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The University of Chicago .

THE CHURCH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN

ALTO-PERU AND BOLIVIA .

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Systematic Theology in the
Graduate Divinity School.

By

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" "

Private Edition, Distributed By
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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY
IN ALTO-PERU AND BOLIVIA.

Introduction.

The purpose of this treatise is to trace the part which The Catholic Church as an organized institution has played in the long attempt of the Bolivian people to evolve democratic conditions out of the autocracy of the colonial administration.

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(b). Lack of character which shall be worthy of such confidence.

(c). Lack of a general spirit of mutual service.

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These public needs are really religious needs, but can be met only by a religion which has itself experienced a great democratic new birth.

Conclusion.

South America is today a house divided against itself. One of the most fundamental needs is for a type of religion whose doctrine and spirit shall allow it to cooperate as harmoniously with the modern, progressive democratic movement as the Catholic Church did with the static regime of colonial days.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACYIN ALTO PERU AND BOLIVIA/

Introduction.

In 1925 the Republic of Bolivia will celebrate the first Centennial of its national existence. It is but natural then that the minds of all those interested in the welfare of the country should be turned back over the last hundred years of checkered history in an endeavor to determine the degree of progress which has been made and also to discover those various factors which may have hindered or stimulated the efforts of the people to transform that section of the Spanish colonies known as Alto-Peru into a republic worthy of taking its place eventually among the modern democracies of the world.

Several Bolivian writers have dealt with this subject from different angles. One of the pioneer works in this connection (El Pueblo Enfermo, 1909.) written by Alcides Arguedas, who is himself a son of the country and well informed upon local conditions, lays emphasis upon the unfavorable geographic features of the region and the peculiar difficulties and problems occasioned by the large percentage of Indian population and the mixture of the races which this has involved. This crossing of European whites and American Indians, along with the peculiar type of culture implanted by the Spanish conquerors, has resulted according to the author, in such a variety of evils, psychological, social, political and economic that it seemed to him that his people were a "sick people", and this is the title which his book bears. As remedies for the existing state of affairs he proposes education, improvement of the means of communication, immigration, intercourse with the rest of the world, work, and the employment of every agency for the moral and economic uplift of the citizens.

Franz Tamayo (La Creacion de la Pedagogia Nacional, La Paz, 1910) reviews more or less the same ground with a view to determining the type of education best adapted to the peculiar conditions which prevail within the country. A more recent work, (Bautista Saavedra, La Democracia en Nuestra Historia, LaPaz, 1921.— is an effort to discredit the liberal administration (1898-1919) and liberalism in general through a discussion of the abstract principles of the French Revolution—liberty, fraternity and equality,—advocating in their stead, as the theoretical basis of democracy for Bolivia the inequality manifested in the biological struggle for existence and in the gradings of society. The various histories of the country have confined themselves to political and international affairs and have had little or nothing to say touching the influence of organized religion in national affairs.

It is the purpose of this treatise to trace the part which the Catholic Church as an organized institution has played in the long attempt to evolve democratic conditions out of the autocracy of the colonial administration. If space permitted, such an investigation should be prepared by a careful consideration of the conditions which prevailed in the Colonies during the three hundred years which preceded the revolutionary war; for to an exceptional degree the subsequent course of affairs within the South American republics has been determined by the complex social heritage which they received from colonial times. An investigation of these conditions would show that both the political, the economic, the social and the religious life of the colonies had become institutionalized to such an extent, and had been inter-related so intricately, that a double result inevitably followed which seriously militated against the free and ready growth of modern democracy even after political freedom had been won through the war. These colonial institutions which no doubt were suited to the earlier conditions which they were designed to meet, had become so rigid and set that they refused to respond to the

evolving life of the republics or to the demands which changing circumstances made upon them. Furthermore these various departments of human interest had become so intricately interwoven that the colonial culture was all of a piece; the economic supported the political; the political and royal supported the religious; the religious buttressed social distinctions. It is not surprising then that the colonial regime continued for three hundred years with but minor and insignificant modifications. To have attempted to alter any one of these institutions would have seriously deranged the other three and aroused concerted opposition, and before such a combination as that progressive reform was exceedingly difficult. Precisely this is what took place at the time of the revolution. This was distinctively a movement for political emancipation; but no serious transformations in the social, industrial, by which we refer to the peonage system of labor—or religious life of the countries were even contemplated; consequently these atavisms of earlier days have retarded unceasingly the realization of those democratic ideals which were written into constitutions of the resultant republics.

Our study then centers about one of these institutions. We shall see that while the Catholic Church was divided upon the issue of the revolution,—the higher clergy remaining true to the royal cause and the colonial church affiliating itself with the patriotic party—nevertheless from beginning to end she pursued one consistent policy of seeing to it that no matter what might transpire the revolutionary movement should never be allowed to get beyond Church control or to invade the region of ecclesiastical authority. During the republican regime she has followed the same policy. So long as the conservative elements which seek to preserve the vested rights which ~~remain~~ remain are in power, the Church cooperates harmoniously for the realization of kindred aims. But the moment that a liberal government seeks to inaugurate such democratic reforms as secular education, liberty of worship, civil marriage, etc. immediately a conflict of interests and ideals is brought about revealing the inner incompatibility of democracy and Catholicism. The only kind of

democracy the Catholic Church can tolerate and still be true to herself is a church-controlled democracy. But such a democracy immediately ceases to be a democracy. This prolonged survival within the nation of a religious institution kindred in aim and organization to colonial absolutism is one of the neutralizing factors which is working quietly but persistently to retard to progress of Bolivia in the art of self-government.

Chapter I.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A FACTOR IN THE WAR
OF INDEPENDENCE .

In order that we may understand the attitude and the activity of the Church toward the struggle of any one nation for democracy it will be necessary to go back to the days when that struggle began and investigate in the first place the role which she played during the revolutionary war.

1. What then was the relation of the Catholic Church to the War of Independence and wherein did she contribute to the outbreak of the struggle? Provocative causes in sufficient number were found in the evils of the Spanish administration. The Bolivian Declaration of Independence lays before the rest of the world, as a justification of their revolt, first, the abuses of the Spanish crown and of colonial officials; and second, the failure of the imperial authorities to develop the country, or to educate and enlighten the people. The necessary encouragement was provided by the successful efforts of other peoples, especially the North American colonists and France to gain their freedom, by the evident weaknesses

of the Spanish Royal House which had been humiliated and deposed by Napoleon, and by the recent successes of the colonial troops in repelling the English invasions at Buenos Aires.

But something more than this is needed before men will rise in revolt and overthrow a system which has become venerable with age. They must find ~~it~~ in some new philosophy of life the justification for their temerity in lifting up their hand in rebellion against the king who has been thought to be God's anointed. This justification was found in eighteenth century French and English theories with reference to the rights of man and the foundations of civil authority. To the Spanish American colonists, brought up under the rigid discipline of Church and political power, this combined French and English thought broke in like the light of day after a prolonged night. The study of Montesquieu, Rousseau and the Social Contract proclaimed the voluntary consent of the governed as a basis of civil power rather than the Divine decrees. The royal pretensions and right to restrict trade and to grant special economic favors crumbled into dust before the "laissez faire" theories of Adam Smith and Quesnay. And more fundamental still, the study of Locke, Condillac, and the rising school empiricists, freed the minds of men forever from the antiquated bondage of scholasticism with its a priori methods and its enthronement of the universal. For fifty years or more these writings and other similar literature had been smuggled into America through almost every port, especially after the opening up of the colonial trade with foreign countries. In spite of the royal edict of 1795 commanding all such books to be gathered together and burned, foreign political literature was in such demand and brought such a price that the combined efforts of king and Inquisition were not able to put down this dangerous contraband traffic. The sailors on foreign boats made a handsome profit carrying on this illicit trade. Even some of the less scrupulous clergy, taking advantage of their privilege of introducing church fixtures free of duty, smuggled in forbidden literature in bales of freight.

(Ingenieros, La Revolución, p.139)

Many of these books found their way into the libraries of the more liberal clergy, who of course enjoyed greater freedom than did the laity. To these libraries, confidential friends had access, and there familiarized themselves with foreign thought. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.256; Ingenieros, La Revolucion, p.119.)

From one end of the continent to the other, revolutionary literature was making its appearance. In 1792 a translation of the "Rights of Man" was published in Bogota, and secretly circulated throughout the whole region. Another translation was published in Caracas in 1811, while Rousseau's Social Contract had also been translated into Spanish in 1809. (Blanco, Documentos, Vol. I, pp.235-236.)

Commenting upon the zeal of the Catholic hierarchy to stamp out this pernicious influence, we find an interesting quotation from some unknown writer given by Blanco in the volume already ~~mentioned~~ mentioned. "On the seventh of September the archbishop replied (to the communication of the Captain General) that already he had begun by means of the confession to make the necessary investigations; because in those days the secrecy of the confessional was a weapon which was used for political purposes throughout America and even in Spain. And there were cases in Venezuela in which, without any previous warning, the authorities presented themselves in the homes demanding of the husband or of the father the works of Rousseau or of Voltaire. Their wives or their daughters in innocence had acknowledged that they had seen such books in the hands of their husbands or fathers; in this manner suspicion is sown in the domestic circle; every god fearing, fanatical soul becomes a spy, and virtue is made a crime." (Documentos, Vol. I. p.247.)

This fact of the influence of foreign literature is so thoroughly established and so well known that it is needless to devote more time to the subject. Miranda, Bolivar, San Martin and others of the revolutionary leaders studied or travelled abroad and returned to their native lands fired with the new ideas they had acquired in foreign parts. Those who remained at home

gained secret access to the same literature. Almost without exception the revolutionary leaders freely acknowledge their indebtedness to this source for both inspiration and reconstruction of thought.

But to read the Catholic authors, one would be led to suppose that the South American revolution was a Church movement, inspired by the revolutionary teachings of Saint Thomas, taking shape and force in the Catholic university centers, and finally participated in by the great body of Catholic clergy. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, Chap. XV.) It has long been a matter of dispute between the radicals and the clericals as to the precise part played by each party in that gigantic movement; and one must not be surprised if both parties grow overly enthusiastic with reference to the contributions of their own particular groups. ~~Knowing~~ One thing is certain, the liberation of over half the continent could never have been effected had not the vast majority of the colonial interests affiliated themselves with the revolutionary movement in some way. All played a part; but all did not play the same part. It is for us to discover as nearly as possible what was the role played by the Church.

To make Saint Thomas the author of revolutionary wars is to put a surprisingly new interpretation upon the teachings of the ~~Summa~~ Summa, whose one object was to unify, not to divide, and to sum up all things both temporal and spiritual under one harmonious theocratic system. Unfortunately for this claim, none of the revolutionary leaders seem to be conscious of any indebtedness to the "Doctor Angelicus", or to any other Catholic teaching, and confess themselves rather to be followers of French thought. When we examine the works of Saint Thomas (Summa, Pt. II, Questions 90-108.) we find there assertions to the effect that the civil power must serve the common good and that in extreme cases tyrannical authority ceases to be binding upon the conscience and may be resisted, not by individuals but by the concerted action of all the people. But all throughout this section Saint Thomas lays more stress upon the spirit and fidelity of the government to its task than upon the correct form of its organization, or the right of rebellion. It is

impossible to read this section without detecting that this Catholic authority found himself in a rather embarrassing situation when he came to deal with political affairs. According to the strictly consistent and logical implications of his system, the powers that be, are ordained of God and as such ought to be perfect and should be obeyed. But the hard facts of life belied his theoretical system. Kings were sometimes bad; and people sometimes took the bit in their mouths and rebelled; such movements could not be condemned indiscriminately; consequently Thomas strikes a compromise and ~~admits~~, where all other expedients fail, admits the possibility of legitimate revolt. This guarded admission is all that Saint Thomas has to say on the matter, and this is scarcely enough to kindle the fires of a continental revolution.

What probably took place then was that conscientious Catholics, who either had never come into contact with foreign literature or who would have been shocked into reaction by its inherent radicalism, found in the writings of Saint Thomas a cautious justification of revolt which enabled them to align themselves with the revolutionary party without fear of thereby losing their standing as good Catholics. But while this concession is made, it cannot be denied that the whole genius of the Roman Catholic Church has ~~never~~ ever been to ally herself with the elements of law and order and with the properly constituted authorities. The Church of Rome has never been a revolutionary body, except at times when the ruling sovereign was an enemy and a heretic; and Ferdinand VII of Spain was no heretic. It was not the Catholicism of the patriots then, but rather the patriotism of the Catholics which made them revolutionists, and nerved them to risk the displeasure of the higher clergy, in order that their native land might be free. Had not the colonial church, as distinct from the Spanish and papal church in America, allied itself with the cause of emancipation, the King of Spain might still be ruling over South America. But as events transpired while the patriotism of the Catholic drove him to revolt, his religion forced him to compromise.

¶ 2. Unfortunately for the patriotic cause, and partially due to the lack of discretion on the part of some of the more radical revolutionary leaders, the royalist party was able to interject the religious question into the struggle in such a way as to make it appear as a crusade against infidelity while they posed before the public as the defendants of both God and the King.

Let us pause for a moment to get the situation clearly defined in our minds. For three centuries of Lima in Peru had been the stronghold of the civil and ecclesiastical administration; here and in all Lower Peru the King's party was strongest, here the royalist armies were recruited from time to time and the last battles of the war were fought. The city of Buenos Aires on the other hand, because of its distance from the center of administration and because of contraband trade, had always been a source of considerable anxiety and trouble to the Spanish authorities. It was not surprising then that Buenos Aires should become the ~~center~~ focus of the radical revolutionary movement. Here the foreign influence was the strongest. To this city the more radical elements of the revolutionary party gravitated from Chuquisaca, and other parts of the country, and from this city expeditionary armies set out repeatedly to the north to aid their compatriots of the interior. Now it is the great interior province lying between the two extremes of royalty on the north and radicalism on the south, this great district of Charcas, stretching from Lake Titicaca as far south as Tucuman and Cordova in the Argentine, which claims our special attention. Shortly after 1776 it had been separated from the viceroyalty of Lima and had been under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. All that which was old and conservative bound it to the old loyalties in Lima; all that which was new and progressive affiliated it with the growing metropolis to the south. But during the revolutionary ^l period this whole district suffered from two very unfortunate circumstances. The revolutionists of Buenos Aires were by far too radical for the patriots of the interior; and furthermore the district itself lay half way between the two opposing armies. As a consequence

of this double misfortune, the region was the scene of more than ordinarily severe struggle and contest. The plateaus and the valleys of Alto-Peru were theatres of the worst ravages of war, as one after another four revolutionary expeditions from the south and seven royalist expeditions from the north marched back and forth, laying the country waste. (Lopez y Crespo, Historia de Bolivia, p.175.) No less severe was the struggle which waged continually in the hearts of men, longing to be free from the bondage of Spain, and yet fearful lest in the rejection of royalty they might be carried to the extreme of rejecting their God and their Church ~~as well.~~

It was the first of these expeditionary raids into Alto-Peru from the south which precipitated the trouble and raised needless ~~in~~ misgivings in the hearts of the great majority of the population. This army was composed largely of young men from the sea port town of Buenos Aires, who had imbibed quite freely the foreign ideas, and who were out to overthrow the whole despotic regime of king and pope. As they marched inland their liberal souls were continually irritated by the increasing evidence of the superstition and credulity of the "arrincones" or people of the upper regions of the interior. On their arrival at the City of Cordoba, the Bishop of that city suffered indignities from the officials of the army. On their march through the country they were not at all backward in giving full expression to their iconoclastic views and intentions. Everywhere the army was received amid great public rejoicings, but on its departure the people were left perplexed and full of misgivings. After the defeat of these patriotic forces by the royal army under Goyeneche at the Desaguadero in 1811, discretion seems to have been thrown to the winds; for on their retreat to the City of Chuquisaca, a company of soldiers quartered in one of the city churches committed the folly of tearing down a large cross from the walls of the church, breaking it into pieces and even dragging it through the streets.

The royalist general, Goyeneche, was not slow to take advantage of these most indiscrete beginnings. He issued a proclamation identifying the

revolutionary movement with atheism, and the royal cause with a crusade on behalf of orthodoxy. Those who died in battle in defense of God and King were martyrs to their religion and would be received immediately into heaven. When Goyeneche finally reached Chuquisaca, after the retreat of Castelli, he refused to quarter his troops or to take up his own abode in the city until the buildings which had been contaminated by the presence of the infidels should be cleansed by exorcisms and religious rites. So the same people and clergy who had gone out to meet the advancing Castelli on his victorious march north, now formed themselves into devout processions and marched through the streets to purge their city from infidel and rebel contamination. (Ingenieros, La Revolucion, pp. 186-192) (A. Arquedas, La Fundacion de la Republica, Chap. III)

The future revolutionary leaders were quick to detect the error, and hastened to pursue a course which should be more considerate of the religious convictions of the people; Catholic chaplains were attached to the army and the rites of the Church were respected and maintained. In view of the fact that Goyeneche had solemnly proclaimed the Virgin del Carmen to be the commander in chief of his army and himself simply her lieutenant, Belgrano, the new revolutionary general, not to be left behind in saintly protection and favor, put himself and his army under the protection of the Virgin of Mercedes. (Pazos, Letters pp. 45 and 52.)

