments were on an inverted scale; very extreme for the lowest classes, still severe for the creoles, and mild for the "gentleman."

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz, op. cit., p. 131.  
<sup>2</sup> Vide, Luis Miguel Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, Chap. 6.

Horlbio Medina has written a book on "The Press in Lima". He could not have written on the Press in Santiago; there was none. At the very time when all of Europe was being profoundly influenced by the thousands of pamphlets and books issuing from the presses and the people were being drawn out of medievalism and into modern life, the Spanish authorities were taking extreme measures to insure that the printed page should not have any opportunity of corrupt either the political or the religious orthodoxy of the colonists in America. By instructions, repeated many times, the King forbade under the severest penalties, the printing of any sort of matter, however insignificant. "According to an order of Phillip II not even a handwritten manuscript which referred to a religious matter could be kept in one's possession, much less could it be communicated to other persons, until it had obtained the respective permit; the penalty was death, confiscation of the possessions of the accused which would be divided one third to the denouncer, one third to the judge trying the case, and one third to the Royal Treasury."<sup>3</sup>

"Antonio Ricardo brought a printing press to Lima in 1580. He found there a royal decree of 1556 and 1560, and repeated tiresomely later, strictly prohibiting the

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<sup>3</sup> Luis Miguel Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 258.

printing of any book or any other matter whatsoever. The  
 Audience of Lima, however, authorized him on August 12,  
 1534, to print the book 'Doctrina Christiana Y Catecismo  
para los Indios' (Christian Doctrine and Catechism for the  
 Indians). The University wrote to Phillip: 'Seeing that  
 experience has shown how necessary it is that there should  
 be a printing press to publish reading primers and books of  
 devotion', begged the King to grant permission for Ricardo's  
 press to operate. Three years later the King answered,  
 granting the permission to print one book and that a  
 three years to get permission to print the first printing  
 catechism!'<sup>4</sup> This was the first book and the first printing  
 press in South America.

Examining the facsimiles of the books printed and  
 circulated as shown by Medina, one sees that they were  
 prayer books, confessional guides, sermons, a few elementary  
 grammars of the Aymará and Quichua Indian tongues, and books  
 glorifying the conquest. And this was all, absolutely all;  
 there was no other possible source of light or intellectual  
 development for the colonists. The books which could be  
 imported from Spain--and only from Spain--were of the same  
 sort except for a few law books. "But the printed matter

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<sup>4</sup> José Toribio Medina, La Imprenta en Lima,  
 (Santiago, 1904), p. 27. Historia de la Inquisición en  
Chile, Santiago, 1980, passim.

that brought terror to the heart of the Government of Madrid was the introduction of a Bible in the Indian language printed in London by the Protestants with the purpose of distributing it among the Indians. The Pope, the head of the Inquisition, and the Monarch were alarmed; Bulls and orders showered into the American Colonies to keep them out.

"Such extreme fear was unfounded, in the first place because there was no common language of the Indians; and second, even if there had been, the Indians did not know how to read so that a Protestant Bible would have been as completely unintelligible to them as the Catholic Bible had been for the unfortunate Atahualpa when Padre Valverde presented it to him on occasion of the celebrated conference in Cajamarca."<sup>5</sup>

One other time the royal peace was disturbed by the threat of the Bible. Medina quotes a royal communication of January 19, 1592, sent to all the ecclesiastical authorities: "Reverend Sirs: A Bible has been printed in 'romance' (Spanish) . . . and seeing that it would be a very pernicious thing that this Bible should enter (the Spanish domains), give very particular heed that it may not enter."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> José Toribia Medina, Historia de la Inquisición in Chile, Santiago, 1890, passim.

The frightened king referred to the notable version of the version that is used generally by the Spanish-speaking Protestants. Not a single copy of the book ever entered colonial Chile so far as is known. Chile was sealed, tightly sealed, against the entrance of the book that was stirring Europe to new life. There is no mention, ever, of the publication of the Bible in any of the colonies. The Catholic Bible was as inaccessible as was the Protestant for all of the people, except a handful of priests. Even these must secure a special permit to read the Bible, according to action of the Council of Trent, the Bible, according to answer to the Bishop of Metz, Pope Innocent III said, in answer to the Bishop of Metz, that of course the clergy should read the Bible, but that no layman should read it; if a layman touched the Bible he was guilty of sacrilege and should be stoned or shot through--and he based his verdict on the Bible, on Exodus 19:12, 13! The translation of the Bible into the tongues of the people was strictly prohibited, as was its sale, all through the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> The powerful influence of the Bible for social morality was a forbidden influence in Chile until the 19th century. Nor was there even a printing press in Chile until a few years before the beginning of the

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<sup>7</sup> The Influence of the Bible on Civilization, Von Dobschutz, (New York, 1914) p. 105.

Republic, despite repeated requests for permission to import one.

Amunátegui shows the littleness, "the supine ignorance" of the colonists under such a regime. The only theological book of any importance published during the colonial period, and the only one not written by a Peninsular Spaniard, was that of Bishop Villarroel of Santiago. And what sort of a book was this? He uses thirty-five pages of small type, double column to discuss the weighty matter of the fashion some of the priests had adopted of wearing their hair in bangs! And many pages more as to whether it would be permissible to use tallow for frying the foods to be eaten on Friday, and treats at great length the number of the angels.

"Such were the seasoned fruits of the cultivation of theology in Chile."<sup>8</sup>

Another contributory source of weakened economic power is found in the great number of saint's days and the attitude toward manual labor. "In Santiago, in the year 1696, in addition to Sundays, 139 days of the year were 'de fiesta', that is they were holy days in which no work was to be done."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Luis Miguel Amunátegui, op. cit., Vol. I, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 324.

\*Religious fanaticism in the dominions of the King of Spain reached such a degree of exaggeration as was never known before. In the last years of the seventeenth century life was carried on in Chile in the midst of religious festivals, prayers, processions, anniversaries of saints; an artificial world of miracles and demon possession had been created . . .