But the harm had already been done. These acts of disrespect had served to center attention upon the destructive tendencies of the small radical party in Buenos Aires. The result was that not a few who so far had wavered in their allegiance were now driven back into the ranks of the royalists. Their devotion finds expression in the dying words of a young royalist spy, who, about to be shot, exclaimed: "I die content with my God and King." Pazos, who was a native of this region and well acquainted with conditions, ~~states~~ calls attention to the fact that the defeats of the patriotic expeditionary forces were not due so much to peninsular soldiers of which there were but a limited number, but rather to the sturdy fighting of colonial troops

in the royal ranks, composed of the more ignorant and superstitious elements of society who had been won over to the king's party by an appeal for a religious crusade to destroy the enemies of God and man. Thus many who for patriotic motives felt inclined to ally themselves with the revolutionary cause were held back because of religious misgivings and helped to swell the armies of the king. (Pazos, Letters, p.99.)

The effect within the ranks of the revolutionary party was equally disastrous. As we have already said, the religious question did not really enter into the movement, except on the part of the two extremes, namely, the hierarchy on the one hand who identified religion with the royal cause, and the radical minority on the other hand whose program included the destruction of all Divine Right, religious or political. All of the royalist party and ninety per cent of the patriotic party of the continent were as yet perfectly satisfied with their religion, and now by an ill-advised step the question of religious loyalty had been thrust upon them. This was as we shall see caused a serious cleavage and constant suspicion within the revolutionary ranks, where the great majority found themselves in the difficult position occupied by all compromisers. They fought side by side with the radicals to overthrow the despotic power, and then at the very next move would play into the hands of the royalist party against the radicals in an effort to save their religion.

§ 3. At the outbreak of the war no small amount of confusion reigned in the minds of the entire population. As the years went by however the situation began to clarify and we see the emergence of three different parties in the contest, which struggled back and forth for the supremacy of their respective ideals and programs. In order then to understand the South American war of independence it must be borne in mind continually that it was decidedly a three sided contest: two revolutionary parties and one royalist; and to this fact is partially due the prolongation of the war.

(a). The royalist party was inspired by the traditional ideas of loyalty to the politico-religious absolutism, which was believed by the more credulous to be of Divine sanction, and in which their own prospects of future prosperity were involved. This party had as its center the region now known as Peru, it was strongly entrenched in the Cities of Lima, Arequipa, and Cuzco, and from these centers radiated with ever diminishing strength to the farthest limits of the Spanish domain. It was composed of the official class of the government, of the monopolistic interests which flourished under kingly protection, and also of all others who for sentimental and other reasons still clung to the cause of Spain. To this party all the Catholic hierarchy and the Spanish element of the clergy belonged, as well as those of the colonial clergy who could be held under the sway of the civil and religious authorities.

It had been the rule to require of the archbishops and bishops an oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown, and they were expected to use their influence with the people to encourage them in obedience to the king as "God's anointed." How well this duty was complied with is illustrated in the case of one of the bishops of Charcas. "And the late archbishop of Charcas, San Alberto, a man of great disinterestedness and charity and of extraordinary eloquence, employed the power of his pen in composing a royal catechism for the use of the diocese in which he exerted himself to the extent of his ability to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience.... This catechism has been republished in Rome, and received the approbation of his Sanctity, the Pope, who ordered it to be translated into Italian," (Pazos, Letters, pp. 64-65.) This quotation reveals something of the perfect accord which existed between the higher clergy, the royal power and also the papal court at Rome over the question of obedience to the civil authorities in the land. Finally when the revolutionary war broke out we are given a most remarkable exhibition of Christian apostolic zeal on behalf of the cause of the king in the conduct of La Santa, the Bishop of La Paz, Bolivia, "a man of most depraved morals, (who) took the command of a battery against the patriots of Irujana, and afterwards excommunicated all

whom he did not kill." (Pazos, Letters, p. 119.)

This diocese of La Paz seems to have been exceptionally unfortunate in the pastors which were placed over it. In the year 1827, the clergy of La Paz wrote to his Holiness, Leo XII, complaining that their bishop, Antonio Sanchez Mathas, having grown alarmed at the defeat of the Spanish forces in the battle of Ayacucho in 1824, had forsaken his diocese and hastened away home to Spain, with the result that "for three years now this little boat has been drifting about without helm or pilot." (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p. 266.)

The majority of the higher clergy however pursued another and subtler policy in their allegiance to the royal cause. Taking advantage of their supposed aloofness of the things of the world and also of the comparative immunity from political molestation which they enjoyed, they remained at their posts and according to circumstances secretly or openly intrigued against the patriotic movement. Ingenieros accuses the Bishops of Buenos Aires, of Cordoba, and of Salta of being traitors to the patriotic cause. The Bishop of Salta was caught in the act of maintaining secret communications with the royal forces and sent as a prisoner to Buenos Aires where he was treated as a common criminal, in spite of his clerical protests against the indignity thus heaped upon ~~xx~~ a servant of the Lord. (La Revolución, p. 191.)

One of the most famous examples of hierarchical duplicity is the case of Narciso Gall y Prat, Archbishop of Caracas. Upon the initial success of the revolutionary armies, we find him along with ~~xxx~~ other officials of the district taking his oath of allegiance to the new state on July 15, 1811, and making a public speech on the occasion in which he advocates a national church which should owe spiritual allegiance to the pope at Rome. (Documentos, Vol. III, p. 167.) In June of the following year he is ordered to be expelled by the patriotic authorities because of his treachery to their cause. (Documentos, Vol. III, p. 620.) During July of the same year the patriotic armies were seriously defeated and we now have a pastoral letter from the Archbishop, dated Aug. 1st, 1812, calling upon all the faithful to render full

obedience to Ferdinand. But with another turn in the fortunes of the patriotic cause on Sept. 13th, 1813, another official communication from the Archbishop's pen commends the principle of the Independence of America and calls upon the people to support the republican government. (Documentos IV, p. 726.) Two years later, with the return of Ferdinand to ^{the} his throne of Spain, the Archbishop addresses himself again to the faithful on May 11th, 1815, urging all the disaffected elements of colonial society to return to their former fidelity to the lawful king. (Documentos, Vol. V, p. 270.) Finally, the Archbishop was "called" to Spain in 1816, and his unstable career in America was brought to an end. (Documentos, V, p. 434.)

While this was an extreme case, nevertheless it is but an exaggerated example of the general policy of the higher clergy with reference to the revolutionary movement in America, and, as we shall see, that of the pope as well. While the higher clergy were representatives of both King and Church, they were Catholics first and royalists second. If possible they would save the power of both King and Church from the storm ~~which~~ which was raging about them; but the moment that the fortunes of war inclined decidedly in favor of the patriotic armies they did not hesitate for the time ~~being~~ being at least ostensibly to transfer their allegiance to the patriotic cause in order that the interests of the Church might be safeguarded no matter which way the tide of battle might turn.

(6)
6. At the extreme left was what might be called the radical democratic party, which was always a minority in the continental revolutionary ranks. This party was composed largely of young patriots who saw in the French revolutionary philosophy and program the one thing which would give new life to their native land. To them the real issue was the Divine Right of King and Pope versus the Rights of Man. From the beginning then they not only advocated complete separation from Spain, but also the adoption in America of legitimate

democratic conditions and institutions, in so far as they understood them. In keeping with this we find this party seeking to remodel the educational system of the districts under their control; abolishing much of the classical and scholastic instruction and introducing scientific subjects and methods, in order that the citizens of the new state might be taught to form their own judgments unbiased by the subtle influences of king or clergy. Some within this party went so far as to become anti-religious in their attitude; but the majority seemed to have favored the more moderate policy of disturbing the Church in America as little as possible aside from severing the connection with Spain and perhaps with Rome and organizing a national church which should be subservient to nationalistic ideals. In pre-revolutionary days this movement began to take shape in the academies, and especially in the "logias", or secret orders scattered all over the country and affiliated with similar lodges in foreign parts—London, Cadiz, and other cities—which had been formed by American patriots abroad in order to foment the cause of American independence. The oath which the members of these logias took runs as follows: "Wilt thou refuse to recognise as the legitimate government of thy native land every power except that elected by the free and spontaneous will of the people, and since the republican system of government is that best adapted to the Americas wilt thou labor by all the means within thy power in order that the people may adopt this form of government?" (P. G. M. Garmona, La Masoneria in Bolivia, pp.4-5.)

According to the testimony of students of the revolutionary history a fair number of the colonial clergy affiliated themselves with this radical movement. By the time that the war broke out a small minority of the *clergy* had been inspired and aroused by the world's latest philosophies and these men were not slow to ally themselves with the party which most faithfully represented their ideal. By so doing they thereby proclaimed themselves revolutionists first and Catholics second. It is not strange then that ere the revolution was over we find Pazos and others laying aside the clerical robes and returning

to civilian life. Needless to say, the Church was suspicious of this dangerous element in the revolutionary ranks, composed of both laity and clergy, and lost no opportunity to oppose it with all its might.

(c). Lying between these two extremes, the loyalists and the radicals, and comprising the larger wing of the revolutionary population was the Centerist Party. The strength of this group rested in the fact that it more accurately interpreted and expressed the sentiment of the vast majority of the colonial people. Foreign literature had not percolated far enough into the continent to seriously alter the ideas of the illiterate populace the vast majority of whom were quite content with the ^{feudal and} ~~scholastic~~ ideas of colonial times and were still dutiful children of the Holy Mother Church. They were however intensely conscious of the sufferings and injustice caused them by the Spanish occupation; they were encouraged by the news that other peoples had gained their independence; and so when the Spanish throne began to totter, they were ready to take advantage of the opportunity to gain greater freedom for themselves.

The leaders of this party were drawn largely from the ranks of the vested interests, as represented in the former civil administration by the cabildos, and in the religious world by the creole clergy. This might be called the opportunist party. Policies and methods of operation changed with the changing circumstances. They formed the dominant element ⁱⁿ the conservative Juntas of the first days of the revolution which found no difficulty in affirming their allegiance to Ferdinand, so long as they might be allowed to administer the local authority and jurisdiction themselves. Later on it was this party which advocated the establishing of South American monarchies. Finally, when the democratic sentiment had grown to such dimensions that it could not be denied, the members of this party were ready also to vote for the independence of America, but always taking every precaution not to jeopardize their own power and position in the land.

It was to this party then that the great strength of the colonial

church was given. Just as the creoles had always resented the assumption of the highest governmental offices by the Spaniards, so also the creole clergy equally resented the fact that it was always thought necessary to go to ~~Spain~~ Spain for every archbishop, bishop, or other high dignitary. They were glad ^{richer} than enough then to be rid of foreign competition for the ~~highest~~ ecclesiastical benefices, but were keenly anxious and solicitous to preserve the position and power of the Church in the country, fully assured that the eternal salvation of man's immortal soul was involved in the rise or fall of the Holy Catholic Church. The leaders of this party then were Catholics first, or if civilians feudalists first, and revolutionists second; they were supremely interested neither in royalty nor in democracy, but in the best way to secure for themselves the place of dominance and power which had been usurped by the Spaniards. Ingenieros well says/ in summing up the difference between the two revolutionary groups: "Thus it was that two different worlds of ideas faced each other; one which wished to survive, and the other which was struggling to be born." (La Revolucion, p.153.) That which survived the revolution was greater than that which was born through the revolution. Hence the particular course of subsequent events.

~~ii~~ 4. While taking full cognizance then of the anti-revolutionary propaganda of the higher clergy, and also of the persistent efforts of the royalist party to turn the revolutionary war into a holy crusade against the so-called heretics, and while not minimizing the serious embarrassment which this opposition brought to the patriotic cause, nevertheless, if we have rightly interpreted the movement of events and their underlying significance, all of this was but secondary; the Catholics within the revolutionary ranks were just as faithful and labored just as incessantly to preserve the integrity of their Holy Mother Church as did the Catholics within the royalist party. ~~iii~~ It eventually became clear then that the real religious issue of the war did not arise between revolutionist and royalist—whose dispute was political

in character—but rather between the radical and conservative wings of the revolutionary party itself; and it is to this arena that we must devote our attention if we would understand the primary and principal part which the Church played in the struggle of independence. The key note of her policy, both within the ranks of the royalists and the revolutionists, was to take every precaution that the spirit of independence should never escape from church control and never be allowed to invade the religious realm.

We have no need then to follow in detail the long and tedious struggle between royalist and revolutionist which was waged from 1809 to 1825 on the plateau of Alto-Peru, where after the forces of the crown had become too strong to be met in a decisive battle, the stubborn patriotic spirit of the sturdy mountaineers kept up a ceaseless guerrilla warfare to the end. We rather turn our attention to the south, to the ^{low} plains of the Argentine, where the royal armies never had been able to penetrate and where the questions of the future policies both of the Argentine and of Bolivia were being fought out by intrigue, internal revolt, and upon the floor of constitutional assembly or congress between the two rival parties within the revolutionary ranks. Here the primary activity and policy of the Church are revealed.

Our interest centers first of all in the Constituent Assembly of 1813 which gave formal expression to the spirit and aims of the radical democratic party. With some interruptions this group had been in power throughout the revolutionary territory of the south for three years, and the recent victories of the patriotic armies had but served to strengthen their hold upon the country. (Ingenieros, La Revolución, p.256.) The people's representatives, as gathered together in this assembly, formally declared their emancipation from all foreign authority; they reaffirmed the right of popular sovereignty; gave what encouragement they could to economic interests and to general culture, and launched some very significant religious reforms.

It was this civil body of representatives that broke all precedent and had the audacity to sit in judgement upon the Bishop of Salta who was

accused of treason to the patriotic cause, and furthermore which formally authorized those representatives who happened to be parish priests to take part in the proceedings, and virtually to sit as civil judges of an ecclesiastical superior. One of its very first acts was to declare the Inquisition abolished throughout all the region under its jurisdiction, and commit the religious supervision of the public to the secular clergy. As a safeguard to the impetuosity of youth, no one was allowed to take the ~~many~~ vows of a friar or nun before thirty years of age. The assembly declared that "the State of the United Provinces of the River Plate is independent of all ecclesiastical authority which exists outside of the country, whether of royal nomination or of royal appointment." It ordained that "seeing as the Reverend Bishops had resumed the exercise of their primitive powers, they should be free to make full use of them in their respective diocese so long as the present state of communication with the Holy Apostolic See ^{to} should last." No hesitation was felt about legislating quite extensively concerning ecclesiastical finances—a delicate matter always for the Church—, and they even went so far in their humanitarian zeal as to forbid children to be baptized before they were eight days old "for reasons of public health,"— a civil body legislating concerning a sacrament of the Church. (Ingenieros, La Revolución, pp.273-278.)

This Assembly then is expressive of one attitude of the revolution toward religion. The representatives of the people, with a commendable degree of moderation, were striving to meet each concrete situation as it arose in such a manner that real democracy should take the place of monarchical or oligarchical control. Seeing that the authority of both king and pope was no longer operative over the church of that region, the Assembly, as the highest body of the land, undertook to administer such remedies and reforms to the religious body as were thought to be necessary, leaving the question of the final status of the Church to be determined later. Aside from this assumption by the representatives of the people to take control of their own church, there was nothing alarmingly radical or destructive in the proceedings of the Assembly.

But it was sufficient to arouse clerical opposition everywhere, for the Assembly by its pretensions had struck a fatal blow at the absolutism and integrity of the religious institution. This was the one contingency to be avoided. The voice of the people might become supreme in civil ~~affairs~~ affairs, but in religious matters—never; for according to the Catholic interpretation that virtually amounted to man's rebellion against God, the destruction of all true religion and the condemnation of the immortal soul.

It is not strange then that a different spirit prevailed in the Congress of Tucuman in 1816, and that a different party was now in the ascendancy.

Several forces had been operating in the meantime to overthrow the power of the radicals and to place the conservatives in the saddle. First of all, as already suggested, the sweeping reforms of the liberal party had aroused the misgivings of all the vested interests, civil, economic, and religious, within the colonial ranks. It must be remembered that with the continued success of the revolutionary forces in the south and the long delay of succor from Spain there was a constant temptation for many of the conservative element of colonial society, which at first may have been inclined to support the royalist cause, to pass over into the revolutionary party, if perchance they might thus avoid the entire ruin of their power and position. This served to swell the ranks of the conservative wing of the revolutionists and in some respects more seriously compromised the final outcome than if they had remained openly antagonistic. In the second place, the loose lives of some of the younger radical leaders gave occasion to the clericals to point the finger of reproach and to seriously discredit the entire radical program. Perhaps the factor which was as influential as any was the sudden return of Ferdinand VII to power in Spain in the year 1814. He is said to have entered Madrid amidst the enthusiastic cries of an ignorant populace, "¡Muera la libertad," "¡Vivan las cadenas," ("Let liberty die," "Long live the chains.") Ingenieros, La Revolución, p.) This return engineered by the clerical party marked the death for the time being of the liberal movement in Spain and also the beginning of ~~the~~ an

extreme reactionary movement in America which lasted until 1820. The clericals in Spain encouraged those in America; the royalists in Spain animated the royal forces in the colonies, with promises of peninsular troops in sufficient numbers to speedily reduce all rebellion to submission. Consequently the conservative forces in Bolivia and the Argentine now became aggressive and were able to dominate the policies of this new Congress which they had called. In this Congress the Bolivian provinces were fully represented, one of those who presided being Pedro Carrasco delegate from Cochabamba. (Lopez y Crespo, Historia de Bolivia, p.172.) (Arquedas, La Fundacion p.162)

The fact that a new element was in the ascendancy was not long in manifesting itself. The tenor of the Congress was exceedingly religious. The sessions were opened with prayer and all important action was prefaced by seeking the guidance of the Almighty. This is the Congress which completed the formality of declaring an independence which had been in effect for several years. (Full text, signed by twenty nine deputies, given in, Blanco, Documentos, Vol.V.p.466.) Twice during the next two years an attempt was made to sanction the reopening of relationships with the Papal Court at Rome by sending delegates, one of these being made by Dr. Pacheco de Melo, parish priest of Libi Libi in the Department of Chichas, Alto-Peru. (Ingenieros, La Revolucion, pp.337-339.) Both times this proved a failure seeing that the pope was recognised to be a friend and ally of Ferdinand. The Congress placed itself on record as condemning the doctrine that "both civil and religious tolerance are the bases of the prosperity of states;" and a law was passed prohibiting "the sale or public use of the works of Voltaire, Raynal, and other infidels who attack and ridicule our holy religion, which the State has sworn solemnly to support." The first article of Chapter II of the Provisional Constitution, "sanctioned by the Supreme Congress of the United Provinces of South America", reads thus: "The religion of the State is that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church." The second article affirms, "Every man shall present his homage of

of respect and veneration to the public worship and to the Holy Religion of the State; the violation of this prescription will be considered as an infraction of the fundamental laws of the country." (Blanco, Documentos, Vol.V,p.530.)