\*Santa Rosa de Lima had been designated officially as the patron saint of the entire Viceroyalty of Peru (which included Chile), San Francisco de Solano was declared the patron saint in the war against the Indians, St. Augustine was the patron saint against the plague of locusts--San Isidro was the patron saint against small pox, San Sebastian against earthquakes, San Antonio de Padua against drought in the fields, San Antonio de Padua against floods from the rivers, and the Visitation of the Virgen against excessive rain.<sup>10</sup>

The Jesuits \*organized societies of the saints, and brotherhoods, not only for the Spaniards but for the Indians and Negroes as well. They brought to all religious functions color and display unknown before that time and so surrounded them with music and light that they were changed into popular shows. These functions were of different

<sup>10</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 280, 241.

classes; some, such as the celebration of Christmas and Corpus Christi, were placid and joyous; others, such as Lent, were terrible, when the people participated loaded down with chains and crosses, the preaching sought to produce repentance by the threats of the flames of Hell, and the Miserere was sung to the accompaniment of the loud and doleful walls of those who were tearing their flesh with cruel penitential whips.

"processions through the streets were frequent and were calculated to produce the strongest impression on the minds of the common people. Images were carried which were made to move by strings, representing the different stages in the life of Christ or of the saints . . .

"the sermons preached, the stories retold each day, the very few books that circulated, all were filled with portentous miracles, of the appearances of saints and demons, of prodigies which almost none dared to question . . .

"This faith in miracles explains another phase of society. The vows of money made to secure the protection of the saints, the establishment of chaplaincies or mortgages in favor of some pious institution, gifts and legacies to convents, became each day more frequent, despite the poverty of the country, and the religious orders were becoming extraordinarily wealthy."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 240, 241.

All this cessation from work, by ecclesiastical command, stimulated rather than suppressed the already haughty attitude of the Spaniard toward manual labor. Indeed it is rather surprising to hear a modern priest echoing the same attitude. Fanfani says: "For the Catholic, and work is a means of penance; for the bourgeois, a means to success."<sup>12</sup>

Work of any sort was held in contempt. The ideal was the swaggering soldier or the ascetic saint. In 1773, a resident of Santiago, Pedro Vidal Tineo, made a formal statement to the Audiencia to the effect that rumors were circulating about town that he, Vidal, was, or had been, a mechanic and as such a false imputation injured his good name and honor he sought permission to submit proofs from sworn witnesses to the 'cleanness' (Medina's term) of his lineage and the decency of his work. His proofs were accepted and after due examination by the City Attorney were filed away.<sup>13</sup>

In 1791, just nineteen years before Independence, an incident occurred which revealed the attitude toward even such work as that of the medical profession. The only surgeon in the city, José Llenes, was about to return to

<sup>12</sup> Amintore Fanfani, Sacred Heart Academy, Milan; Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism, p. 149.

<sup>13</sup> José Toribio Medina, Cosas de la Colonia, p. 29.

Spain. When the matter came to the attention of the Audi-  
ence, the President asked Llenes his reasons for leaving.

Llenes reported that the shortage of doctors was due to the small income and to "the repugnance with which the nationals looked upon a profession which they considered degrading and highly derogatory to their ideas of gentlemen;" that it had been fruitless to beseech some young men to study medicine, even when he had offered them free lodging and board.

Llenes suggested that it would be suitable to include the study of anatomy which prior to that time had not been required for the study of medicine. At this period a surgeon

in the San Juan Hospital received 200 pesos a year; the salary of a common soldier was about \$160.<sup>14</sup>

During the Middle Ages in Europe working men had been able to protect and advance their interests in some measure through the guilds; but not so in Chile. If guilds existed at all, it was only in the most elementary form, and towards the end of the period. The multiplicity of saint's days did not give either the Indian encomienda or the Negro slave any surcease. The encomenderos found ways to convince the ecclesiastical authorities that it was necessary that the Indian work; exclusive of Sundays, he had only twelve days in the year when he was supposed to rest. On most of these

<sup>14</sup> 14 Medina, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

the encomendero managed to find tasks for him which were deemed necessary. Lecky, speaking of an earlier age, seems to be echoing the historians of Chilean colonial life when he says:

"No amass relics, to acquire the patronage of the saints, to endow monasteries, to build churches, became the chief part of religion . . . . Religion was materialized by the grotesque miracles of saints, monasteries or relics, that were deliberately asserted and universally believed. Christianity had assumed a form that was quite as polytheistic and quite as idolatrous as ancient paganism . . . ."

"The Church had crushed or silenced every opponent in Christendom. It had an absolute control over education in all its branches. It possessed or commanded wealth, rank and military power. It had so directed its teaching that everything which distressed or terrified mankind drove men speedily into its arms . . . . Every doubt was branded as a sin . . . all of the avenues of inquiry were painted with the images of appalling suffering and of malicious demons . . . ."

"Another doctrine which exercised a still greater influence in augmenting the riches of the clergy and in making donations to the church a chief part of religion" was Purgatory. 15

15 Lecky's History of European Morals, 3rd Ed., Vol. II, pp. 229-232.

Barros Arana reviews the state of society at the close of the 17th century and mentions many gross immoralities present even at the doors of the churches, where on occasion of the saint's days, the people sang and danced in drunken orgies till two or three o'clock in the morning. He concludes: "These disorders were the consequence of the general ignorance . . . which transformed religion into a parcel of ideas and superstitious practices; but it was the blame of most of the clergy who did not give a noble turn to these sentiments, and preferred to profit by the advantages which such a state of affairs offered them for holding their supremacy."<sup>16</sup>

The insistence was upon absolute submission to the forms of religion with so little emphasis on ethics that the average man would fail to perceive that right ethical conduct had any importance for him. The "Five Commandments of the Church" in effect in all Latin America were:

1. Hear Mass every Sunday and Holy Day.
2. Confess at least once a year.
3. Take Communion at least every Easter.
4. Fast when the Holy Mother Church Commands it.
5. Pay tithes and firstfruits to God.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit., Vol. V, p. 331.

<sup>17</sup> Catholic Catechism for use in Public Schools, Chile, Anon., 1844.

Vide also Catholic Encyc., Art. Commandments of the Church.

All the acts required are purely ritualistic and formal, as we have seen to be the case in other references to religious practices.

One other area where the damaging effects of Roman Catholicism on the general life of Chile, and thence on its economic life is seen in its attitude towards marriage and the home.

Pedro de Valdivia came to Chile accompanied by six Catholic priests. But he also came bringing with him a remarkable woman, Inez Suárez. She was in every way worthy to be the companion of such a brave and resourceful pioneer as Valdivia was. But Valdivia had a wife and family in Spain. Nevertheless there is no indication that any one of his priestly friends and counsellors ever spoke one word of reproof to Valdivia about such a flagrant irregularity.

After living with Inez Suárez for years, political plotters brought about action against Valdivia and he was forced to defend himself before the Viceroyalty in Lima. Then, and only then, and that in order to save his political and military standing and not at all on account of the moral issue involved, did Valdivia separate from Inez Suárez. Nor do we find that the priests ever, not even one time, refused the church rites to the soldiers who lived in such flagrant

immoral relations with the Indian women. The priest and historian of the early campaigns, Marino de Lobera, re-

ferring to the army camps of the frontier, says that in a single camp there were weeks when sixty of the servant women gave birth to children -- half-breeds of course. We find no hint that Lobera or any other priest ever subjected the soldiers to any sort of discipline for such conduct. And this was when the Catholic Church had every power of discipline in her hands without question or appeal. It is not surprising then to hear a present day Minister of Education in Chile say: "In Latin America illegitimacy is enormous."<sup>19</sup> If one looks a bit deeper there is a very true sense in which it can be said that the Catholic Church even encourages illegitimacy, at least technical illegitimacy.

In Chile as in other Latin American countries the battle for civil marriage was a long and bitter one. Less than a century ago the liberal forces were able to press into effect a law requiring civil marriage. But it has been stoutly resisted and in some quarters is resisted yet. Due to this attitude of defiance on the part of the clergy, many couples would not be married by the civil register as the law required, but contented themselves with complying with the church law, and the better Catholics they were the

<sup>18</sup> *Historiadores de Chile*, Vol. VI, p. 396.

<sup>19</sup> *Problemas Sociales y Economicos de la America Latina*, Moisés Poblete Troncoso, 1940, p. 31.

more likely they were to follow such a course. Technically they are unmarried, and their children are illegitimate, and are so tabulated in the census reports; and this, precisely, because they are good Catholics. This practice is declining under the steady pressure of the Government, but there is another way in which Roman Catholicism encourages illegitimacy and the breakdown of the home. It recognizes no divorce. There are thousands, many thousands of cases in Chile where a man is married to one woman but lives with another, or even two or three others in succession, without every marrying any except the first. The rich can get an "annulment" of their marriage; the poor cannot. The poor man or woman simply deserts the legal mate and takes up residence with another. The Catholic Church will refuse communion to a man not married by the Church; it seems not to raise any question whatever as to whether he has one or more wives outside the law.

Due to factors, largely the responsibility of the Church, illegitimacy is still alarmingly high in Chile, though it is steadily declining. What it must have been under the Colony one can only speculate.

Here again Barros Arana speculates as to what other methods might have accomplished. He says that the civilization brought by the Spaniards really began to filter down into the lives of the Indians, and to change them, not

through the conquest of the sword, or the "christianization" by the Church, but through these irregular and immoral contacts, through the half-breed children. These, the "mestizos" despised their mother and their Indian blood, fawned upon their Spanish fathers, and were ready always to exploit the one and to trick the other. They inherited the worst from both sides. They--not their fathers--were stigmatized and fell under the censure of the Church. And yet it was through them that the Spaniards finally came nearer to achieving the primary purpose of the original conquest than through their battles. After all, the Indians were reduced politically and religiously more through the peaceful mixing of the two racial strains than through other means. What a difference it would have made in the morality of the country if the Church had used from the first its great power to maintain morality, to protect the defenceless Indian woman, to maintain the dignity of personality, to represent the equality--even measurably--of the individual before God, regardless of race or status. This the Church had in its power to do and did not do it.

The Church placed its power, and still so places it, in part, on the side of sexual looseness and the irregularity of the marriage relation, in the interest of a dogma.

these differences combine to make very difficult any sort of a fair comparison between the colonies of one and the

## CHAPTER IX

### SOME ILLUMINATING CONTRASTS

It is the fashion among writers to stress the differences rather than the similarities between the Spanish and the English and other European colonies. Spain began her colonization earlier and was well along in the establishment of her overseas empire before England planted any permanent colony. Spain was still in the medieval regime in much of her social and political, as well as her religious thinking, while England and Holland had broken definitely with medievalism and were entering the Modern Age when they initiated their colonization of the New World. These were well on the way to being the strong mercantile and capitalistic powers they were to become. Thus history looks ahead in different directions for Spain and these other colonizers. But the greatest difference of all, and one that is usually passed over lightly when not omitted altogether, is the profound difference in religion. All these differences combine to make very difficult any sort of a fair comparison between the colonies of one and the

other. However, there were similarities as well as differences.

With full knowledge of the difficulty we have toward noticed and fully aware that any comparison can be only illustrative, we will point out three illuminating contrasts.

The Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock in 1620, eighty years after Valdivia founded Santiago, and this was the beginning of the New England Colonies. Chile was much more distant from Spain than Plymouth from England, but, taking into account Spain's repressive policies, this was perhaps as much an advantage as a handicap. Barring this item, Chile was far richer in natural resources than New England. Both alike were settled by people with a fanatic religious sense of mission; in their early documents both stressed the purpose of converting the Indians. The beginning was made in both cases by approximately the same number of settlers, and these of about the same social level. They were not of the nobility and were not backed by any powerful magnate or trading company. Both found the Indians friendly, and both were limited by the sea, the Plymouth Pilgrims only slightly more than the Spaniards under Valdivia. Chile, But that is about as far as the similarity can be traced. The Spaniards set about making the Indians their vassals by force and making them Christians in the same manner. The Pilgrims made a treaty with Massasoit in a

matter of weeks after their landing and this friendship probably saved the life of the colony more than once when attacked by hostile tribes. The prevailing attitude toward manual labor was radically different. The Pilgrims not only did not despise it but gave it a religious content. The Pilgrims brought their wives with them, and a case of adultery between a colonist and an Indian was as severely dealt with as between the colonists themselves. The two races did not mingle as they did in Chile. While in Chile there was not a single printing press till 250 years later, these were numerous, and busy in New England, right from the first. Pamphlets and books on many subjects abounded. We have noted already the different attitudes toward general education. Curiously enough the attitudes in each case, though diametrically opposed, were inspired by an intense religious conviction, tempered by the prevailing political philosophies, again poles apart, in the two colonies. The New Englanders made their first covenants and bodies of laws without even consulting England. One Chilean authority quotes Bancroft and compares the growth of towns and shipping in the two colonies. While Chile, a century and a half after its founding, "had only some twenty-five or thirty small ships for her traffic with Peru" and this constituted her commercial lifeline, -- "taking a month to go and another to return; in New England,

in a little more than ten years they had built fifty towns and villages with thirty to fifty churches, and ships of 400 tons had been built before 1643."