It is abundantly evident that another spirit prevailed in this Congress, and although the clericals and the conservatives could not secure the sanction of their entire program, nevertheless a most decided effort was made to safeguard for the church her old time position of power and leadership. It was in perfect keeping with the spirit of this reactionary party that this Congress, after making its solemn pronouncement of independence, placed itself on record as favoring the establishment of a monarchy in America, advocating first of all the revival of the old Inca line of monarchy with the capital at Cuzco, and later when this failed to meet with approval the selection of some European prince. It is abundantly clear that there existed a very wide spread fear and suspicion of consistent democratic principles and ~~institutions~~ institutions as offering a serious ~~monarchical~~ menace to all those vested rights which wished to survive. (Arquedas, La Fundacion, p. 163)

While the armies of San Martin were pursuing their victorious campaigns in Chile and in Peru, where in conjunction with reinforcements from the north, they were able to take possession of the City of Lima and finally to utterly defeat the royalist forces in 1824, the struggle between between the partisans of the two contending political theories still continued unabated in the Argentine and Alto-Peru. As a general rule the radicals of Buenos Aires were suspicious of the conservatives of Cordoba, Tucuman, Chuquisaca and Potosi; and they in turn were even more suspicious of what was supposed to be the dangerous party of the revolutionists in Buenos Aires. By the year 1821 the political tide had turned again and the liberals began to gain the ascendancy. Ferdinand's rule of despotism and clericalism in Madrid had been a short lived one. The revolution of Riego in Cadix in the year 1820 had again placed the liberals in power in Spain and gave to the corresponding party in America the prestige and encouragement which they needed. Added to this good news from the

mother land came the reports of the continual successes attending San Martin's expedition. Furthermore it so happened that there returned to the country at this opportune time one of the patriots who had been abroad, Rivadavia, a man of ability and of sufficient maturity of thought and experience to be able to gather the liberal forces about him, to undertake a systematic reform and to carry it through.

By the year 1822 the radical party felt itself to be strong enough to attempt for the second time a reconstruction of the political, economic, educational and religious organization which would give new life to the State and prepare it for the coming ^{era} ~~manifestations~~ of national regeneration. In December of 1822 the famous General Ecclesiastical Reform Law^s was passed, containing in all thirty three articles, designed in a word to better the moral condition of the monasteries and convents which ^{had} grown notoriously lax and to bring the financial and administrative affairs of the Church more closely under the supervision of the State. (Ingenieros, La Revolución, pp. 273-491.)

But here again no sooner had the liberals consummated their program of ecclesiastical reform than the clerical and reactionary forces began to gather power and to lay their plans for a counter revolution. A revolt broke out in Buenos Aires only three months after the approval of these reforms, in which the participants cried, "Viva la Religion; ¡barran los herejes." This was ^p speedily put down; but the clerical conspiracy and opposition were only temporarily suspended. Encouraged by the coming of a considerable number of Spanish friars who had fled from Spain at the time of the liberal revolt of 1820—it is estimated that four thousand of them came to America at that time—the conservatives continued to harass the government until finally in 1829 they brought about the "Restoration" under Rosas, when the feudalistic, clerical party again gained full control.

Into the details of this dispute which now begins to concern the Argentines more than Bolivia there is no need to go. During the operations

of the royalist ~~armies~~ armies in Alto-Peru hundreds of Bolivian families had fled for safety to what is now known as the Argentine, but which then was all one undivided country. Here they had not only witnessed deliberations and discussions but had taken a prominent part $\frac{1}{2}$ in all the disputes and struggles. By the year 1825 however they returned to their former homes, convinced that their interests and views were distinct from those of Buenos Aires, and that the region until then known as Alto-Peru or Charcas should now be separate and independent.

This long dispute which the representatives of Cordoba, Tucuman, Potosi, Chuquisaca and Buenos Aires sustained with one another, served to make clear one or two important matters. First there is revealed here a long fought out duel between two distinct philosophies of life and two programs for the future reconstruction of the new republics. In the second place, it becomes apparent that the issues of South American politics were not dependent entirely upon the course of events in South America alone, but that the fortunes of liberal and conservative forces in America rose and fell with the fortunes of the corresponding parties in Spain. The full role of the Catholic Church then in its relation to the revolutionary movement includes much that transpired in Spain and at Rome as well as on this side of the water.

* 5 So far little or nothing has been said with reference ^{to} the Pope and his attitude to the struggle of independence. At the outbreak of the revolution all the districts in revolt found themselves cut off from Rome, for by being rebels against his Holy Catholic Majesty the King of Spain they thereby incurred the grave displeasure of the Papacy which for three hundred years had conjointly administered the American colonies through the provisions of the patronato. Informal communications passed by one way and another between the Papal Court and the ecclesiastics of the regions in revolt, but in all such districts the Church recognised that for the time being at least it had incurred the ~~great~~ Papal displeasure, and that as yet they could not seek to reopen

relationships with the staunchest ally of their great enemy Ferdinand VII.

On the other hand the attitude of the Pope to the American revolutionists was not dependent upon American circumstances alone, but also and largely upon the turn of the wheel of fortune in Spain. The deposition of Ferdinand by Napoleon in 1808 very materially complicated the entire ~~situa~~ situation for the Pope, because Napoleon had never shown himself to be worthy of the title of the "Beloved Son of the Church" which the Spanish monarchs had borne. However as soon as Ferdinand had returned to his throne in 1814, the atmosphere began to clear and on the 30th of January, 1816, Pope Pius ~~the~~ VII proclaimed the legitimate sovereignty of Ferdinand over the Americas and urged the clergy to work against the cause of independence. (Ingenieros, La Revolución, p.536.) There was formal also in Spain an "Apostolic Party" whose program was "the defense of Throne and Altar", and the extermination of the revolutionary liberalism which was working such havoc with the imperial and papal power both in the mother country and in America.

But during the period of the liberal regime in Spain from 1820 to 1823 when Ferdinand was virtually held prisoner in the hands of the liberals, the Holy See became openly antagonistic to the peninsular government and courted more friendly relations with the revolutionists in America, although taking every precaution never to go so far as to recognize their independence. (Ingenieros, La Revolución, p.452.) It was during this period while the liberals were in power in Spain that Pius VII addressed a letter to one of the bishops of Columbia revealing this friendly attitude, "As for us we certainly have no intentions of meddling in the purely political affairs of the public order; our solicitude is directed only to that which concerns religion and the Church of God which we govern; attending to salvation of souls as is fitting and proper in our ministry." (La Gazeta de Lima, May 24, 1823; quoted by Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.286.) So likewise at this time the Pope nominated as a special apostolic delegate to Chile and other countries, the Philippine

Archbishop, Juan Ruiz. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.236.)

But on the return of Ferdinand to power for the second time again the authorities in Rome espoused his cause. Leo XII is charged with having given out in 1824 an Encyclical Letter condemning the cause of the American Independence, and the liberals of South America still maintain this charge although the Catholic party rejects the accusation as a fraud in view of the fact that no copy of the said letter appears among the official documents at Rome. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p. 235; Ingenieros, La Revolucion, p.336.)

Be this as it may, we are not left in doubt as to Leo's sentiments in the matter, for we have the copy of another Encyclical from the same Pope sent to the bishops of America in 1824 through the regular channels of the Council of the Indies, bearing the king's approval. "To the Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of America; Leo XII, Pope; Venerable Brethren, salutation and the apostolic benediction.....Indeed it is with the most cruel and incomparable pain that we have received the sad news of the deplorable situation ^{to} ~~in~~ which both the State and the Church have been reduced in those regions by the tares of rebellion which the enemy hath sown in your midst..... You will not fail then to bear in mind that your first obligation is to preserve untarnished your religion whose prosperity, as is well known, depends necessarily upon the tranquility of the country....." He urges them "to set forth before your flocks the august and distinguished qualities which characterize our well beloved son Ferdinand, Catholic King of the Spanish domains, whose sublime and solid virtue leads him to prefer the glory of the Church and the happiness of his subjects to the splendor of his own greatness." The Encyclical is dated, Rome, Sept.24, 1824, "the first year of our pontificate." and is signed by José Cardinal Albani. (Blanco, Documentos, Vol.IX.p.399)

It would appear then that throughout the revolutionary war the Papacy pursued the same general policy which it has been accustomed to follow in every time of world crisis. It showed itself to be the firm and consistent ally of His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand, and the sworn enemy of every liberal

and emancipating movement, whether in Spain or in America. The recent experiences of the Court at Rome with the revolutionists of France had but confirmed the Papacy in its habitual opposition to liberalism. No opportunity however was lost to keep in touch by one way or another with the bishops of America, most of whom were of course partizans of the dual alliance, to safeguard the interests of the Church, so that no matter what turn the course of events might take the cause of religion might suffer as little as possible. Needless to say this was the first concern of the Papacy, and as the letter just quoted indicates, the bishops were admonished whatever might happen to pursue the same policy. As the struggle proceeds and as the prospects of a royal victory begin to decline, Leo XII, while still remaining true to his ally, writes to the American bishops in very guarded terms, and leaves the door half open so that in the eventuality of a revolutionary victory, the American Church and the American republics might be able to renew relationships with the Holy See without too much embarrassment to either party. Consequently the war was scarcely over before the bishops in America wrote to Leo congratulating him/ on his election to the Papal Chair, (Blanco, Documentos, Vol. IX, p.503) and the provisional governments of the different countries ~~entered~~ entered into correspondence with Rome over the filling of vacant dioceses and securing a modus vivendi for the future; and Leo in return now began to address himself, for example, to "Our Beloved Son the Illustrious Leader, Antonio José de Sucre, in Chuquisaca," using the same language to the victorious rebel general that he had employed but a few months previously in his official communications to America with reference to the King of Spain.

§ 6. We are now in a position to summarize briefly the results of the sixteen years struggle for independence, so far as such results can be condensed into a few statements sufficiently general to be applicable to post-colonial conditions as a whole.

(a). In the political world we have the profession of a new political sovereignty, residing in the people rather than in the king; and also a new form of government, republican rather than monarchical. But ~~was~~ the course of events soon demonstrated the revolution had brought no capacity for self-government and but very imperfect national cohesion within the resultant states. Consequently the public rejoicings which attended the official celebrations of the newly bought liberty ere long gave way to painful and doubtful pessimism as it soon became apparent that the idealistic hopes of the ~~part~~ patriots who had fought for years were to meet with disappointment. It had been expected by some that monarchical imperialism ~~was~~ would be replaced by truly democratic forms of government, in which a larger or smaller portion of the people might participate. What actually transpired was that the royal power was replaced by the strongest power in America, namely that of the militarists who had grown dominant while other interests languished; and seeing that the military leader was the hero and idol of the populace and that there was no organized interest strong enough to oppose him, the creole general or caudillo assumed the rule over the various countries under the form of republicanism. Each and every one of the republics was very careful to model and remodel its constitution repeatedly after the pattern of French or North American ideals. But while Latin America was thus giving expression to its hopes and visions, the countries themselves were held under the sway of a military absolutism which has tended gradually to pass over into more democratic forms of administration, through the transitional stage of a closed oligarchy composed of the prominent families of each country. Thus for the time being the people who had sacrificed for long years to free themselves from the despotism of the king of Spain, awoke to find themselves still suffering under the less dignified and less restrained despotism of creole tyrants, whose only claim to authority was their own personal bravery or audacity and whose only support was the army and the adulation of an ignorant populace.

(b). The economic conditions of the republics as they emerged from the war were no more gratifying. It is true that each country now had won the right to supervise its own foreign commerce through treaties with other powers where formerly this privilege of foreign trade had been enjoyed only by virtue of royal favor. In like manner all the special concessions given by the crown to the Spanish monopolists ceased the moment that the revolutionists came into power; nor were the home industries any longer held under unjust restrictions. But in spite of all these decided gains, the economic situation throughout the continent remained deplorable. This was partly due to the ravages of war which had laid waste those sections of the country such as the plateau of Bolivia which had served as the battle ground of independence, and to the consequent dislocation of almost all domestic industry. But it was equally due to the fact that during the long and strict ~~tax~~ ^{el} tutelage of the old colonial institutionalism the people of America, now that they were liberated, lacked the capacity and necessary capital to work out their own economic salvation, even when they had the liberty to do so. Therefore while the Spanish monopolist operating under royal favor was banished forever, his place was soon taken by the foreigner whose capital, industry and business experience made him too keen a competitor of the citizens of the new republics, who for the most part expected to find in political rather than economic reconstruction the solution of the major portion of their ills. Thus it has happened that all down through the 19th century, while the South American republics have been wrestling with the political problem, the foreigner has gathered the whole continent more and more into the meshes of foreign economic domination; until now with the opening of the twentieth century many a South American fears exceedingly that the political freedom won one hundred years ago is about to be seriously curtailed by the not entirely disinterested pressure which is being exerted by foreign economic interests. ~~All of which but goes to prove once more that while war may be necessary, as destructive of tyranny and~~

Not only did the war of independence fail to remove foreign domination in the commercial world but it likewise failed to bring about any appreciable change in the industrial and economic organization of the country. Both in the mines and in the fields the colonial, feudalistic system survived; the Spaniard was gone officially, but the patron still sat and farmed himself on the verandah while the peon labored and sweated in the fields; and so far as history records, no serious thought was ever entertained of altering this system which had become so deeply rooted in the social and economic life of the colonies as to become an integral part of the whole. The partial reconstruction effected in the political world was accompanied by an even more partial and imperfect remodeling of the system of production and of commercial exchange.

(c). The real line of cleavage which gave rise to the revolution ran between the peninsular and the colonial; and never between the Indian and the four or five social classes above him. For this reason the Indian revolts under Tupac Amaru and the Catari must not be taken as true precursors of the revolution; except in so far as they were indications of general unrest. They were rather uprisings against the whole white race, including even the mestizos who had been their oppressors; and Spaniards, creole, mestizo and cholo united in the most cruel suppression of the revolt, for everyone irrespective of class or color was living off the (over to page 33)

industry of the Indian and had as yet no idea of doing otherwise. (Lopez y Crespo, p.112-118.)

But the colonial classes, while perfectly ready to exploit the Indian, had bitterly resented the effort of the Spaniards to lord it over them. Contemporary witnesses tell us that with every success of the royalist arms the Spaniard in the land grew more and more arrogant; but with the subsequent rise in the fortunes of the patriotic party the peninsular population began to forget their former sense of superiority and those who remained in America were either ~~quite~~ quite ready or were ~~compelled~~ compelled to assume a different attitude to the colonials. Consequently out of the throes of war there emerged a new dominant class which displaced the peninsular patricians. The titles and rank of the colonial nobility were abolished; and then the remaining Spaniards, the creoles, and even some of the mestizos gravitated ~~to~~ together and formed a new governing group, known ever long as "La Gente", or the people, "Los Intelectuales," "Los Bolivianos," "Los Chilenos," "Los Peruanos," as the case might be. This was the social transformation which was won by the war. ~~The remainder~~ The remainder of the mestizos and the choics united to form the great mestizo class of republican days, which has continually ~~grown~~ been augmented by unions with the indigenous races, but whose position in the social scale has suffered little or no change. ~~It~~

The Indians for their part have remained exactly where they were before, "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water" for all those who consider themselves to be their superiors; with the single exception that some of the more burdensome forms of their oppression have been legally removed, only to be restored in a disguised form. The Indian still pays tribute, still labors in the field, the mine or the kitchen, and continues to drop on his knees and remove his hat before the white man.

It must not be supposed that the oppressed Indian race found no advocates and friends among the revolutionary party. Latin idealism strove as best it could against social institutionalism, human greed and conservative

custom to better the primitive man's lot; and no where is this more apparent than in connection with the radical revolutionary movement of La Paz in 1809. In the deliberations on the very first night, July 16, 1809, it was decreed that one Indian from each district should belong to the official Council of Defense which was to assume supreme authority throughout the revolutionary territory. (Acta de la Independencia, Text in full given in Lopez and Crespo, La Historia de Bolivia, p. 483.) In conformity with this resolution we learn that when the Council of Defense was actually constituted on July 24, three Indians took their seats as representatives of the districts of Yungas, and Ormasuyos. (Lopez y Crespo, Historia, p. 142.)