Another historian quotes the Report of the Governor of Connecticut for 1680, sixty years after Plymouth Rock, which says: "We have 2,500 in the Infantry and sixty cavalry--nearly all the able-bodied men of the Colony--and trade with the Caribbean Islands, Madelra, and Fayal . . . but few servants and fewer slaves, not more than thirty in the Colony . . . twenty-six towns and twenty-one churches, and in every one of them a settled minister except in the two that have just been formed."<sup>1</sup> From the very beginning the Plymouth Colony carried on trade with the surrounding Indians and in twenty years had, with the other New England Colonies, iron and glass factories, woolen mills, salt refineries, turpentine and pitch plants and extensive fisheries.<sup>2</sup>

Now why did the New England colonies, in the face of very grave obstacles, surge ahead so rapidly while Chile, with so many items in her favor, languished for centuries? Certainly no one can make dogmatic formulations where there are so many variables. The hazard of making any sort of

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<sup>1</sup> Colonization of New England, B. B. James, p. 258.  
<sup>2</sup> Vide, Chapter 7. *ibid.*, p. 197.

comparison is great, but assuredly the religious factor lies at the root of many of the striking differences observed, and must be given much more weight in explaining them than is usually accorded to it. In both colonies the religious factor was powerful to the point of dominance; the laws were made with religion in mind at all times. Then why would religion make such a difference, or partly explain that difference? Certainly very different in many respects to

The religion in Chile was feudalistic, authoritarian, sacramental, ecclesiastic, formal and lacking in ethical emphasis; that of New England was largely congregational in government, individualistic in its approach to God, relied on the Bible for its sole authority, and stressed the ethical side of conduct. The one repressed thinking and initiative, the other stimulated them; the one forbade the Bible, the other sought to place it in every home. In Chile one third of the days of the year were withheld from production by being kept as saint's days;<sup>2</sup> in New England anyone caught observing any day other than Sunday, even Christmas, was liable to a fine of £5.<sup>3</sup> While Chile "had more priests than heads of families" in some cases,<sup>4</sup> the Connecticut Governor was pleased to report 19 ministers in 26 towns.

one that the Church was of tremendous importance in the pro-

<sup>2</sup> Vide, Chapter VII. maintenance of decency. Dissol-

<sup>3</sup> B. B. James, op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Vide, Chapter II. Intensity; betting; fraudulent busi-

Surely here is a very appreciable economic factor.

The profound difference in the religions cannot be omitted in seeking to account for the differing economic and social development of the two Colonies.

W. W. Sweet provides us with another illuminating comparison. At about the same time that the colonial period was drawing to a close in Chile, frontier conditions existed in Tennessee and Kentucky very similar in many respects to conditions in Chile during much of the colonial period. The country was sparsely settled; the law had not been able to make itself felt effectually; there was much drunkenness, gambling, robbery, sexual looseness, and general lawlessness. Sweet says: "In most instances, the only guardians of morals of these communities were the little frontier churches, " Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. As a rule the Baptist churches held their "monthly Saturday business meeting," and the greater part of the long session was taken up with cases of discipline. Attendance was obligatory for all members. Any brother was free to bring to the session any matter he deemed it should hear. "A random turning of the pages of any of the old record books of early Baptist churches west of the Alleghenies will soon convince one that the Church was of tremendous importance in the preservation of order and the maintenance of decency. Discipline was meted out for adultery; betting; fraudulent busi-

ness dealing; calling another a liar; deceiving and defrauding; destroying corner trees (landmarks); disobeying the call of the church; false accusation of lying; frolicking and dancing; gambling; immoral conduct; fighting; improper conduct in time of worship; intoxication; tale bearing; misusing a wife; non-attendance at church; playing carnal plays; quarrelling; running an incorrect line; selling an unsound mare; swapping horses; threatening a slave; treating the church with contempt; use of hard and censorious expressions; and withdrawing from the church in a disorderly manner.<sup>5</sup>

Our special interest is in the large number of these causes for discipline which were economic in their origin or their effect. About one third of them are directly economic, although nearly all of them would have some relation to the general economic well-being of the community.

Sweet gives numerous instances from the minutes of these churches to support his assertion; we copy only a few typical ones.

"In 1802 a brother Horatio Clife was brought before the church charged with deceiving and defrauding a brother Martin in swapping horses and is excluded. A brother Cole

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<sup>5</sup> Article in "Church History", March 1933: "The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier."

was before the Forks of Elkhorn Church (Kentucky) in 1812 for 'making unrighteous landmarks on brother John Graves' land.' At the October meeting of the same church, 1800, 'sister Woodbridge's slave, Saunders, was brought before the church for leaving the wife he had when he joined the church and taking Rachel from another man and living in adultery with her;' and later in the same church 'Hannah, the property of Benjamin Garnett, is excluded for whoredom.'<sup>6</sup>

Now the Catholic Church in Chile also used discipline with powerful effect when it so desired, even to humbling the President of the Colony with its might.<sup>7</sup> But, as we have seen, this unchallenged power was used very little if at all to correct the moral abuses of colonial society; its use was reserved for maintaining the Church's ritual and the prestige of the clergy. It's ethical effect was void, or practically so. What might have been the difference if the Roman Catholic Church had really wielded this immense social force in the direction of the protection of morals, the defense of the Indian and in other social and ethical advance?

One other illustration by way of contrast comes from England. Frederick A. Norwood has made a study of the eco-

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<sup>6</sup> Warren, *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Vide Chapter III.

nomie effects of the religious refugees from France, Belgium, and elsewhere on the life of England and Scotland in the sixteenth century. "What the refugees who fled from such regions as Flanders, Hainault and Brabant brought with them a knowledge of 'crafts new and outlandish' to most Englishmen is not surprising. Cloth workers from Antwerp and Bruges, lace makers from Valenciennes, cambric weavers from Cambrey, glass makers from Paris, and fishermen from Flushing; all these crowded into England bringing with them at least their priceless craftsmanship even if not all their material possessions."<sup>8</sup>

The City of Edinburgh on May 11, 1586, gave guarantees of a temple for worship, a house for the minister, freedom for the exercise of their trade, and any other privileges that might benefit the exiles without injury to the town. The next year Parliament passed an act in favor of the 'craftsmen flemyngis' giving permission for three men to settle in Edinburgh with 30 workmen on condition that they instruct the youth of Scotland in the art of weaving.<sup>9</sup> Norwood quotes at great length from the official documents of the time to show that these refugees brought in the art--or improved techniques in the art--of making

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<sup>8</sup> The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force, Frederick A. Norwood, Chicago, 1942, p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

French serges, worsteds, fustians; also needle making, parchment making, linen weaving, improved dyes and methods of dying. The silk weaving industry introduced by the refugees became so thriving that the silk weavers came to be an important industrial group in London and Canterbury. Still other refugees introduced thread-making, and leather-working; while some were gold and silversmiths and cutters of precious stones.

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 "Much of the technical agricultural development of England may be ascribed to the new methods and the new plants introduced by them. No service could have been of greater moment for the rural development of England than the new techniques and methods and ways of thinking that characterized the stranger farmers."<sup>11</sup>

One can only wonder how great must have been the loss to Chile by the contrary policy to that of England, in closing the country against the entrance of any foreigner or foreign idea not bearing the stamp of approval of the ecclesiastical and political authorities. Chile was--and is--rich in many resources that have waited three and one-half centuries for development. What a vast difference the infiltration of even a few strange new ideas and new minds

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 48, 52, 153.

<sup>11</sup> Norwood, op. cit., p. 52.

might have made in the development of the country. In the last half century industrial advance has been relatively rapid; yet it has only begun.

And the final responsibility for this backwardness must be laid, at least in part, on the fanatic protection of the Chileans against any contagion of heresy by the Roman Catholic Church; the responsibility is definitely that of Roman Catholicism.

SHALL BE ADDED INTO YOU.  
OF GOD AND HIS RIGHTEOUS-  
NESS; AND ALL THESE THINGS

--Jesus.

CHAPTER X

"SEEK YE FIRST THE KINGDOM  
OF GOD AND HIS RIGHTEOUS-  
NESS: AND ALL THESE THINGS  
SHALL BE ADDED UNTO YOU."

--Jesus.

The Church is not primarily an economic institution; it is the instrument of God for revealing to man the tension and frustration of their lives, and for lifting them out of that frustration and bringing them into harmonious relation to God. The Church is set to inspire in man hope and faith -- faith in himself and in his fellow man as well as in God -- and to bring about relations of mutual good will, cooperation and brotherhood: to exalt the liberty and the worth of the individual.

In the fulfillment of this, its primary and spiritual task, the Church must come to grips with hostile social and economic forces. It cannot evade participation in every aspect of human existence which are not spiritual. But in just so far as the Church maintains its spiritual primacy, by that much will it be able to bring to bear powerful leverage upon the social and economic wrongs and maladjustments in society, correcting and directing these forces towards higher values.

CHAPTER X

SUMMING UP

The Church is not primarily an economic institution; it is the instrument of God for revealing to men the tension and frustration of their lives, and for lifting them out of that frustration and bringing them into harmonious relation to God. The Church is set to inspire in man hope and faith in himself and in his fellow man as well as in God --and to bring about relations of mutual good will, cooperation and brotherhood; to exalt the liberty and the worth of the individual.

In the fulfillment of this, its primary and spiritual task, the Church must come to grips with hostile social and economic forces. It cannot evade participation in many aspects of human existence which are not spiritual. But in just so far as the Church maintains its spiritual primacy, by that much will it be able to bring to bear powerful leverage upon the social and economic wrongs and maladjustments in society, correcting and directing these forces towards higher values.

On the contrary, when any church seeks economic power for itself, that church will find itself enmeshed in material forces hostile to its spiritual mission, and it will lose the power to correct and direct those forces in society. This is what happened in colonial Chile.

Roman Catholicism came to Chile with the first soldiers. From the beginning it had everything in its favor for carrying out its spiritual mission. The Spanish authorities were zealous and obedient Catholics; the Church could count on almost unlimited moral support from them and from the King in Spain. It could likewise count on financial support without stint or limit.

The Church also had in Chile about one million Indians as a missionary opportunity. A considerable part of these were already semi-civilized, accustomed to orderly government under the Incas, submissive and deeply religious by nature. The rest of them, the more barbarous Araucanians of the south had acquired the beginnings of civilization and were a people of strong independent nature, very teachable once their confidence was won. The Roman Catholic Church had every opportunity to bring into being a Christian nation.

But Roman Catholicism sought economic and political power instead of spiritual conquest. The donation by Pope Alexander of the lands to the Catholic sovereigns of Spain

served as letters patent for the avarice of the conquistadors in his plunder and enslavement of the Indians. The first priests received and accepted Indian lands and serfs and--excepting the few cases we have noted--the Church heartily supported the encomenderos in their ruthless exploitation of the Indians. With one hand the Church sought to convert the Indians; with the other it blessed the encomendero and accepted Indian slaves for its own enrichment. Under the stern condemnation of the Church the encomienda system would not have been able to survive for a generation. The Church sought and acquired more and more property. Not only buildings for churches, schools, convents and hospitals, but farms, the largest and the richest in the Colony.

This short-sighted and materialistic policy brought its reaction. The Church became wealthy but lost its soul; its spiritual power was gone. It may not fully deserve the severe condemnation passed upon it by a present day Cabinet Minister who said: "I consider the Roman Catholic Church today as simply a mercantile corporation which exploits commercially the teaching of Jesus."<sup>1</sup> But Roman Catholicism

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<sup>1</sup> Textually: "Yo considero la Iglesia Católica Romana hoy día como simplemente una sociedad anónima que explota comercialmente las enseñanzas de Jesús," words spoken before a class in the Summer School of the University of Chile.

In Chile has given considerable justification for such a verdict.

Roman Catholicism lost its unique opportunity to evangelize Chile; on the contrary it contributed materially to Chile's impoverishment and backwardness by its inordinate greed. The country became poor materially, but also socially, intellectually and spiritually as well.

We have seen how Roman Catholicism's policy of extreme repression in its continuous crusade against heresy resulted in keeping out books--not even the Bible was allowed to enter--and in keeping out the printing press. Schools were limited to pitiable classes for learning the catechism, little more. They did not exist to create a culture or to form personalities but to make Catholics. We have seen how every glimmer of enlightenment was excluded in the interest of rigid medieval Catholicism. Even in those cases where the Church itself was not directly responsible, the government officials who were responsible acted as devout Catholics in the interest of their faith; in the last analysis Roman Catholicism was responsible.

This extreme exclusivism effectively prevented the rise of any rival moral forces. Society and the Church were deprived of the healthy stimulus of competition and criticism. Roman Catholicism was satisfied with itself. A dead uniformity existed. There was no tension, no spur

to self discipline and improvement. Conformity to churchly demands--outward form--was all that was required. As a rule nothing higher was even suggested.