The Constituent Assembly of 1813 declared the Indians free from all tribute to the crown, and prohibited slavery. (Ingenieros, La Revolucion, p. 253.) Three years later, with the object of winning the support of the Indians, it was decreed by the Congress of Tucuman that the Declaration of Independence should be translated into both the Quechua and the Aymara languages and made known to them.

And finally in the Bolivian Declaration of Independence, Aug 6th, 1825, the whole world is called upon to contemplate the lamentable condition of the Indians as a justification for the break with Spain. But the time had not yet come for any thorough going social or economic reconstruction, and so in spite of revolutionary idealism and later laws of protection the Indian's lot remains substantially unchanged. The social and economic structure of the colonies was carried over ^{intact} ~~in tact~~ into the republican era. The total number of the ~~max~~ social grades was reduced from five to three, and the lines of the dominant class were extended to include creoles and mestizos; but fundamentally the social structure of the nineteenth century was the colonial feudalism of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries which had survived the war and still remained an integral part of the Latin American culture.

(d). The Catholic Church seems to have been the one institution of the four which emerged less disturbed and more entrenched than before. The

liberal wing of the revolutionists had hoped that the political transformation would be accompanied by a kindred intellectual awakening and religious reformation. But the united force of Catholicism, supported by the allied vested interests, was too powerful a combination; and from one end of the continent to the other the people of all classes remained as faithful and loyal Catholics as they had ever been.

When the various republics came to draw up their Constitutions each one in turn wrote the Catholic Church into the charter of its liberties, as the one established religion of the nation, which the State was to support and to defend, prohibiting in all cases the public exercise of any ~~in~~ other form of worship. As early as 1816 the people of Alto-Peru and the Argentine had safeguarded this fundamental matter by establishing Catholicism as the religion of the State in the provisional constitution of that year. That a similar religious spirit pervaded the region farther north is well evidenced in the vow of fidelity to the new State of Venezuela which all officials were called upon to take in 1811. Do you swear "...to preserve and to maintain pure and undisturbed the Holy Catholic Apostolic Religion, as the only and exclusive religion of this country, and to defend the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, Our Lady?" (Blanco, Documentos, Vol. III, p. 157.) It was apparent that the rank and file of the people from the Isthmus to the Cape had no idea of turning their backs upon the Holy Mother Church. To the present day the Roman Catholic Church is the official religion in all the South American States but one (?); and not until the year 1916 did Peru, the stronghold of the colonial church and the last of the South American countries to do so, remove from its constitution the clause prohibiting the public exercise of other religions.

Just as soon as diplomatic obstacles could be removed, each state in turn sought to open up formal relationships with Rome; and the Holy Father proved himself equally solicitous to re-establish intercourse with those his children who had been partially alienated through the years of struggle and

separation. Relationships with Rome were readily re-established, only now in a different form. The old patronate of the King of Spain gave way to special agreements or concordats celebrated between the Papal See and each of the South American governments, in which each government strove to conserve just as many of the royal prerogatives as possible.

In many places the daily ministrations of religion had been suspended by the ravages of war, and the ranks of the clergy had been depleted very seriously through the removal of Spanish priests, the death of others, and a dearth of students in the seminaries. But these losses were temporary and were soon more than compensated for by other distinct gains which the Church was able to make. Through the provisions of the concordats made with ~~Rome~~ the Court at Rome the positions of the higher clergy in each country were now filled by aspirants from the national priesthood. The effect of this wise reform was soon evident. One cause of constant irritation and resentment had been removed from the affairs of the American Church which now became in each republic a species of national church, operating through a distinct understanding with the representatives of the people, and directed by archbishops and bishops who were their own fellow patriots. Thus a new sense of proprietorship and loyalty was awakened which entrenched the Church more firmly than ever before in the affection of the people. Through this wise arrangement the ~~patriotism of the~~ higher clergy now became a new rallying point for national patriotism.

Nor were the clergy slow in taking full advantage of the psychology of the hour to bring about a decided reaction against all that which was in any way tinged with radicalism or scepticism. The radicalism of the French Revolution had wrought all kinds of excesses in Europe. For a while America herself seemed to be threatened with the same dangerous disintegration, and had been saved through the diligent ~~watchman~~ watchcare and energetic action of the clergy and of no other men equally respectful of the sacred traditions and institutions of the past. Consequently, just as the

Reformation of Luther was followed by a counter-reformation within the Church itself with decided ultramontane tendencies, so similarly here the political revolution was followed by a counter-reformation within the Church. The earlier attempts of the liberals at educational reforms were either strenuously opposed by the clerical party or fell upon evil days owing to the general turmoil into which the countries plunged. The Lancasterian schools which the earlier patriots had encouraged in Buenos Aires and Venezuela were bitterly opposed by the clerical party and finally crushed out. Ere long the people forgot their indebtedness to liberal thought, and liberalism was driven under ground where in some countries it was compelled to remain for fifty years or more. The clergy became enthroned in the hearts of the people as the guardians of man's welfare; they took their seats in the assembly halls of the nations and general discredit was thrown upon all that which was new or foreign. South America became more solidly Catholic than it had been since the days when the new thought and new liberties of Europe and North America began to awaken the [“]slumbering colonies of Spain into new life. ~~The King of Spain had gone, but the Pope of Rome had tightened his grip.~~

§ 7. A fourfold institutionalism prevailed during the colonial era, canalizing human society, denying to men independence and initiative, and condemning each succeeding generation for three hundred years to serve simply as so many relays, handing on faithfully to the children those social customs, ~~institutions~~ and heritages which had long held the fathers in bondage. Such conditions provided no training school for the human qualities required in modern democracy.

Then came the revolution through which the voice of the people finally spoke in language which could not be misunderstood. As ultimately proved to ~~be~~ be the case, the voice of the people was not the voice of the liberal minority. The latter's program of national reconstruction, while

modeled upon the revolutionary ideology of France and North America, was leagues in advance of the ideas and aspirations of the colonies which had lain dormant for three long centuries. As the majority diagnosed their case it seemed to them that the cause of their suffering ~~was~~ arose from the Spanish occupation. This was the age when man's misfortunes were being attributed to political mal-adjustment; and ~~in~~ in conformity to this it was felt that if Spanish absolutism were substituted by a democracy of the people America would then be on the road to prosperity. Incidentally also the removal of the Spaniard was necessary in order that the distinctively colonial society might occupy the place which corresponded to it in the new regime. In all of which the Catholic Church as an institution was to remain undisturbed, except that foreign dignitaries were to be substituted by ~~national~~ national clergy. In a word, the revolutionary program of the majority involved a change in only two institutions; political absolutism was to give place to a democracy; and the royal monopolies were abolished; but no sweeping change was even contemplated in those aspects of life which we have called economic, social and religious. The institutionalism which survived the war is perpetuated and typified today by the feudalistic patron with his band of peons, by the American "caballero" or "Doctor" who has taken the place of the Spanish Don, and by the Catholic "padre" who still holds his accustomed place; and just in so far as this is allowed to continue undisturbed will the people of South America experience at every turn of the road discouraging obstacles in their long pilgrimage towards greater political freedom. *The Catholic Church had so engineered the Revolution that the Radical Party had been defeated; the power passed over into the hands of the more conservative elements, and she herself emerged from the conflict with increased prestige & influence.*

Chapter 11.

THE CHURCH AS A FACTOR IN THE CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN
 REGIME OF BOLIVIA .

United by common aspirations and fired by enmity against a common oppression the colonists of South America prolonged the struggle ^{until} the whole continent was delivered from the yoke of Spain. Freedom was won by the extreme north and the extreme south during the early years of the war; but no sooner had one province gained its deliverance than it immediately ^{by} marched to the assistance of its neighbor, the Argentine shedding his blood upon Chilean soil and the Columbian fighting side by side with his fellow patriot of Venezuela or Ecuador. Such united efforts continued until finally the armies of the north and of the south converged upon the last great battle ground of American independence amongst the mountains and valleys of Peru, and there together in 1824 fought the battles of Junin and Ayacucho which brought to an end the three hundred years of Spanish occupation in America.

From this date on, the stream of colonial life divided and has since continued its course in the various republics with which we are familiar. But each republic has carried over into its own particular life the heritage of Spanish institutions and customs which had set the bounds beyond which colonial life must not trespass. In this social heritage we have the main formative factors which are to determine the future developments of the Spanish speaking section of the continent. No further element has been added during these last hundred years, except the foreign influence which has come in through immigration, commercial intercourse and exchange of literature. The homogeneity of the colonies had been such that to a very large degree all partook of

the same general culture; and whatever contrasts there may exist today has been due largely to the local differences in geographical ^{features, to} ~~manifications~~ ^{the} relative preponderance of the indigenous population and to the varying hospitality of each country to the foreign influences which have been streaming into the continent through a dozen channels.

Our interest centers now upon one of these resultant republics which while sharing in the same ~~gen~~ general heritage of the past nevertheless presents several features which have given to it its own peculiar history. During the days of the colonial administration no section of Spanish America was more prominent in the public eye than the provinces known as Charcas or Alto-Peru, and which today bears the name of the great Spanish American liberator. Here was situated the famous silver mountain, Potosi; in this district was located the audiencia, the academy of lawyers, and the University of San Francisco de Xavier, second only to San Marcos in Lima; all of which combined gave to the City of Chuquisaca the ~~now~~ ^{un}merited title of "The Athens of South America." But in spite of these former glories Bolivia started in the race seriously handicapped in several respects. Probably no other portion of the continent had been so extensively over-run by armies or had suffered more from the destruction of its agriculture and commerce; it was indeed the Flanders of South American independence. No section of the continent is more difficult of access and therefore less easily touched by foreign influence and commerce. It is one of the four or five South American countries in which the indigenous population vastly outnumbers all other classes of society. Here the colonial social class distinctions and the feudalistic control of the indigenous races survived; and here the manifold influences of the Catholic Church had become so intimately entwined in all the affairs of life, both private and public, that even the disturbances of the long political upheaval had utterly failed to discredit it or to dislodge it from the affections of the rank and file of the people.

1. The forty eight representatives of the people, gathered together in the City of Chuquisaca in the first National Assembly of Bolivia, were not slow in giving the world to understand what their attitude to the Church of Rome was to be. The official Declaration of Independence, August 6, 1825, runs thus: "The Provinces of Alto-Peru.....declare before all the earth that it is their irrevocable determination to govern themselves, and to be ruled by the constitution, laws and authorities which they themselves may dictate and may deem to be most in keeping with their future happiness as a nation/ and the unalterable support of their Holy Catholic Religion and of the most sacred rights of honor, life, liberty, equality, property and security." (Lopez y Crespo, Historia, p.495.) Some of these deputies had taken part in the assemblies and congresses of the Argentine before the separation of the two countries; they had participated in the debates and the disputes between the conservative and radical groups of the revolutionary party, and by the time that Bolivia came to determine her national status there was no longer any doubt in their minds, as there was not in any of the other young republics, as to what stand they should take with reference to religion.

The National Assembly of the following year defined even more clearly the policy of the Bolivian people with reference to the religious institution which had been so intimately identified with their lives. As a mark of special courtesy and confidence Bolivar had been requested to make the first draft of the new constitution for the country which was to bear his name. Now "The Liberator" entertained some quite modern views with reference to the relation of church and state, and consequently the constitution which he submitted to the Bolivian Congress made no provision for the public recognition of the Catholic religion or of any other. (Full copy of this constitution, c.f. Blanco, Documentos, Vol.X, p.347.) ~~xxxxxx~~ Accompanying the constitution ~~addressed to the representatives~~ was sent a long letter addressed to the representatives, in which he explains among other things the reasons for this omission, part of which may well be quoted as illustrative of the way in which

the best judgement of a large portion of the revolutionary leaders differed from the deep religious convictions of a majority of the people. "Legislators; I will take the ~~xxx~~ trouble to refer to one article which, in order to be true to my best convictions, I have been compelled to omit. No religion ~~xxx~~ should be prescribed in a political constitution; because according to the most accepted theories, fundamental laws are the guarantee of political and civil rights; and as religion is not intimately connected with either of these it is by nature ^á indefinable in the social order and belongs to that which is moral and intellectual. Religion governs a man in the privacy of his home, of his office, and of his own inner life; it alone has the right to inquire into his intimate consciousness. Public laws, on the other hand, have to do with the surface of things; they have no jurisdiction except outside the citizen's home. Now in view of these considerations, could the state dictate ^{to} of the consciences of its subjects, supervise the fulfilment of religious obligations and mete out the corresponding reward or punishment, when the (proper) tribunals are in heaven and when God is the judge? The Inquisition alone would be capable of replacing them here; and would you have the Inquisition back with its flaming fires? Religion is the law of the conscience. Every law imposed upon religion thereby annuls it; because to impose necessity upon duty takes all merit out of faith, which is the basis of religion.....To prescribe religion then is not the legislator's business..." (Blanco, Documentos, Vol.X, p. 346.)

But the ideas of the rank and file of the South American people touching the matter of religion were not those of the revolutionary radicals. It is not strange then that when the constitution was submitted to the Bolivian Assembly one of the few amendments insisted upon was a new second article which read: "The State recognises and maintains the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion, and prohibits any other public worship, except in the colonial territories where there will be toleration." ^(Arquedaa, La Fundacion, p 346) The full force of colonial religious intolerance which lay back of this at the time comes out more

clearly in one of the articles of the penal code of the same period: "Whoever conspires directly and in fact to establish any other religion in Bolivia, or aims at having the public cease to profess the Roman, Catholic, Apostolic Religion is a traitor and shall suffer the penalty of death." (Article 195, Chap. III, of the Penal Code of Bolivia, quoted by John Lee, Religious Liberty in South America, p.12.) And in this the Bolivians were not different from others. Immediately one is reminded of a similar clause inserted by the clerical element in the Provisional Constitution of the United Provinces of South America in 1816, with the exception that in the latter the death penalty is ~~omitted~~ omitted. For a while the law of Peru also contained a similar provision.

With the Bolivian government thus constituted, one of the first duties which devolved upon the Executive was to renew relationships with the Holy See in order that the religious situation in Bolivia might be normalized as soon as possible. Accordingly on ~~the~~ February 3, 1827, we find Antonio Sucre, the new president, writing to the Pope to inform him of the action of the Bolivian Government in proclaiming Bolivia to be a Catholic nation and recognising the Supreme Pontiff as its spiritual head. A second letter dated February 9, of the same year, informs His Holiness of the choice by the Bolivian authorities of one of their own clergy, Dr. José Maria Mendizabal, as Bishop of La Paz, and presenting his name for elevation to that rank. The third communication, October 23, 1827, informs the Pope of the action of Congress regulating the monastic orders of the republic, and authorizing the public treasury to take charge of the "diezmos" or tithes in order to help defray the expenses of cathedrals, hospitals, etc., which royal responsibility had now been assumed by the state. Leo XII on his part, August 2, 1828, acknowledges receiving these three letters almost at the same time, expresses his keenest appreciation of the fidelity of his children who live so far removed from him, and promises to attend to their request concerning the new bishop at the earliest possible moment, which request was actually complied with in the Consistory of December 5, 1828; and ere long Mendizabal was duly installed as bishop.

In this manner, the relationships between the Head of the Church and the faithful of Alto-Peru which had been interrupted for several years were finally re-established. (Blanco, Documentos, Vol. XII, p.743.)

There is no need to add further documentary proof. The significant fact is that within three years of the celebration of peace we find the Catholic Church occupying the same place in the Bolivian nation as it had formerly occupied in the old colonial administration. It should ~~also~~ be noted that the party with which the Church entered into such friendly relationships was the conservative majority which had fought liberalism in all its forms and while committed to the republican principle in political affairs, nevertheless stood for as little change as possible in ~~the~~ all other aspects of life. ^(Arguedas, La Fundación, p.346) ~~the~~ In accordance with this, the representatives of the people hasten to affirm their unshaken devotion to the religion of their fathers; they embrace the very first opportunity to assure the Supreme Pontiff of their unflinching allegiance to him, and the government takes it upon itself to assume the prerogatives enjoyed by the king of Spain under the old patronato. But herein is a difference, ~~the~~ ^{the} significance of which cannot be overstated. In the colonial administration the union of Church and State was a cooperation between two ^{analogous} ~~analogous~~ and kindred institutions, a religious monarchy joining hands with a temporal monarchy, both basing their authority in the same principle of Divine Right, both absolute and dictatorial in their spirit, both organized on the same plan of centralized control, and reaching out from that supreme center to every last corner of the dominions by kindred forms of organization, hierarchical on one hand and aristocratic or royal on the other. All that was necessary for harmonious and profitable cooperation was a mutual delimitation of the respective jurisdiction of each party to the agreement; and such an understanding had been reached between the King of ^{of} Spain and the Pope of Rome. The two organizations ran parallel in spirit, aim and structure.