Thus within Catholicism itself the very genius of the system worked against the best interests of Chile. The ideal of Catholicism in the Colony, as in medieval Europe, was not service but contemplation. Even that saint of saints, Francis of Assisi, was more admired for the stigmata in his hands than for his alms to the poor by which he died; more praised for his alms to the poor by which he stored up saintly merits in heaven than for any attempt he might have made to better workingmen's conditions or to relieve the lot of the underprivileged. In obedience to this ideal those minds in Chile of most potential worth to society, those which might have originated healthful social upheavals or made new inventions or initiated political or educational reforms would have been immured in some convent in saintly contemplation.

In the two and a half centuries under review no prophetic voice was heard; none could arise. There was no St. Francis, no San Juan de León or St. Theresa; no Luther or Calvin or Wesley. It was a period of extreme spiritual sterility.

And intellectually it was the same. Chile produced not a single writer of note, no sculptor, nor painter,

nor poet; no inventor nor educator nor other type of creative leader during this whole period. A fact that throws the blame conclusively on rigid Catholic and Spanish exclusiveness is the large number of intellectuals of merit who came to light just as soon as these conditions began to disappear. Chile's notable historians, poets, novelists, educators and other creative minds were compelled to remain uncreative as long as Catholicism held total control of the life of the nation. Strict Catholicism did not produce them; it could not. Its genius was against creativeness.

Judged by the history of colonial Chile, Roman Catholicism is not conducive to intellectual liberty and exploration nor to inventiveness in any line. Catholicism is contrary to social change, and social change is essential to permanent economic well-being.

For economic advantage waits upon intellectual freedom and moral stability. There can be no enduring material prosperity while thought is in a dungeon and morals are low and sordid. And yet a modern priest, speaking of a "strongly Catholic age" (that is, the medieval) says: "Every time machinery and technical progress brought the slightest pressure to bear on the social and moral sphere, Catholic ethics would have put a stop to them. As a matter of fact we cannot doubt that in a perfectly Catholic age, purely technical

progress would not have found such powerful incentives as in a capitalistic civilization."<sup>2</sup>

There is another field in which the economic maladjustment of Roman Catholicism produced unfavorable results in Chile and that is precisely in the religious field. A certain minimum of material prosperity seems to be essential for the rise of religious reforms or revivals among a people. Under Roman Catholicism colonial Chile was too poor to provide favorable soil for a strong religious awakening even if other conditions had been favorable. Thus religion depresses economics; economics takes its revenge by paralyzing religion. George Adam Smith says: "On the whole the witness of history is uniform. Poverty and persecution, the famine, nakedness, peril and sword, put a keenness on the spirit of religion while luxury rots its very fibers; but a stable basis of prosperity is indispensable to every social and religious reform, and God's Spirit finds fullest course in communities of a certain degree of civilization and of freedom from sordidness. These races, says: 'It is an error

"Have we not yet to learn from the Hebrew prophets that some amount of freedom in a people and some amount of health are indispensable to a revival of religion? Lives which are strained and starved, lives which are passed in

<sup>2</sup> Fanfani, op. cit., pp. 140, 141.

rank discomfort and under poverty, without the possibility of the independence of the individual or the sacredness of the home, cannot be religious except in the most rudimentary sense of the word . . . . in daily observation. These Indians

"The economic problem therefore also has its place in the warfare for the kingdom of God."<sup>3</sup>

To guard against the erroneous conclusion sometimes drawn, that the general economic and intellectual backwardness in Chile at the close of the Colonial period was due to inferior racial stock inherited from the Indians, let it be stated clearly that such a conclusion is not upheld by scientists who have made a study of the matter. Dr. Lipschuetz, distinguished physiologist and professor in the School of Medicine in the University of Concepcion and later in the University of Chile and a careful student of the aboriginal races, positively repudiates any scientific basis for the idea of racial inferiority on their part.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Carlos Ricketts, after years of professional labor among the original Inca races, says: "It is an error to consider the Indian as of a race essentially inferior. In his own social mean the Indian is immensely superior to

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<sup>3</sup> "The Book of the Twelve Prophets", In Expositor's Bible, Vol. IV, p. 664.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Prof. Dr. Alejandro Lipschuetz, *Indoamericanismo y Raza India*, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1934.

the white man.

"The proofs that, despite the evident degeneration of many individuals, the Indian race retains magnificent potential energy, we see in daily observation. Those Indians who enter school or university or the army as children and later take part in public life show no mental inferiority whatever alongside the white and many times surpass him."<sup>5</sup> A competent High school teacher with more than twenty year's experience in the United States and Chile told the writer that of the two most intelligent children she had ever taught, one of them was an Indian girl from a humble home.

There is no valid basis for the theory of racial inferiority so far as the Indian is concerned. The Indian as a race was quite capable of receiving the civilization and the religion which the Spaniards had to offer. That he did not receive them was due to the manner in which they were presented. "It would be impossible to find on our good earth a nobler man than the Indian or mestizo. It would require an entire volume to summarize their intellectual, artistic and moral qualities."<sup>6</sup>

We see how Roman Catholicism contributed in diverse

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Carlos Ricketts in "Cronica Medica", Peru.

<sup>6</sup> Luis Quintanilla, "A Latin American Speaks", p. 85.

ways to the economic life of Chile. In some ways it made a positive contribution; in other ways its contribution was negative when not ruinous.

Directly Roman Catholicism contributed by its total control of the ruling class of religiously-obedient Spaniards; by the excessive number of priests, monks and nuns and the amount of property held by the Church; by the burdensome ecclesiastical charges and taxes; and by its culpable participation in the terrible encomienda system. And indirectly also it handicapped economic development in many ways. The Church exacted the observance of the many feast-days with the consequent withdrawal of the economic forces from productive labor and, thereby, also fomented a morbid attitude toward manual labor. It suppressed books, especially the Bible, and excluded the printing press. Its educational policy was sterile and unproductive. By all these means a low moral level was maintained; superstition reigned among the people. We have noted especially the attitude of the Church towards marriage, the home and illegitimacy.

We are justified in concluding that Roman Catholicism as a religious system not only failed to bring out the best possibilities of the Chilean people during the Colonial Period but actually served as a serious impediment to their normal development. Chile undoubtedly would be not only a

very different nation socially and morally, but a much wealthier nation materially if Roman Catholicism had not been the prevailing religion for so long a period of its history.

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It would be unfair not to add a brief word as to the present status of Chile and of Roman Catholicism. By the Declaration of Independence on September 18, 1810, Chile began her life as an independent republic, achieving her full liberation from the absolutism of medieval Roman Catholicism liberation from the absolutism of medieval Roman Catholicism has been painful and slow but during recent decades much advance has been made also in this direction. So much so that some deny that Chile can rightfully be called any more a Catholic country. Armando González Rodríguez, a former teacher in Catholic schools, made a careful analysis of parish reports and, on the basis of these studies, declared that not more than six per cent of Chilean men are Catholic by conviction and practice and not more than fourteen per cent of the women, or an average of ten per cent.

"Even while the claim could be made half a century ago, that the great majority of Chileans were Catholic, today that claim can no longer be made seriously. To insist in making it today is to incur in an evident falsehood, it

is to maintain a fact which long ago ceased to be real."<sup>7</sup>  
 Chile has made amazing progress in combating the  
 terrible illiteracy inherited from Colonial days and bids  
 fair to reduce it to the vanishing point in the near future.  
 Academic and technical schools are being brought within the  
 reach of boys and girls of every corner of the land. Chile  
 is making a serious bid to become the cultural leader of  
 South America.

And Roman Catholicism has made astonishing changes.  
 For example, not only is the Bible no longer for-  
 bidden to the common man, but the episcopacy is urging the  
 Catholic people to read the Bible--the Catholic Bible of  
 course--and the Catholic Publishing House of Padre Las  
 Casas has issued a very creditable New Testament within the  
 reach of the workingman's means. The Capuchin Order main-  
 tains scores of schools among the Indians and homesteaders  
 in the mountains and hinterland. The moral level of the  
 clergy is immensely superior to what it was even a genera-  
 tion ago.

But these results have been achieved after the brac-  
 ing winds of liberal thought, political and social, and the  
 healthy rivalry of Protestant missions have come into the

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<sup>7</sup> Sem Tob (Armando González Rodríguez) in "Hoy",  
 Aug. 6, 1942.

These conditions, therefore, substantiate, nation's life. rather than refute, the hypothesis with which this work was rather than refute, the hypothesis with which this work was begun: that Roman Catholicism when it has full control is economically and socially harmful, rather than helpful, to the development of a nation's life.

APPENDIX A

TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

Bill of Pope Julian divides lands of America between Spain and Portugal (b. 1493), Kepler (b. 1571), Galileo (1564).	IS-212L, X 091
First sells indulgences in Germany, 1517.	90th 19m101) IV nel175A (.V sel179d0 10
Luther begins Reformation 1517.	Conquest of Peru, 1532-34, 62-252L, III 1m19
First organized, 1534, 82-032L, V sel179d0	Santiago founded, 1541.
Henry VIII repudiates Pope, 1534.	First encomendas in Chile.
Henry II makes England Protestant.	
July Inquisition, 1542.	
First version of Spanish Bible, 1543.	
Council of Trent, 1545-65.	
Decree declares for Protestantism, May, 1536.	Consejo founded, 1550.
	Viceroyalty of Peru, 1551.
First at sea, 1519, V sel179d0	Unity of 68-232L, VI 1m19
820L, II 17119 10	In Lima, 1561.
	P. Valdivia killed in battle 1564.

Pope Issues Index of Prohibited books, 1559.

APPENDIX A

TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

Pope

King of Spain

Ferdinand and Isabella

Leo X, 1513-21

Adrian VI (former tutor of Charles V.)

Paul III, 1534-59

Charles V, 1530-58

Paul IV, 1555-59

Charles V abdicates in favor of Philip II, 1555

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retzel  
German

Luther  
1517.

Jesuit

Henry  
1534.

Edwar  
Prote

Holy

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Bible

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European History

discovery of America, 1492  
 expulsion of Jews from Spain.  
 discovery of America divides  
 expulsion of Jews from Spain.  
 Bull of Pope Julian divides  
 lands of America between  
 Spain and Portugal, 1493.  
 Copernicus (b. 1473), Kepler  
 Galileo (1564).  
 Copernicus sells indulgences in  
 Germany, 1517.  
 Luther begins Reformation  
 Germany, 1517.  
 Luther organized, 1534.  
 Jesuits organized, 1534.  
 Henry VIII repudiates Pope,  
 1534.  
 Edward II makes England  
 Protestant.  
 Holy Inquisition, 1542.  
 Holy Inquisition of Spanish  
 Prot. version of Spanish  
 Bible, 1543.  
 Council of Trent, 1545-63.  
 Geneva declares for Prot-  
 estantism, May, 1536.  
 Pope issues Index of Pro-  
 hibited books, 1559.

Chilean and South Ameri-  
can History

Conquest of Peru, 1532-34.  
 Santiago founded, 1541.  
 First encomiendas in Chile.  
 Concepcion founded, 1550.  
 Viceroyalty of Peru, 1551.  
 Univ. of San Marcos founded  
 in Lima, 1551.  
 P. Valdivia killed in Battle  
 1554.

GREGORY XIII, 1572-85

ALEXANDER V, 1585-90

PHILIP III, b. 1598.

PHILIP IV, 1621-65

INNOCENT X, 1644-55

CHARLES II, 1665-99

CLEMENT XIV, 1769-74

Duke  
1567-

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- Inquisition in Lima, 1569.
- Hawking and other privateers  
terrorize S.A. Pacific coasts.
- duke of Alva wars in Flanders,  
1567-73.
- John Knox makes Scotland  
Protestant, 1559-72.
- Massacre of St. Bartholomew,  
Paris, 1572.
- Massacre of Spanish Armada,  
(d. 1603).
- Defeat of Nantes, France,  
1588.
- Edict of Nantes, France,  
1598.
- Pilgrims land at Plymouth  
Rock, 1620.
- Eng. Parliament presents  
petition without repre-  
sentation--1628.
- Founding of Rhode Island,  
1636.
- Westminster Confession,  
Eng. 1647.
- Peace of Westphalia, 1648,  
ends Pope's temporal power.
- Cromwell and Puritan rule  
in England, 1649-59.
- Revocation of Edict of  
Nantes, 1685.
- Count Zinzendorf promotes  
foreign missions, Herrnhut,  
1733-60.
- Voltaire attacks clerical  
privileges in France.
- Jesuits expelled from Spanish  
domains, 1767.
- Inquisition in Paraguay,  
1610-67.
- Santiago destroyed by earth-  
quake, followed by plague, 1647.
- University of San Felipe  
(later Univ. of Chile) au-  
thorized; first classes 1757.