But when the fathers of the Bolivian nation attempted to re-establish the same relationships between civil and religious institutions they failed to fully appreciate the radical change which, theoretically at least, had taken place within one of those organizations in the meantime, and which must eventually destroy further advantageous cooperation. The new arrangement was an attempted union between civil republicanism and religious absolutism; one of which claimed to be based upon the rights of the people and the other upon Divine Right; one of which was born out of years of warfare in order that men might be free while the other survived the war in order to maintain its unshaken hold upon the emotions, opinions, and customs of the people. It is not surprising then that even a hasty review of the pronouncements already quoted reveal some most glaring anomalies and contradictions. The Constitution which affirms the democratic liberties of the people ~~proceeds~~ proceeds in the second article to deny all liberty in the religious realm; the Declaration of Independence in which the people declare their irrevocable determination to govern themselves also affirms their allegiance to the Holy Catholic Religion, the very first duty of which is to acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

Any group of people which organizes its public life on the dual basis of civil republicanism and a religious absolute monarchy is from the very beginning divided over against itself. The sails of the ship of state are all set for progress, but the old anchor still lies deeply buried in the mud. Not only is there an ever growing danger of a clash of interests between the republic and the monarchy, not only is there a theoretical and academic contradiction between the liberalism of the one and the absolutism of the other, but more serious still is the baffling confusion which arises in the minds of the people. They find themselves to be citizens of one institution and subjects of the other; the virtues of intelligence, independence of thought, and freedom of action which citizenship calls for are not the highest virtues of the subject whose characteristic attitude must be one of submission and whose cardinal

virtue is implicit obedience. ~~It is exceedingly difficult for a good Catholic to be a good democrat, or for a good democrat to be a good Catholic, the one neutralized the other.~~ This is what has actually happened in the country under consideration. The absolutism of the Church neutralized the struggle for political self-determination and has operated as ~~an~~ a continual drag upon national progress; on the other hand the theoretical freedom of the state began to undermine the absolutism of the Church, and eventually liberalism and even radicalism made their appearance, in spite of the constant precautions of the ecclesiastical authorities.

2. If has ever been one of the unalterable policies of the Catholic Church to control the education and training of the people under her jurisdiction; but now with the authority of the king replaced by the sovereignty of the people, it became more necessary than ever for any institution which essayed to direct the policies and destinies of the nation to supervise all those agencies through which the character and opinions of the people are moulded. No sooner then had the Church entrenched herself in the political structure of the nation than she sought to secure for herself an equally dominant position ~~with~~ in the educational system of the country, which position she was able to ~~maintain~~ maintain unshaken until the end of the conservative regime in 1898.

Ever since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the civil power had assumed an increasing responsibility for the education of its subjects. It was in perfect keeping with this general tendency that the civil authorities of the new nation should immediately manifest deep concern for the enlightenment of those who were to bear the responsibilities of citizenship. One of the very first concerns of General Sucre upon assuming the supreme mandate over the country was to encourage and revive the various institutions of learning, and to regulate their operation by an educational bill which passed the Bolivian Congress in 1827. One cannot read the plan of studies as outlined

expression

without realizing that a new spirit was at least struggling for experience. Less time is now to be given to the traditional studies of former years and more emphasis is laid upon geography, history, natural science, medicine, and such subjects ~~as~~ as would prepare man for the practical duties of life. Even at this early date we discover the controlling hand of the ecclesiastical power; The sixth chapter of this new law provided that over each school there was to be appointed a chaplain, who was to minister to the spiritual needs of the students, to hear their confessions and celebrate mass on all holy days, at which all students were supposed to attend. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, pp.291-293.) It was in perfect keeping then with the above regulation that at the same time all students of law ~~applied~~ who applied for admission to the academy were required to swear first to support the Catholic Religion, and then to defend the Republic of Bolivia. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.237.)

The ecclesiastical authorities were able to secure for themselves an even more explicit recognition of their influence over the education of the country in the new bill of education sponsored by Tomás Frias in 1845, while he was Minister of Instruction, and which is recognised as one of the most important documents in the history of education in Bolivia. In order to maintain the desired standards of excellence and to be able to supervise the instruction given, no one was allowed to open up any kind of school for public instruction without having first received permission ~~xxxxxx~~ from the University authorities and having given satisfactory proof of preparation and good conduct. Furthermore, such schools were to conform strictly to detailed government regulations. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.301.) The fourth "title" of this regulation has this to say with reference to the basis of instruction: "All the classes of all the grades of instruction shall have as bases: first, the precepts of the Catholic Religion; second, fidelity to the Republic and to its constitution which is designed to conserve the unity of Bolivia and the principles necessary for the social order; third, obedience to the statutes of the university and to the laws which control its instruction, and which have as an

object the uniformity of teaching and which tend to form citizens who shall be useful and devoted to their native land." (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.303.)

Looking back over these earlier and formative years of the Republic, what we see is the persistent efforts of the government in the midst of anarchy, poverty and inexperience, to built up an ^{na} national system of education strictly under the supervision of the public authorities which should create citizens loyal to the republic and to existing institutions. But while the subject matter of instruction was more modern in character than had been the curriculum of colonial days, the Church had seen to it that the very first basis of all instruction in all grades and classes was to be "the precepts of the Catholic Religion." Thus again we get a union of civil and religious institutions in the joint supervision of education with a view to making it the bulwark of the statu quo, rather than the pioneer of progress and reform. So far the vested rights, civil, economic, social or religious had no reason for misgivings. The chief formative agencies of public opinion and life were under safe control.

This brings us down to the year 1872. For some years there had been a growing sentiment that the primary instruction of the masses, so indispensable for intelligent participation in public affairs, had been neglected, and furthermore that the higher grades of education had fallen too completely under the control of the ecclesiastical and political elements of society. This feeling of protest gave expression to itself in a radical project of reform which passed the Bolivian Congress of 1872, very much against the wishes and best judgement of the conservative elements in power. It provided (1), that the instruction should be free in all grades; (2), that the government funds which had formerly maintained the secondary institutions should be diverted to the support of primary schools, now placed under the administration of the local municipalities rather than of the central government; (3), and that secondary education should be left to the initiative and support of private enterprises. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.306.) Everywhere the liberals supported this so-called reform, and the conservatives opposed it. The verdict

of unbiased judgement will probably be that it was an ill-advised proposal. It wiped out with a stroke of the pen the public institutions of secondary learning and left all the higher grades to the mercy of private initiative and of institutions which as yet did not exist. But on the other hand, this was one of the very first manifestations of ~~an~~ a new spirit beginning to operate in the Bolivian Republic, breaking out in protest—an ill-advised protest it is admitted—against the unified system of education under the management of a dual institutionalism. It was the first birth throes of a new liberty which was not to be born until twenty five years later.

This state of disorganization could not long continue. The next government by a decree of the Executive amended the legislative enactment to the effect that while the law of the freedom of education was to remain in force still, yet the government in order to remedy the existing conditions, would revive and support the former secondary national schools. And this was the legal status of education in Bolivia with slight alterations down to the year 1900.

But now notice the change in the policies of the Catholic Church as a result of this. Down to the year 1872 while Church and State joined hands in the control of the education of the country, the Church had made little or no effort to build up any competing system of schools. There was no need of it. The government officially supported Catholic doctrine, made it the basis of all instruction, and bore the cost of education. The Catholic Church maintained her old-time supervision while the State footed the bill. No wonder then that she vigorously opposed the proposed changes of 1872 and denounced the principle of freedom of education, advocated by the exponents of deliverance from ~~the~~ institutional control.

Once this law was written on the statute books, however, and especially after government money was voted for the support of private institutions, we find that the policy of the Church radically changes; and while still continuing to cooperate with the government in the supervision of national

education, she proceeds to turn the new danger which lurks in education^{all} freedom into an asset for herself, by inviting in a large number of foreign religious orders who immediately established throughout the country distinctively Catholic schools, primary and secondary, both for boys and girls. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, pp.367-385.) And the educational history of Bolivia during the next thirty years is one of the most striking examples of the manner in which the keen brains and the vast resources of a mighty ecclesiastical organization can turn an apparent defeat into a victory. Inside of a few years the new legislation of 1872, designed to free the nation from the existing clerical and official domination in the national schools, became the very charter by means of which religious orders acquired the right to establish Catholic schools throughout the country and thus to govern education more than ever. The liberals, through disorganization and poverty, were unable to take advantage of the educational freedom which they had secured. The strong institution took advantage of it to build up an extensive and competitive educational system which then began to undermine the national system and to bring it into disrepute. By the year 1900, the clerical schools were the outstanding schools of the land where all the elite sent their children; the national schools had fallen into such disrepute that the instruction given was of a secondary character and only those attended who for financial reasons had to take advantage of the free tuition.

3. In one form or another, and for seventy five years, the young republic of Bolivia sought to learn the ways of democracy under ^{the} regency of a monarchical church. The result was what might have been expected. There is no need of tarrying here over the long list of dictators who rose to power through their own personal audacity, of constitutions modeled and remodeled, of uprisings among the troops and street riots, of presidents assassinated or banished; in all of which Bolivia has but shared in the common unhappy experience of all South American republics, in the effort to transform colonial feudalism

into modern democracies. (Arguedas, El Pueblo Enfermo, pp.201-219.) One thing however does remain to be said in this connection, and that is that in spite of the commanding position occupied by the Church of Rome, one will search in vain for any new or constructive contribution made by that Church to the national life. All through, she pursued the same consistent policy of conserving the old over which she could ~~dominate~~ dominate, rather than of assisting to frame anything new over which there was danger of losing control. Religion in those days was essentially a conservative and a conserving element in national life—the enemy of all innovation.

The one constructive accomplishment of this conservative regime was to secure the extension of the narrow-gauge railway from Antofagasta, on the Chilean coast, up as far as Oruro, Bolivia. The northern portion of the republic had already ~~been~~ enjoyed easy communication with the rest of the world through the Railway of Southern Peru and the steamship connections on Lake Titicaca. The line to Oruro marked the beginning of a new era of international intercourse for the southern half of the country and awakened the mining industry into new activity. The bearing of these two railroads upon the later civil, commercial, and religious history will be readily apparent. The days of colonial isolation had now forever passed. In response to this, Bolivia was soon to make a new effort for greater freedom; the first real transformation since the days of the revolution. This new effort, however, did not spring from the official ranks of the Catholic Church.

Chapter III.

A
THE CHURCH AS FACTOR IN THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN
REGIME OF BOLIVIA.

1. Not all the aspirations of the Bolivian people were represented by the conservative element which from the first had taken charge of the destinies of the country. The revolution was the real outburst of a passion for political freedom in the heart of man, and if it failed to achieve a full measure of success it was not due to any lack of passionate ideal or burning desire on the part of many, but rather because of inability to win and hold a greater measure of freedom and also because of ~~the~~ failure to recognise that complete deliverance cannot be won in those interests and activities which we call political, so long as other departments of man's life, which are just as important, remain shackled by traditional institutions which belong to bygone days. What we witness in the long and dismal anarchy of the first seventy five years ~~ixxxx~~ of republican history is the sad spectacle of this spirit of freedom, disappointed and denied its full fruition, beating itself blindly against its prison walls ~~fix~~ like a bird in a cage, and struggling to escape but always failing to find an opening or to beat down the bars. As a rule the Executive was the stronghold and support of all those interests which opposed any radical change. On the other hand, the official organ of the liberal spirit was the ~~the~~ Legislative Assemblies where it earnestly sought to give expression to itself by writing new constitutions which might finally be so carefully worded as to safeguard that liberty for which their fathers had fought and died. There followed a long and ~~intermittent~~ intermittent contest between Executive and Legislature in which the Legislature generally lost out and was disbanded. Moreover, it was to this blind passion for freedom in the

hearts of the people that each of the long succession of "caudillos", generals, and presidents appealed when he wished to overthrow his predecessor and rise to power. Each in turn secured for himself the support of a disappointed people by promises of greater freedom and justice, that were no sooner made than broken; until finally the public came to understand that the word of man was vain, and liberty must be won in some other way.

After years of denial, the latent liberalism of revolutionary days was about to manifest itself. The disastrous war of the Pacific in 1880, in which Bolivia lost her sea coast, was a most humiliating awakening to the public consciousness. The National Assemblies of the next few years were scenes of the liveliest debates and discussions in which a younger generation was demanding a voice in the conduct of affairs. But the old regime was not ready yet to lay down the reins. The years which followed were marked by banishments, imprisonments, "interpolaciones", or formal questioning of the government upon the floor of congress, and by the outburst of a new activity of the press, all of which indicated that there was moving beneath the surface a feeling of unrest which would not be long in making itself felt. This manifestation came in the revolt of 1898, in which the conservatives were turned out of office and a new government professing adherence to radically different principles assumed control. (M. Ascarrunz, El Partido Liberal, ^{el} En Poder, pp.1-19.)

2. That this political turnover marked a new era in Bolivian history is clear from the fact that now for the first time a national movement is inspired not so much by personal loyalty ^{to} a political leader as by fidelity to a growing party which had made some attempt to frame a platform or program. This first appearance of devotion ~~to~~ to principle and program marks a distinct ~~advance~~ advance in Bolivian politics. (Saavedra, La Democracia, p.170.) The program itself also struck a new note in the history of the country. It sought not so much the preservation of the institutions of the past as the

deliberate achievement and conquest of a better future; all of which was soon given concrete demonstration in certain far-reaching reforms.

By the rapid and vigorous extension of railroads and telegraphs, the separate provinces of the republic were more closely bound together into one national unit, and also opened up more conveniently to foreign commerce. Every encouragement was given for the investment of capital in the resources of the country. The army was forbidden to meddle in public affairs, and an earnest effort was made to safeguard the elections and make them, as far as conditions would allow, the expression of the will of the people. The growing confidence of the public in the integrity of the elections is seen in the statistics of the votes cast. Whereas in 1896 there were only thirty six thousand votes recorded, by the year 1917 the total number of votes in the presidential election was ~~82~~ eighty six thousand, six hundred. (M. Ascarrunz, El Partido Liberal, p.333.) This administration, of course, has not been above reproach; serious abuses of power were committed. But the fact that the Liberal Party continued in power for over twenty years without any appeal to arms—an unknown experience in Bolivia up to that time—is abundant evidence that it was supported by a large and growing liberal element in the country; and future generations will evaluate its administration with greater composure and a saner judgement than do its immediate detractors.

3. Coincident with the coming into power of the liberals is the appearance of a new religious influence which was to supplement the work of the liberals in disturbing the settled conditions of the conservative regime and whose very presence was to thrust upon the attention of the people the necessity of determining what their attitude should be to the pressing question of religious liberty and toleration. No longer could the authorities of Bolivia be oblivious to the fact that not all the world was Catholic. We refer here to the establishing of the Protestant Missions in Oruro, La Paz, Cochabamba,

and Sucre and other centers, where through the quiet operation of the schools and through the new interpretation of the Christian religion which they proclaimed, they served as an additional ferment in the great national mass which too long had lain intellectually and religiously dormant. The presence of these evangelicals made certain reforms urgent.

4. It was in respect to the national policy relating to religion and education that the liberal spirit of the new administration most clearly manifested itself. During the conservative administration the interests and principles of government and church ran so parallel to each other that there was no serious clash between the two. But no sooner had the liberal government come into power and commenced to put into operation some of the much needed reforms than it found itself opposed on every move by the ecclesiastical institution which had dominated and leavened the life of the Bolivian people from the very first day of the conquest until the year 1898, and had no intention of relinquishing that privileged position. The express purpose of the liberal government was to transfer a feudalistic and ecclesiastical oligarchy into a modern democracy; this of course required some strenuous methods and involved the inevitable disturbance of some of the special favors and prerogatives enjoyed by the parties of that oligarchy, and naturally aroused opposition.

For example, it had been the custom of the Church to set aside a special plot of ground in each neighborhood, place a high wall about it, a cross in the center of it, to bless it with holy water and religious responses, whereupon this enclosure became holy ground, and only those who died in full communion with the Catholic Church could be buried within its sacred walls. All non-Catholics and those who had seriously incurred the displeasure of the Church were refused burial in the public cemetery, and public odium and stigma and shame to the sorrow of the relatives. But the high wall of the cemetery set up an artificial separation between man and man, and belied the

principles of equality and fraternity for which liberalism has ever stood. Accordingly, one of the first concerns of the liberal government was to remove the cemetery from all ecclesiastical control and place them under the administration of the municipalities, at the same time throwing them open to all the world, irrespective of creed or color; and now the foreigner and the infidel can be buried within its walls like human beings. But the Church opposed this reform to the very last; humanitarian principles and sentiments ran counter to the exclusiveness of the Church. (Ascarrunz, El Partido Liberal, p.403.)

Another matter of continual embarrassment to the State was the exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts enjoyed by the entire Catholic ecclesiastical order. No matter of what crime a priest might be accused, he could not be brought before the civil court of justice, but as a priest was answerable to the ecclesiastical tribunal where he was tried ^{and} altogether too frequently exonerated lest the clergy be discredited by the condemnation of one of their numbers. This state of affairs presented a continual menace to public morals and also to the supremacy of the State, so long as a certain proportion of its citizens were not ^{amenable} amenable to its institutions. The modern state knows no difference between its citizens; all of whom are equal before the law. This reform was written into the statutes of Bolivia by the law of September 29th, 1906 (?), which abolished the ecclesiastical "fueros"; but not without awakening a storm of protest on the part of all the clerical party against this profane attack upon the sacred persons of God's ministry.

The constitution of the republic had forbidden the public worship of all religions except that of the established church. This of course had been the work of the clerical party; it was no longer possible to hide the fact that such a prohibition was directly contrary to all principles of liberty and democracy. It was felt by all open minded Bolivians that their country could never claim the right to be classed among the coming nations of the world so long as this mediæval prohibition remained in effect. Consequently by the action of the Congresses of 1905 and 1906 the second article of the

Constitution was amended to read as follows: "The State recognises and sustains the Catholic Religion, permitting the public exercise of every other religious worship." (Lee, Religious Liberty in S. A., p.209.) This much needed reform however was effected only after two years of heated debate in which the clerical party opposed it at every turn.

For seventy five years Bolivia had professed to be a free and independent nation; but another and a foreign power had been permitted to place arbitrary restrictions upon the ceremony of marriage and to pronounce finally upon the legitimacy ~~of~~ illegitimacy of the offspring. Section 538 of the "Acta et Decreta" of the great council held in Rome in 1699 of the / archbishops and bishops of Latin America had left no doubt on this matter. "Among the faithful matrimony cannot be granted, except that at one and the same time it be a sacrament; and therefore, whatever other union there may be among Christians of a man and a woman, apart from a sacrament, even if made by the force of the civil law, is nothing else than a shameful and pestilent concubinage..... Therefore, let the faithful be taught in our regions,.... in all of which without exception the decree Tametsi of the Council of Trent is unquestionably promulgated and received—that no marriage is contracted without the presence of the proper priest, and that the offspring begotten from a civil union is illegitimate before God and the Church." (Lee, Religious Liberty in S. A. p.19.) The liberal government took up this challenge, and by the law of October 11, 1911, made civil marriage to be the only legal marriage within the republic, and permitting the celebration of the religious sacrament only after the contracting parties had first been married by the civil authorities. (Ascarrunz, El Partido Liberal, p.419.) No other reform of the liberal government awakened more bitter opposition from the Church, for by this innovation one of her sacraments had been tampered with, and furthermore her accustomed control over the homes of the faithful was seriously menaced and undermined.

Several other minor reforms brought the liberal party into conflict with the interests of the Church, such as the establishment of a Civil

Registry, the prohibition of the public solicitation of funds without previous permission of the civil authorities, the appointment of the State as the guardian and patron of the property of the religious orders, and the confiscation of the property of the Order of the Merced, in view of the fact that as a religious order they were rendering no service to the public commensurate with the resources at their command. This act ^{is} significant, as being the first distinct application of the new, pragmatic criterion of public utility as a test for the right of a religious institution to continue in existence. All of these however, while irritating to the Church, were ~~unimportant~~ ^{relatively} insignificant in comparison to the prolonged contest over the right to control public opinion which we must now notice.

5. It will be remembered that from 1825 to 1898 the education of the country had pretty well fallen ~~into~~ under ecclesiastical direction. When the liberals came into power they found that the national schools could not compete with the ecclesiastical schools and that in the one and in the other the preparation of the future citizens of Bolivia was largely in clerical hands. This did not augur well for the future of the republic.

One of the very first concerns then of the new government was so to modernize and build up the national system that it might be able to not only compete with the religious schools but also set the standard and norm for them. The appropriations for education in the yearly budget were increased from the small sum of Bs.591,400 for the year 1903 and 1904, to Bs.1,900,000 for the year 1909 and 1910, and have averaged but little less ever since. (Ascarrunz, El Partido Liberal, p.191.) A special European commission was engaged to act as expert advisor to the government in the framing of its ~~new~~ new educational policy. Not only was there made a serious attempt to modernize the curriculum and methods of instruction in the primary and secondary schools, but new institutions, such as normal schools, a school of mines, a veterinary college, a

medical school, a school of commerce, a school for the special preparation of teachers for the indigenous races, and liceos or academies for the education of girls were founded to meet certain specific and urgent needs. In spite of the disappointment which attended some of these ventures, the effort was wholly commendable. *(For criticism of this Commission c.f. Bardina, Arcaísmo de la Misión Belga. Le Paz, 1917)*

But in all this they won no word of commendation from the clerical party, but were opposed at every turn, because now for the first time in the history of Bolivia the right of the Church to dominate the education of the public was challenged by the State. For seventy five years, the Church had so manipulated affairs that the schools taught the rising generations to be Catholics first and citizens second. The unpardonable sin of the liberals was that they proceeded to transform the educational system so that it would produce intelligent citizens, capable of forming an independent judgment on public affairs without first consulting the father confessor.

Two great battles were fought out between the Church and the civil power, the first over what was called the question of "freedom of instruction" and the second over the teaching of religion in the schools. Both of these struggles ended in a compromise; and while the liberals did not secure the full measure of reform which they had desired, the Church on the other hand actually lost no small portion of the special advantages which she had enjoyed for generations.

While the conservative government was in power in 1872, the liberal elements in the land, in an effort to break the conservative monopoly in education, had forced through the ordinance which delivered secondary education into the hands of private institutions. But by the time the liberals actually came into power the tables had been turned entirely. In order to free the education of the country from a superabundance of ecclesiasticism it was now necessary to curtail the freedom granted thirty years before, and to bring the schools back more closely under the supervision of the Minister of Education; and the Church which in 1872 had opposed freedom of instruction now came out as

the pronounced champion of such freedom, for the Catholics at least. The new law of February 6, 1900, enacted that (1), all institutions of learning, of whatever grade should be subject to the civil authorities in scientific, disciplinary and economic affairs; this was really an attempt to free the curriculum from the last vestiges of Mediaevalism, ~~(2) to remove the ecclesiastical character from the instruction given in secondary instruction~~ and to substitute the modern methods of ~~instruction~~ investigation and of observation for the traditional methods of deduction and of memory work, (2), even the seminaries, in so far ~~was~~ as they attempted to give secondary instruction, were to be bound by the above regulations, (3). In so far as the seminaries were confined to theological preparation, they should be under the jurisdiction of their respective bishops. (Mis Paz, La Universidad, p.327.) This was simply an attempt on the part of the government to standardize and modernize all grades of instruction, and an insistence that the schools under clerical control conform to these standards of curriculum and of teaching efficiency, if they wished to have their instruction and their degrees recognized by the government.

Immediately a ~~was~~ storm of protest was aroused; the Church had been touched ~~in~~ in her most tender spot, namely, her right to teach as she might wish without recognizing responsibility to anybody. Bishops, archbishops and apostolic delegates protested against this pretense of the civil power to assume the dominant control of the education of the young, which by Divine Right rested rather in the hands of the Church, or as some preferred to put it, in the hands of the parents who of course were under the influence of the clergy. The matter was carried to Rome by the ecclesiastical authorities, where they were sustained in their opposition to the new regulations. In the face of such opposition, the government thought it advisable to strike a compromise, the essential features of which were that the religious authorities were granted full jurisdiction in their own schools, so long as they conformed strictly to the government program of studies. By this concession and also by the law of 1904, greater latitude also was granted in the securing of a license to teach.

This had been a crucial point, as the teachers of the religious orders had challenged the right of the government to demand of them examinations of competence. (Luis Paz, La Universidad, pp.335-341.)

The second crisis was precipitated through the suppression by the Executive of the teaching of religion in ~~the~~ the national schools, from the beginning of the year 1913. It was held by the liberals that it was not the function of the government which represented all classes of beliefs and opinions to teach religion of any kind and therefore the national instruction should be strictly neutral. The Catholics, for their part, protested that "to deny the right to teach religion in the schools of a state which recognises and supports the Catholic religion is nothing less than an attempt against the very constitution of the country, which recognises ~~and~~ the religious faith as one of the bases of the national life. Again the Church resorted to its accustomed methods; bishops ^{issued} ~~launched~~ pastoral letters to arouse the faithful; the Catholic mothers of the country circulated petitions protesting against this attack upon their religious faith; the champions of the clerical party sustained a vigorous contest on the floors of congress where they were repeatedly defeated by the liberals. Again however the government chose the wiser course and by a ministerial decree of November 10, 1913, made the following concessions to the clerical demands: "(1). The rectors of the universities and the heads of the educational districts shall designate in all the national schools, primary and secondary, and in consultation with their respective directors, two hours weekly for religious instruction which shall be given upon the school premises. (2). At the time of registration the directors shall inquire of the parents ^{wish} whether they wish their children to receive religious instruction and shall make a record of the wish as expressed. (3). Attendance upon these courses shall be obligatory for those pupils whose parents have so indicated....(4). During the hours of religious instruction the directors and inspectors shall be present in the school and shall be in charge of the order and discipline.... (5). The religious teaching shall be given by such priests as the parents shall

designate, who shall assume full obligation to remunerate them according to agreement. (6). In the annual examinations credit shall be given only in those studies listed in the official program." (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.363.)

No sooner had this order been issued than the Archbishop of Sucre launched a pastoral letter in these terms: "Therefore, in the exercise of our sacred ministry as pastors, we order and decree that all parents are under the most sacred obligation to notify the school directors before whom they present their children that it is their will that their children shall receive instruction in the Catholic Religion; and furthermore, we decree that parents are under equal obligation to denounce before this our ecclesiastical authority those directors and professors who may refuse to take note of this desire which the parents have expressed that their children should receive instruction in the Catholic Religion." (Luis Paz, La Universidad, p.365.)

From that date to the present, religious instruction has been permitted, providing that the parents so desire and are willing ~~it~~ to pay the bill. But the Catholic party is ~~not~~ by no means satisfied with this compromise. Luis Paz, who writes as an advocate of the Catholic position, expresses it thus: "But this is not enough. The course in religion should be included in the official program; and the teachers should be paid by the State, and should teach religion to all the children whose parents do not object as is prescribed in the regulations of the Argentine. Education in all its grades ought to have as its base the precepts of the Catholic religion, as was ~~agreed~~ proposed by our great statesman Tomás Frías." (La Universidad, p.365.)

This action of the Archbishop of Sucre in commanding "all parents" to enroll their children in the classes for religious instruction brings into bold relief one or two points which must not be overlooked. When the government prohibited the teaching of religion in the public school, the Catholic clergy arose en masse as the exponents of liberty and the denouncers of an arbitrary government which took away the rights of the people. But the moment that the government revises the regulations so as to make the question entirely a matter

of parental preference, straightway the hierarchy steps in and orders all parents to enroll their ~~will~~ children. The Church refuses to allow the parents to exercise the preference which the State grants them; a matter of civil choice becomes a religious obligation. It is clear that any liberal government in a Catholic country, in its efforts for reform, is not dealing simply with parents and their own personal convictions but with parents who immediately are made to feel the heavy hand of ecclesiastical pressure; and as men value their immortal souls they dare not disobey. To the faithful Catholic it becomes the voice of God versus the voice of man; and the voice of the officials of the State will always be secondary until the citizens come to learn that the voice of the hierarchy is likewise but the voice of man. So long as the civil authority could lay claim to a Divine Right, as kings did, the civil government was able to hold its own fairly well in any dispute with the Divine Right of the Pope. But a democracy which makes no such pretentious claims will lose out every time in its struggle with clericalism until man learns that there is no more in the Divine Right of priest or ~~the~~ Pope than there was in the Divine Right of the king and his viceroy, and that every question must be decided upon its own merits.

The Catholic authorities, of course, will look upon the administration of the last twenty years as a period of unremittent persecution. And politicians of other parties will harbor a sense of injustice and trammled rights. But any citizen of a neutral country who is acquainted with the trend of the times and the more recent legislation of modern countries will recognise in the reforms of the liberal administration a sober and moderate effort to free the citizens of Bolivia from excessive ecclesiastical domination, and to remodel the institutions of the country on modern lines. The one point upon which there might be misgivings is the matter of confiscation of monastic property; but that seeming offense against our sense of justice is somewhat ameliorated by the patronage which the State has always ~~exercised~~ exercised over ecclesiastical property from the beginning of American history.

The liberal party was not the sworn enemy of the Catholic Church. Many of the liberals still would consider themselves to be good Catholics. What really took place was the clashing of two theories, and the struggle of two interests. And whereas one ^{hundred} years ago the sentiment of the young republic supported the absolutistic claims of religion, since then the nation has come to understand more perfectly the implications of the principle of democracy which they adopted as the foundation of their national life; and this better understanding has brought them into inevitable conflict with that great institution which claims the right to be supreme.

6. We are now in a position to summarize our impressions of the role which the Catholic Church has played in South American history, down to the present time.

The Church entered the southern continent as the ally of the civil power, and actuated by worthy motives according to the criterions of Spanish Catholicism. Many of her early missionaries were examples of apostolic piety and self denial; and a considerable number of her clergy became the defenders of the indigenous races against the cupidity of their ~~Spanish~~ oppressors. Her schools gave to the colonies the denatured culture and learning which the authorities considered safe and fitting for their subjects; but withal, it was the church which served as the schoolmaster of South America, and had it not been for her interest South America would have remained in greater ignorance. The unity of the Church and the uniformity of her rites and doctrines gave to the continent a homogeneity which it would not otherwise have gained, and has helped to lay a common basis of life from which the resultant republics can never separate themselves. United with the royal power of Spain, which shared fully the mind and aspirations of its ~~exclusively~~ religious ally in this new continent, where no overly ambitious emperor disputed the claims of the Holy Father, where no Moors or infidels menaced the Catholic with their invincible ^{supremacy}

armies, where no Luther or Calvin was allowed to penetrate must less to raise his head—in this new and isolated America and not the old Europe the Church labored incessantly to establish that new and heavenly order of things of which Saint Augustine dreamed in his City of God, which was the ideal of Nicholas I, which was almost the realization of Hildebrand, and which has been the disappointed^d and deferred hope of every Bishop of Rome since Reformation days—that order of things where in God ruled as the One Head, through his two representatives the Pope and the King, each supreme in his own field and yet cooperating for a common end, each honored and obeyed by a dutiful people who were glad to find in their submission to the powers ordained of God the felicity and the prosperity which was their due here below and a full assurance of heavenly bliss in the great hereafter,— the most inspiring and ideal and program ever conceived by the heart of man and promising to set right forever all the world's misfortunes, provided that the premises are sound.

But something went wrong. Like all schemes of overhead control, worked out of course by those in authority, the interests and the development of the people were sacrificed to an unyielding, unitary ideal, requiring of the public virtue which were irreconcilable with the trend of human progress. For seventy five years, Bolivia and the other republics were doomed by such bequests of the past to blunder among as best they could in their efforts to work out their political emancipation, under the self-appointed tutelage^{el} of an absolute religious dictator. When finally the country grew weary and disappointed with conservatism and turned to a more liberal program, immediately the inevitable and the long delayed conflict arose. The interests of the people, considered as citizens, and as expressed in their legislative assemblies, came into opposition immediately with the duties of the people in so far as they were subjects of an infallible church. The history of Alto-Peru and Bolivia has passed through two full cycles; conservative colonialism, followed by the revolutionary war, and conservative republicanism, followed by liberal reform. In each of these cycles the Catholic hierarchy has followed the same general policy.

They have proven themselves to be the friends of all that which tends to preserve the vested interests of the past; and the unflinching enemies of any reform which acknowledges the right and capacity of men to direct their own affairs without clerical suggestion and interference.

Chapter IV.

THE CHURCH AS A FACTOR IN THE FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION
OF THE NATION.

1. The all absorbing public question ~~in~~ which occupies the minds of South Americans is none other than that which is troubling the whole world today. Is there in man the possibility of growth and development ^{that} ~~which~~ will keep pace with the demands of democracy which are becoming ^{yearly} ~~yearly~~ more complicated and exacting? And if so how can this growth and development be stimulated so that we may the more speedily overtake the constantly enlarging task of learning how to live together in mutual prosperity and good will? It is ultimately a question of confidence in the capacity of mankind.

The last century of South American history has been one long blundering experiment in this delicate operation; and those of us who have read Bryce's strictures of North American democratic institutions can readily sympathize with the mingled feelings of hope and despair with which the South American patriot contemplates the record of his own continent, and wonders what the future may have in store for his nation and his race. This is the attitude of mind of public men of Bolivia. And no question today is occupying their attention to such an extent as this problem of how best to set Bolivia in a worthy and honorable place among the great sisterhood of nations.

2. X. During the years of the nineteenth century the accepted way in which the Bolivian people sought to better their political condition was by frequent changes in presidents and constitutions. But of more recent years

the younger thinkers of the plateau republic have been diligently inquiring into those more fundamental and underlying factors which have retarded their national development in the past, and which [“]most likewise largely determine the progress of the future; and no feature of Bolivian life gives more cause for hope than this very fact that now at last men are seeking to understand these subtler forces which determine their lives, and to discover just how far they can be brought under control.

In a book already referred to (Arguedas, El Pueblo
~~One of the pioneer works undertaking such a study was "El Pueblo~~

~~Enfermo," or "The Sickly People," written by Alcides Arguedas and published in~~

Enfermo) among
~~1909. Among~~

other causes of national retardation, the author calls attention to the unfavorable geographic and climatic conditions against which Bolivia must contend, (Chapter I.) and which no doubt are partially responsible for her condition today. The cold grey semi-arid plains of the lofty plateau which but scantily reward man's labor and ~~fast~~ forbid him to be buoyant and light hearted, the precipitous mountain sides equally unfavorable for travel or cultivation which dip down into raging torrents or rise to snow-capped mountain peaks, the bewildering tangle of tropical ^{jungles} where nature has been too prolific and disease too insidious for the good of man, the necessary and inevitable isolation ^{from} for the world,—these and other things have been cited as perpetual handicaps against which the inhabitants of this republic must contend. And while this is but the darker side of the picture and no reference is made to the more favorable factors of the natural environment, nevertheless it must be acknowledged that nature has not been partial to the Bolivian nation except in respect to the marvellous mineral and tropical wealth which has been bestowed upon her in compensation for other inconveniences. But it must not be overlooked that this inhospitable region was precisely the one region of the whole continent where a succession of superior Indian civilizations was built, one empire upon another. Man's struggle against an unfriendly environment developed an intelligence and a culture which the kindlier climes failed to produce. Why should not this result again? Many another nation has been

compelled to content against handicaps, as great or greater, and it is not beyond the power of man to turn this inland and mountainous country into the Switzerland of South America, which would be no mean accomplishment.