Plus VI, 1776-99,

132

Plus VIII, 1800-23.

Charles IV abdicates; Joseph  
Bonaparte, King of Spain,  
1808.

Sept 1777  
Pope, of I  
Dec. 1776.  
French Re  
July 14,

Destruct  
and Fr. 21,  
Oct.  
Portugue  
flees to

Congres  
powers  
Spain. I  
1822.

Monroe  
No Eur  
expans

Pope R  
Republ

Jesuit Order abolished by pope, 1773.

Dec. of Independence, U.S.A., 1776.

French Rev., fall of Bastille, July 14, 1789.

Final abolition of encomiendas in Chile, 1789.

Destruction of combined Sp. and Fr. fleets at Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805.

Portuguese royal family flees to Brazil, 1807.

M. Salas opens Academy of San Luis in Santiago, 1797.

Chile declares her independence, Sept. 10, 1810.

Argentina, Peru, Columbia, Venezuela & Mexico at about same time.

Congress of Verona; European powers propose to reestablish Span. rule in America by arms, 1822.

San Martin and O'Higgins lead liberating army across Andes from Argentina; consolidate Chilean independence, 1817.

Monroe Doctrine, 1823; No European intervention or expansion in America.

Pope recognizes S. A. Republics, ca. 1831.

During most of the Colonial period the crops such as beans and wheat varied little in value from three to six centavos per algarra. About half as much. The value of the grain was about half as much. op. cit., passim.

Joseph  
Cain,

APPENDIX B

WAGES AND LIVING COSTS IN THE COLONY

Wages varied little during the whole Colonial Period. We have seen that the Indian encomienda, when he received pay at all, received from one to two reales (twelve and one half to twenty five centavos) per day. This wage influenced the wage of free labor. The peon, or farm labor<sup>A</sup> who was attached to the farm, received about the same wage as the Indian--indeed usually was Indian--plus a ration of coarse food. Carpenters and mechanics received from forty to sixty cents, increasing this to about seventy five cents towards the end of the eighteenth century as shown by contractor's pay sheets of the time.<sup>1</sup> The peon also was receiving somewhat better wage, from five to six pesos per month and rations.

During most of the Colonial Period the staple foods, such as beans and wheat varied little in price. Wheat was worth from three to six centavos per kilogram and beans about half as much. The value of the peso was slightly

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<sup>1</sup> Mártner, op. cit., passim.

more than that of the United States dollar for most of this time. Indeed wages and currency value continued fairly stable until about the middle of the nineteenth century, under the Republic. Due to various factors, principally the unrestricted emission of paper money, the peso began to decline in value until today it is worth only slightly more than three cents of the United States inflated dollar, and somewhat less than two cents of the old standard gold dollar.

This has worked great hardship on the working classes. Wages have not nearly kept pace with the downward trend of the currency. Mártner calculates that, where a colonial working man needed six and one half day's labor to buy 100 kilograms of wheat, the corresponding working man today would need fifteen and one-half days labor to buy the same amount; where the colonial laborer required three and one half days to buy 100 kilograms of beans, the same would cost him now seven days of labor.

In this case, however, such comparisons may easily deceive. Life is more than wheat and beans. The Colonial workman lived a rude hard life without any of a thousand conveniences that even the poorest enjoy today. Government and organized social security supply much for the workman that his forbears never even knew existed. Any comparisons must be very imperfect.

APPENDIX C

COMPARISON OF WAGE SCALES AND LIVING COSTS,

CHILE AND UNITED STATES

In the body of this study we have dealt with one of the causes, as we believe, of the economic backwardness of Chile. Whether Roman Catholicism continues to affect the economic status of Chile down to the present time or not, the fact is obvious that the general plane of living, especially for the working classes, is far lower there than in the United States and in most European countries.

Luis Quintanilla, Minister of Mexico in the United States, in his admirably frank book, "A Latin American Speaks", quotes from data gathered by the Confederación de Trabajo de América Latina--Latin American Confederation of Labor--to show the comparative wage scales and costs of living in the United States and the Latin American republics. This computation takes the average hourly wage for a group of ten of the commonest occupations in the United States to be \$1.33, in Argentina \$.56, Uruguay \$.25, Mexico \$.13, Bolivia \$.09, Chile \$.06, and Ecuador \$.05.

As Quintanilla well says, such a comparison does not mean much unless we know what amount of a given commodity the wage in each country will buy. He calculates that the average wage of the corresponding group of workers in each country will buy in kilograms of bread and beef as follows:

	$\frac{1 \text{ hour's labor in}}{\text{United States}}$	$\frac{\text{Kgs. of bread}}{\text{of bread}}$	$\frac{\text{Kgs. of beef}}{\text{of beef}}$
United States	7.8	2.00	
Argentina	3.2	1.6	
Uruguay	2.9	2.00	
Colombia	1.0	0.3	
Chile	1.4	0.2	
Mexico	1.1	0.6	
Ecuador	0.4	0.2	
Bolivia	0.3	0.2	

Thus, to take the two extremes only, the United States worker is paid, in bread, some twenty times as much as his fellow worker from Bolivia . . . and in terms of beef, ten times more than some of his fellow workers from Latin America."<sup>2</sup>

The writer finds these figures somewhat exaggerated, at least as regards Chile. The magazine "Management Record" for June, 1944, gives as an average wage for twenty

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 79, 80.

five types of industrial manufacturing workers during April, 1944, \$1.057.<sup>3</sup> For convenience, and probable correctness also, for our comparison we will take \$1 per hour as the wage for a carpenter in the United States, and for Chile (about \$1.25 at unofficial exchange). The commodity prices are taken from actual purchases at retail at nearly the same time and reduced to prices per kilogram (2.20 lbs.). Thus at a glance it can be seen how many minutes of labor the carpenter in Chile pays for a given commodity, and what his fellow worker in the United States pays, and a fair comparison can be made of actual costs of living as measured by labor.

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Chilean Prices</u>	<u>Cost in min. of Labor</u>	<u>U.S. prices</u>	<u>Min. of Labor</u>
Flour	\$2.36 ch.	28.	\$ .194 per kg	12
Butter	40.	480	1.03	62
Oleo	30.	360	.65	38
Milk, 1 liter	2.80	31	.16	10
Bread	3.20	38	.194	12
Oranges, doz.	6.	72	.25	15
Stew meat	16.	192	.59	36
Roast beef	20.	240	.84	50

3 Op. cit., Art.  
Ethel B. Dunn.

"Payroll Statistics in Manufacturing",



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