Equally serious study has been given to the racial and ethnic factors which enter into Bolivian life, both by Arguedas (Chapters II and IV.) and also by Franz Tamayo in his work "Creación de la Pedagogía Nacional," (pp.101-148.) It is felt by some that the presence of such a large percentage of Indian population in the country cannot fail ~~cannot~~ fail to prove an almost invincible impediment. The entire Indian race has shown itself to be so extremely conservative and hostile to change, that it threatens to retard progress forever. It is said that no strong and viril population can result from the crossing of such widely different races of people as are the European whites and the American Indians. Furthermore, the foreign immigration which the country so much needs will never come in to settle upon the land already preempted by a primitive race with which the white settlers can never compete. Attention is called like wise to the fact that those South American countries which have made the most rapid progress are those which have received the largest European immigration, and those which have been most backward are precisely those which harbor the largest Indian population. And so, while a few such as Tamayo, see in the Indian an element of strength possessing some of the qualities which the Spanish race lacks, the prevailing feeling is that the presence of two such widely different racial stocks must either divide Bolivia into two halves which have little in common, or people her with a growing mestizo population that partakes of the vices of both and few of the virtues of either.

If this were the sum total of the factors which enter into the making of a nation there might perhaps be abundant justification for the note of pessimism which has appeared in some writers. Natural environment is largely beyond man's control; and if it is unfavorable the ingenuity and power of man soon reach their limit in remedial efforts and there is nothing left but to overcome or endure by sheer determination what cannot be removed. Much the

same might be said with reference to blood inheritance, although we have a suspicion that racial differences have been overestimated and much that has been attributed to blood inheritance might be more correctly attributed to other origins which come more readily under our control.

3. While not wishing to minimize the factors just referred to, we repeat again that according to our judgement the major portion of South America's misfortunes must be charged to that fourfold institutionalism which had been bequeathed to the New World by two imperialisms—the peninsular and the Inca—which had reached the zenith of their glory and whose earlier youth and vigor had already begun to ossify and solidify into rigid and fixed forms. Thus the republics began their checkered histories burdened with the major portion of colonial ~~institutionalism~~ institutionalism. If this be true the prospect for Bolivia brightens, for this social heritage may be changed by man if he will.

(a). While the first fifty years of republican history were marked by a distinct reaction from the transitional process of revolutionary ^{days}, the last half century has witnessed the appearance of new conditions and the rise of new interests which give evidence that substantial progress is being made in the achievement of democracy. The general enlightenment of the world and the ideals of the revolution have been infiltrating into the minds and hearts of an ever increasing portion of the population and disturbing the traditionalism and the conservatism of the masses. In addition to this, while some ~~are~~ were giving themselves to playing the endless game of politics, others undertook to engage in trade and to develop the resources of the country, until eventually and for the first time the commercial interests felt themselves to be strong enough to demand ~~the~~ a say in the management of national affairs. It is not strange then that the former unbroken line of generals as presidents has been interrupted of late by successful candidates from other walks of life,—lawyers, *The intellectuals and the business men have broken the old military* statesmen, and even bankers. [^] What is of equal importance is the fact that in

and landhold control

the industrial and commercial field the former control of the foreigner is being challenged, and the younger generation of Bolivia is beginning to learn the management of railways, the operation of mines and farms, and the administration of the larger business enterprises, which not only will eventually bring them commercial and economic deliverance but also evoke a much greater measure of political capacity.

(b). In view of the promising way in which the modern business interests are beginning to take a hand in the conduct of national affairs and introducing new life into politics, our own conviction after eleven years of observation is that the two chief obstacles to the continued democratization of the country are the survival of ecclesiastical mediævalism in the religious world and the persistence of feudalistic conditions in the social and economic world. The social and the religious institutions have been the last to respond to the transforming spirit of this modern age. We refer here to the peon system of farm labor whereby the Indian families are bound to the land and to the patron under a relationship quite similar to that of European feudalism; and also to the pronounced grading of society into three distinct classes, Indian, Half-breed, and "gente", each with its own ~~own~~ peculiar dress, occupations and social standing, the full political significance of which will be apparent to all. Already there are signs that, just as took place in Europe four hundred years ago so here with the entrance of a new commercialism and industry, the power and dominion of the landlord will be broken, and the Indian peon will pass out from feudalistic conditions to become a laborer in the mines or in the new industries that are springing up, and then may be in a position to unite with his fellows and take such corporate action as shall win for him a gradual deliverance. This is actually beginning to transpire. It straightway raises all the familiar questions of capital and labor; and one may well doubt if the Indian's lot will be benefited immediately by the change. But at least this seems to be the road which the masses have been traveling in most

wanting that the Church has at present fallen upon evil days. Her old time undisputed monopoly is gone. The "intellectuals" no longer respect her lofty pretensions. The best moral judgement of the public ^evehemently condemns the ethical shortcomings of the Holy Mother, and entertain grave doubts as to just how holy she really is. The state of the Catholic clergy, which serves as a barometer of the Church, is one which is giving the ecclesiastical authorities cause for grave concern. During three recent years there were only six or seven students studying theology in the seminary of La Paz each ~~year~~ term; others of course were in the preparatory courses. In February of 1917, the Bishop of La Paz in a pastoral letter to his people urged them to devote themselves to earnest prayer, and what was equally to the point, to dedicate their own sons to the ministry, acknowledging over his own signature that at the time thirty parish churches of that one diocese alone remained closed through lack of priests to officiate at the sacred altar. The Bishop further complained that, whereas formerly many of the more prominent families of Bolivian society had taken pride in contributing at least one son to holy orders, of more recent years the candidates had come from the humbler classes, and therefore the clergy did not command the respect which was formerly theirs. One of the most serious aspects of Catholic ~~life~~ life in Bolivia is this failure of the Church to maintain the standards and the full quota of its own ministry; and any church which fails here is betraying a fatal weakness.

It must not be supposed however that this state of affairs will continue indefinitely. The Catholic Church has frequently shown wonderful recuperative power in other countries, and there is no reason to believe that such will not be the case ^h here, the moment that she becomes thoroughly aroused. Commanding as she still does many of the best brains in the country, enormous wealth, a gigantic organization perfected through the ^p experiences of fifteen hundred years, and counting still upon the blind allegiance of millions of people who seek from her Divine instruction for the perplexities of this life and a sure entrance into the life hereafter, she must still be recognized as

the most powerful single agency in the continent! Her methods of working are already beginning to respond to the changing conditions of the time. Seeing that ecclesiastical interference in public affairs has lately fallen into disrepute the clerical hand is not so easily or so frequently seen as formerly. Through ways which it is not necessary to detail here and which are perfectly familiar to students of public affairs in North America or Europe, prominent laymen are organized into an efficient party, fraternity of machine, in close affiliation with the directors of ecclesiastical affairs and quickly responsive to their suggestion; and the Church plays the game of politics not as a Church but through the supposedly democratic organization of a group or party. ~~It is the hand of Esau, but the voice, when it speaks, is still the voice of Jacob.~~

As Bautista Bazvedra says in his thoughtful but subtle work (*La Democracia en Nuestra Historia*, p.) the fundamental domestic problem over which the country will be divided for a long time to come is conservatism or liberalism. In the prolonged struggle between these two rival ideals, the Catholic Church through the party which it controls will probably play a double function as has been the case in the past. Whenever the liberals are in office the Church party will serve as the center of gravitation of all the political malcontents, and will become the organ not only of the Catholic policy but the organized expression of all forms of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, when the Catholic party is in power it will enjoy the double support of political affiliation and of ~~an~~ also of religious loyalty, made increasingly effective by all the devices of an artful clergy. That it may be able to hold its own against the centralized and efficient absolutism in the ranks of the enemy, the liberal party will be compelled to resort to similar tactics of rigid party organization, tactics which are not exactly in keeping with the principles of liberalism which they profess, and thus they will be compelled to compromise themselves before the world and for practical purposes weaken their theoretical or idealistic position. In the late war democracy had to fight military-

ism by military methods, even though these methods were undemocratic. This is the handicap under which democracy must ever labor in its struggle against absolutism; and the absolutists know full well how to use this fact to discredit the liberal program. It must never be forgotten then that, while as a distinctively religious and moral force the Catholic Church cannot claim to be holding her own and must and will no doubt ere many decades have passed, attempt a sweeping reform, nevertheless as an influence in national affairs she has already begun to reorganize her methods of working and may be counted upon to play a very prominent part in the future policies of the nation. And in this, in so far as she is true to her past, she will be a bulwark of conservatism and a center of intrigue. In fact, just so long as the Church continues to see in the past both her ideal and the source of her authority and just in so far as she continues to hold that the world as it exists is lost and ruined and that she alone is the one Divinely commissioned institution to set things right, it is difficult to see how the Church can conscientiously take any other attitude than that of conservatism and persistent interference in public affairs. So long as the clergy ^{have been able to} ~~was~~ control national education, the public press, the party in power, or any other form of human activity, they evidently have preferred to operate through existing institutions. But the moment any of these escape from clerical jurisdiction then rival institutions are organized in which all care is taken that they shall be subordinate to Church authority. The supreme concern is to control. The Church can tolerate and utilize almost anything, so long as she be permitted to control it; only be it noted, a Churchly controlled ^ℓ democracy is not really a democracy.

(2). This brings us to the perplexing problem of the relation of Church and State which cannot be understood by the North American unless we remember that the principle of "a free church in a free state" is just as foreign to the Latin mind as would be the thought of an established church in the United States of America. Each principle or policy has descended from a

different social experience in the light of which each must be evaluated. The mind of the old Mediterranean world became obsessed at an early date with the idea of unity. The Greeks strove for a metaphysical unitary world substance which might embrace all particular phenomena; The Roman labored with equal zeal for an imperial unity which should not only command the political allegiance of all peoples as the Roman Empire nearly did, but which also should unite in One Supreme Head the two great aspects of human life, namely the civil and the religious. In keeping with this ideal, one central figure in Rome became Emperor of all that which civil and Pontifex Maximus over all that which was religious. This unitary ideal had scarcely been realized, when it became divided again into two rival powers, the secular and the religious, each claiming the primacy and supremacy over the other. Thus during the succeeding centuries throughout all the Catholic countries, two ideals, as represented by the Emperor and the Pontiff strove for a unitary supremacy. Church and State existed for a common ideal, ~~that~~ which was the Christianization of the world, the final establishment of a great world unity. According to the kingly interpretation the Church was an arm or a department of the State for the realization of this ideal. According to the papal interpretation the State was the arm of the Church for the realization of the same goal. In America it was the kingly theory which had won out, and the Church had to conform as gracefully as possible and console herself with the thought that the civil power at least was Catholic. The alternative of separation was never suggested. It was utterly foreign to habitual way of relating these two institutions in thought. The republics, especially under the conservative governments simply perpetuated the same relationships, as was to be expected.

But the surprising thing is that when at last the liberals do come into power and a persistent effort is made to put into operation modern theories and principles, the question of separation of Church and State is scarcely raised. It is not even considered of sufficient importance to evoke prolonged discussion in academic circles; the liberal government continues to

sustain the same relationships with the Court at Rome and finally arrangements are perfected in 1917 whereby a regular Apostolic Intermunio is received by the government of Bolivia.

Two reasons account for this anomaly in liberal circles; one is a habit of thought, the other is a practical necessity. The liberals, along with all others, have inherited the old imperial conception of the supremacy of the civil power and the subordination of all the activities of life to this one unitary head. Accordingly, the Church is still thought of as a department of the State, with the exception that the former common ideal of world evangelization has now been displaced by the more local ideal of churchly cooperation for the national good. Just as the State supports the army, the judiciary, or the educational system for certain purposes, so likewise it employs the church for other national ends, and a Minister of Worship takes his seat along with the others about the cabinet table of the nation. But furthermore, the Catholic Church in Bolivia is not merely a Bolivian Church. It is not simply a group of people ^{devoted to} innocuous other-worldly ideals; it is preeminently a world institution, with a capital in a foreign country and indefatigably in pursuit of a world policy in which the Bolivian people have had no voice or say. What assurance is there that the program of the Church of Rome in which the Bolivian people have no voice will never conflict with national interests? There is none. In fact, there is every probability that conflict may arise. In view of this possibility, it is considered the part of national prudence even by the radicals themselves to perpetuate the present arrangement, because so long as the clergy of the country are educated under the supervision of the State, are partially dependent upon public funds for their support, and responsible to bishops and archbishops who themselves are natives of the country and have ^{been} the choice of the civil power, just so long will national welfare be safeguarded. In conformity with ^{this} settled policy a recent daily (El Diario, La Paz, Sept. 3, 1919.) in discussing the proposed candidates for the bishop's chair in La Paz says: "It is the patriotic motive which moves us to insist that in Bolivia all those

who occupy the highest positions of trust, be they civilians, militarists, or ecclesiastics, must be natives of the country, as the constitution requires." It is not ~~absolutely~~ at all probable that the State would ever consent to surrender this one safeguard of her interests so long as Catholicism continues to be the dominant religion of the country. Whatever role then the Catholic Church is to play in the immediate future of the nation will be played under the present union of Church and State. (Miguel Mercado, Páginas Históricas, La Paz, 1916, Chapter, "La Religión y El Estado," p.141.) Furthermore all those who are responsible for the establishment and administration of other forms of religion in Bolivia or other South American countries will do well to bear constantly in mind that the prevalent and accepted principle throughout all Latin countries is not that of a free church in a free state, but rather the subordination of religion to the state for national ends.

(3) The appearance of Protestantism in its various forms during the closing years of the nineteenth century marks a new stage in the religious life of the republic, because although ~~the~~ its numbers are as yet comparatively insignificant it gives promise of exercising an ever increasing influence upon the destinies of the country. The old religious monopoly of the Catholic Church has been broken; people may now choose from preference and conviction. No longer will the claim of Divine origin be $\frac{1}{2}$ sufficient to win or to hold the fidelity of men. These claims are now challenged, and the future of religion will more and more come to depend upon the place of real worth it can fill in the activities and aspirations of mankind, and that form which can fill the largest place in man's lives will be the one which will thrive.

This element of competition which had now for the first time been introduced into the religious life of Bolivia will serve as a most wholesome stimulant for the prevailing church. Several examples of this have come under the writer's observation. When the Protestant churches opened up night schools for the Indian population of the City of La Paz, the Catholics immediately began to show a new interest in the Indians' welfare, and within a month

a similar school was inaugurated by one of the religious orders. A series of sermons on alcoholism by a Protestant minister evoked a ~~similar~~ like series from the Catholic clergy. Catholic educators were quick to detect the significance of Protestant schools in the country and have been reforming their own schools accordingly. These are only a few concrete cases of a religious quickening which no doubt will continue, owing like to the stimulation which comes from rival forms of the Christian faith. All recognize that this religious awakening must come from without. The Catholic authorities of the country look to an influx of foreign clergy of broader culture and holier lives for this much needed quickening. Others in view of the restrictions which the government places upon the entrance into the country of foreign friars, are hoping to find in the Protestant propaganda the spiritual tonic needed to revive and purify the fervor of the established church, which in turn will be reflected in national affairs. (Ross, South of Panama, p.310.)

In so far as the people are won away from their old clerical allegiance and grouped about other religious centers, just so far will the government be delivered from the constant danger of interference and intrigue from its old time ally. One of the greatest drawbacks to progress has been the facility with which the Catholic hierarchy could swing the weight of the Catholic population in favor of certain projects ~~and~~ and against others. This virtually meant that the government was compelled at times to become the organ of clerical interests, rather than of national welfare, and the whole nation has suffered accordingly. And so it will always happen so long as a strong, centralized ecclesiastical organization exists unchallenged and undisturbed along side the political administration. As the Protestant bodies grow in power and influence the weight of this ecclesiastical machine will be broken, public questions will be discussed from a greater variety of angles, both in pulpit and press and it will be possible for the citizens to give expression to their convictions and preferences with much greater freedom and intelligence.

Protestantism, in so far as it is true to its principle of the right of free examination, in so far as it throws upon the individual the responsibility of his own religious standing before God, in so far as it insists upon integrity of character and uprightness of heart rather than conformity to rites and accepted ~~religious~~ traditions, and in so far as it entrusts to the lay element of its churches a joint participation with the clergy in the administration of affairs, just in so far does it reveal an inner genius akin to that of democracy, and just so far will it develop by religious means and activities those qualities of righteousness, self-determination, and moral responsibility which are so essential in the citizenship of a democracy. When a man experiences the exhilaration which comes from spiritual freedom he will soon demand political freedom as well. It is no accident then that democracy has found its most perfect expression in those countries in which the dominant religion has been partially at least in keeping with the spirit of democracy. That the enlightened element of Bolivian society has seen this is evident from the support and encouragement which has been given to the initial efforts of the Evangelical Churches to render the same service to this land of their adoption which they are rendering to the lands of their birth.

If the Protestant form of Christianity is more in keeping with the genius of democracy, why is it that all true lovers of progress ^{and} liberty do not embrace this religion enthusiastically and lend to it their hearty support? The answer to this question takes us out of that which is local and national and plunges us into the complex problem of the attitude of Latin peoples to the Protestant faith; for in this the Bolivian but shares unconsciously the sentiments of the entire Latin race. Several reasons may be given for the slow and partial response to the Protestant appeal.

The Latin people themselves make considerable of the differences in racial psychology between themselves and the northern nations of Europe and America. Attention is drawn to their love of the artistic and the beautiful,

to their native affinity for symbolism and all that which speaks of the mysterious to their enamoration for the universal, their proneness to ~~excessive~~ sacrifice that which is individualistic and spontaneous to that which is orderly and institutional, and to the fact that the Latin is moved by emotion and sentiment while the Anglo-Saxon is controlled by his reason. That there is a pronounced difference in the psychology of the races of northern and southern Europe is too apparent to be denied, and no doubt there is an element of truth in the contention that Protestantism sprang from the German soul while Catholicism lies near to the heart of the Latin peoples. But on the other hand, we must also recognise that there is no such thing as a pure Latin race as distinct from the German or Anglo-Saxon; and what goes today by that name includes a very considerable element of northern stock, Franks, Goths, Lombards, to say nothing of the original Celts and of the Moors who later penetrated Spain, at least. Furthermore the Latins are not the only ones who love the beautiful and are enamored with the quest of the universal, and the Anglo-Saxons are not the only ones who respond to the force of reason. The difference alluded to is therefore one of degree and proportion, not of kind; and is not accounted for fully by blood inheritance but is attributable also to the different habits of thought, of attitude, and of action which each race inherits from its predecessors. (For a more detailed treatment of this subject, dealing especially with Italian conditions, c.f. F. C. Caspizzi, Protestantism and the Latin Soul, Philadelphia, 1918.)

This factor accounts to a very large extent for the continued devotion of the Bolivian people to the Catholic Church the chief strength of which does not spring so much from its indisputable truthfulness, as from its innate harmony and consistency with the large element of colonial culture which survives to the present day. Catholicism is an integral part of a social heritage. So long as the Indian bows his knee and removes his hat before the patron, so long as the mestizo seeks his political fortune by following the command of a caudillo, so long as the Bolivian takes it for granted that he

cannot compete in the business world with the foreigner, just so long will society from top to bottom be weakened and softened by that habitual attitude of submission and of deference to superiors upon which the Roman Catholic Church has thrived for centuries. The whole spirit of Protestantism is contrary to this, and it is useless to expect any race of people to espouse a more democratic form of religion until their whole manner begins to become more democratic; and in this democratization, religion and all the other ~~human~~ elements which enter into the process will interact both as cause and effect; for social forces according to the law of interaction rather than that of strict and logical causation.

(1). But here another feature presents itself which threatens to retard progressive evolution and to perpetuate for sentimental reasons much of that which belongs to the traditional culture and religion. We refer to the very emphatic reardescence of racial pride and loyalty which has been appearing during the last few years in all Latin countries, as well as in other ~~part~~ portions of the world. It was against this very temptation as it presented itself to the people of Spain that Unamuno has preached so persistency in his writings, especially in "El Torno del Casticismo." This is the ultimate motif which lies beneath the formation of the "A. B. C." and which revives from time to time the proposal to form a coalition or league of all the Latin American republics. At least one prophet of this policy of "Latin culture for the Latins and South America for the South Americans" traversed the continent not many years ago seeking to ~~arouse~~ arouse every true ~~Latin~~ American to a due sense of the priceless value of his racial heritage. The same note underlies the writings of Garcia Calderon. (Latin America, Its Rise and Progress.) Likewise the Bolivian author, Tamayo, who cannot be charged with being an enemy to the foreigner, lays great emphasis upon the distinctive characteristics and heritage of his native land and insists upon the necessity of a peculiarly Bolivian type of education as the only education suitable to develop and preserve all that which makes Bolivia a nation. (Creacion de la Pedagogia Nacional

p.203-214.)

No more vital issue faces the South American patriots today than this very question as to how best to relate themselves to the aggressiveness of the rest of the world, so as to be able to secure the greatest prosperity either as nations or as a race. Taking advantage of the growing hospitality of the last hundred years, there has been an ever increasing inrush of foreign capital, foreign population, foreign technique and science, foreign religion and even of foreign political intervention, until at last the continent has become aroused, lest their own precious heritages of culture, religion and natural resources should fall an easy prey to the well known efficiency of certain nations who are endowed with greater energy and who follow other ideals. It is the old question of free trade or protection applied now beyond the narrow limits of commercial exchange. It is the same question which every nation and race the world over is facing seriously at the present time, and concerning which two theories of relationship are contending for a supremacy which will largely determine the way in which the nations shall relate themselves to one another during this twentieth century upon which we have just entered. Is national prosperity and world welfare to be sought by a continued encouragement of inter-racial exchange and of world fellowship? Or have we come to the place where that which is local, tribal and racial must be accentuated and preserved, and where a certain attitude of self-sufficiency and aloofness should be adopted lest many of the values which we each hold dear as our own peculiar heritage should be obliterated and lost in a general world conglomerate? Before this perplexing problem, there is throughout the Southern Continent a growing feeling of racial caution and reserve, which while not openly hostile to that which is foreign, nevertheless is exceedingly solicitous of all that which is native. Such an attitude is always one of conservatism towards existing conditions and of suspicion with reference to foreign innovations. The effect of this attitude, in so far as it becomes general, upon the question of

religious affiliation will be immediately apparent. For purely sentimental reasons, and even in spite of personal scepticism and incredulity, many will continue to lend formal support to the traditional faith, because it seems to them that to do otherwise would be to prove oneself disloyal to a culture which is their choicest racial possession. This identification of the Catholic faith with racial sentiment and of Protestantism with foreign aggression will largely ~~influence~~ influence the part which each form of Christianity will play in moulding the future destinies of the continent.

(5). Another feature of the religious situation in Bolivia and in all South American countries is the deflection of the educated classes from the religion of their fathers. None in fact are so bitter in their denunciations of the faults and failings of the prevailing Church as are these her own sons and daughters who have turned against her. ^(B.D. Romero, *Ecclesia versus Scientia*, La Paz, 1921) The writer has heard some of his friends among the "libres pensadores," or freethinkers of Bolivia even go so far as to affirm that religion was synonymous with immorality, / intellectual bondage and pious graft. It is not strange then that the attitude of this growing class to religion has been negative, if not actually antagonistic in character and aim. For years, the intellectual life of the southern republics has been under the sway of the agnosticism of Herbert Spencer, the positivism of Comte, and the materialism of Haeckel, under whose combined influence some such creed as the following has evolved: "There is no God but Nature, there is no religion but science, there is no soul for all is matter."

It was held that religion belonged to the primitive stage of credulity through which the human race must pass ere it can ever reach the final positivism of modern science. But the imaginative and poetic soul of the Latin people which could not long find satisfaction in the cruder forms of agnosticism and materialism has been turning lately to the writings of Fouilleé, Haeffding, Bergson, Boutroux and William James, and finding in the modern forms of practical idealism a type of thought which is more friendly to the aspirations of

the human heart. Interest in such matters is both sincere and widespread. The writer was quite surprised one day to discover a volume of Spencer and one of Haeckel upon the table of a young motorman who had not even completed a public school education and yet he was doing his best to fathom the profundities of the unknowable and of hylozoism. This case is typical of the keen appetite which is shown in speculation concerning the ultimate realities of life, and which is not confined to the enlightened classes alone, but is also being aroused in industrial circles through the free lectures and addresses given by students, professors and lawyers in the weekly meetings of labor fraternities. This fraternizing of the student class with the labor element of South America is one of the most pregnant of the more recent developments. From pre-revolution days the intellectuals had been the ~~summit~~ element of ferment in the life of the southern republics. Their restlessness arose largely from intellectual reconstruction and political idealism. To this must now be added the protest of a more numerous body of laborers who feel the pinch of poverty and cruel injustice of economic oppression. A common dissatisfaction is throwing the two classes together, thus giving a combination of high idealism, a sense of injustice and the force of numbers, which bears within it all kinds of possibilities for the future.

It is to these "intelectuales" that the countries owe most of their liberal reforms, and that the Protestant Missions owe many of the favors and privileges received. It seems strange then to many that these men, who advocate the cause of liberty and of humanity in the press and upon the floor of congress, and who on almost every occasion show themselves to be well disposed toward the work of the Evangelical Churches, should not find in some form of the Protestant faith that satisfaction of soul which so many intelligent people in North America or Europe profess to find, and which they themselves ardently seek after. It is impossible however to converse for long with these cultured gentlemen without discovering the reason of their inability to embrace the religion of the evangelical missionary. Over and above the obstacles already

referred to there remains a great intellectual difficulty. These men have come under the influence of the latest European and North American thinking. They are acquainted with speculative thought, scientific investigation, historical criticism, and the latest studies of the complex social factors which govern human progress. Their one obsession is to free themselves from all superstition and Mediaeval error, and to be thoroughly up to date and modern. Therefore they become ardent disciples of scientific and historical investigation, and hope to find through strict adherence to the empirical method the door to knowledge and the pathway of life which they failed to discover in the dogmatism of the Catholic Church. This is the reason then why, when they reject the Catholic claims of supernaturalistic origin and authority, they sweep right past the door of the Protestant Church and travel to the opposite extreme. It seems to them that while Protestantism has rendered a great service to the world in its day, at best it is only a compromise in that it seeks to combine the two contradictory principles of supernaturalistic authority held in one form or another, and the right of free examination and investigation; and at the present time the Latin American is in no mood for a compromise. Ultimately, the reason why both Catholic and liberal cannot become Protestants is one of method. The Catholic trusts implicitly in the deductive method, based upon the supernaturalistic premises of revelation and Divine organization which he accepts through faith. Thus he is not much disturbed by the moral shortcomings of his church because he feels assured that fundamentally her position is logically sound. The liberal is learning to trust with equal confidence in the empirical method, based upon the sum total of human experience. Accordingly he does not feel convinced by the acknowledged ethical superiority of Protestantism, because he is persuaded that the Protestant's method of arriving at truth is a compromise and logically unsound. The Catholic maintains that the doctrine of free examination destroys the one element of truth in Protestantism, namely its belief in the supernatural. The liberal on the other hand holds that the doctrine of the supernatural with its accompanying method of deduction destroys the one

element of truth in Protestantism, which is the doctrine of free investigation. Both maintain that Protestantism is neither consistently deductive and supernaturalistic, nor inductive and naturalistic, and that therefore at the very heart of the Protestant system of thought there is a great ^{unescapable} ~~unavoidable~~ fundamental error of method which cannot furnish an abiding resting place for the human mind.

No where has this attitude of the South American liberal been put with more incisive clearness than in the following quotation from a professor of philosophy in the University of Montevideo:

"Really I feel that intellectually as well as morally the forms of religion as they are manifested among simple people are less harmful than those so called higher and more liberal forms. The form in which a dogmatic religion may be practically preferable is when it consists in an implicit faith, absolutely simple and without complications, intellectual or moral.... For the adaptations and conciliations which men endeavor to make between primitive religions and advanced morality and psychology result in producing psychological conditions which bring about most evil results.

"Let me explain. Suppose I open the Bible, which for me is a historical and moral monument. In this spirit I can read it and feel a deep respect for certain institutions and persons, without suppressing indignation and repugnance for others. But suppose a person as educated as I opens the Bible believing that it is Divinely inspired. Let us see what happens intellectually and morally.

"First, intellectually. Take Genesis or any other part that offers explanations of scientific matters, and one sees what primitive and false ideas are there. What does the educated believer do? He manufactures sophistries and juggles his reason in order to explain that which is unexplainable. While the liberal man will not be damaged by these ingenious primitive statements, the one who believes in their Divinity has to falsify his reason. Days are not days, but geological epochs; the light here is not that of the

sun, but a ~~diffuse~~ diffused light; that which detained it was the earth, etc. The immediate result of these harmful mental gymnastics is to shake the intelligence from its rectitude.

"But it is in the moral field that the result is the worst., I open the Bible for example at the history of Abraham. Abraham, on going to a foreign country, ordered Sarah to deny that she was his wife and to pass as his sister, which resulted in the king's taking Sarah as his concubine and enriching Abraham with "many cattle, asses, and camels." If we read this in a liberal spirit, it will not harm us any more than the narration of any other immoral act. But suppose that a person reads it who is obliged...to find good here, or at least to apologize for the act. What kind of tortures will it be necessary for him to apply to his conscience? And when he discovers that the Lord, on being informed of these things, was irritated not at Abraham but at the king because he had taken Sarah, and punished him severely until he returned Sarah, while Abraham was honored continually by the Lord, what will that involve for his conscience? Or when he sees further along that the whole prominence of the tribe of ~~the~~ Israel was due to the fraud of Rebecca in causing Jacob to be blessed instead of Esau, and feels himself obliged to believe that this deception with Divine approval is the basis of ~~Israel's~~ Israel's predominance;...to what further point will it be necessary for this reader to arrive ~~he~~ in order to lose his moral balance?

"Such is the morality produced by a religion in persons who have a certain amount of instruction. Such gymnastics cannot be performed with impunity. For this reason, as great a thinker as Guyau has sustained that possibly Protestantism is not, as is commonly supposed, a superior educative religion to Catholicism; for there is to be noted a different attitude of the two religions towards the absurd. The Catholic religion recommends the swallowing of the absurdity at once without tasting it, as children do medicine,—this attitude being represented by the authoritative phrases of the Church, "I believe although it is impossible; I believe because it is absurd."— Since the

Catholics do not examine this absurdity when swallowed, at least the rest of the mentality may be left undisturbed. But with the religions of free investigation, it is necessary to prove that the absurdity is not an absurdity, which brings a mental ~~warping~~ warping that is the most dangerous of all things. The same reasoning applies to Modernism in the Catholic Church. I believe therefore that where there is a crude religion and a refined one, the crude religionists will have an out-of-date mentality, but the refined one will have a dislocated mentality. In other words, I believe that when these religions spirits are refined they are worse than when crude,—they give less hope.

".....If it were sensible to compare races—Latins, Saxons and Teutons—and ask which is superior, I believe, contrary to certain ideas that are afloat today, that there is a quality that would make our race superior to these others—the quality of the greater resistance with which we oppose these states of the spirit resulting from intellectual and moral compromises, from inner psychological divisions, and from those inconsistencies of sentiment and intelligence." (Carlos Vaz Ferreira, Moral Para Intelectuales, quoted by S. G. L_{uman})

Ferreira's criticism of Protestantism is that it is a religion of compromise; the Protestant does not really preserve his intellectual integrity. He virtually says: You Protestants lie to yourselves in order that you may preserve your religious values; and therefore in spite of your good world your religion does not appeal to me because it is not morally sound. This of course will be a startling accusation to most of us and many would question the accuracy of the charge, but at least it is of supreme importance to discover just what impression the Protestant religion is making upon the keenest minds of the Latin race.

It will be remembered that the rise of Protestantism was followed by the establishment of limited monarchies in Europe. It seems to the Latin American today that Protestantism occupies the same relative place in religion that limited ~~monarchical~~ monarchy occupies in the whole scheme of government.

A limited monarchy is a compromise between the principle of authority derived from the Divine Right of kings and the principle of liberty which springs from the human right of self-government; and in the days when South Americans were shaping the constitutions of their future governments they would have nothing to do with it. And now, one hundred years later, when they are beginning to rebel against the pretended Divine Right of the great ecclesiastical authority of Europe, these sons of their republican fathers will be satisfied with no compromise in the realm of thought and religion. That is the reason, so they say, why they are not drawn personally to Protestantism. It seems to them a compromise between the principle of authority and the principle of liberty, between supernaturalism and naturalism, between the method of deduction and that of induction; better the consistent supernaturalistic authority of the Catholic Church than this hybrid affair.

It is possible that in this aversion to compromise there is found one of the fundamental reasons for lack of consistent and orderly growth in South American affairs. Growth is essentially a compromise between what has been and what shall be; it is a more or less gradual transition from one stage to another. But Latin America from the very beginning has lacked not only a tolerant attitude to transitional stages of thought, but also what may be called a transition stage in society, ~~namely~~ namely that great middle class which evolves and changes with the moderation of large bodies and possesses sufficient centripetal power to hold the radical and the conservative from splitting society into two contending halves. Consequently most of the transformations which have transpired in the past have not come in the form of orderly and healthy development, but through revolution and cataclysm followed by periods of relative stagnation.

(6). It will be evident to all that the religious situation in Bolivia—or throughout all of South America for that matter—is not very reassuring at the present moment. The former absolutism and uniformity of Catholicism has now given way to confusion and uncertainty. With the dominant

church an element of conservatism rather than of reform and progress, with the republican governments compelled for considerations of prudence to perpetuate the alliance with this reactionary and monarchical body, with the evangelical forces yet weak and looked upon as exoteric elements in Latin culture and society, with the "Intelectuales" all at sea religiously and sceptical of the organized forms of religion, and with the great oppressed masses of toilers in cities and mining centers growing increasingly aware of their ability through sheer force of numbers and of organization to turn society ~~upside~~ upside down, and with no religious leadership in sympathy or touch with these recent tendencies, there is presented a continental situation which cannot be lightly dismissed from the minds of those who believe that religion has a part to play in the preservation and cultivation of those values which lift human life above the level of the brute. What will be the future of these republics so long as the Catholic faith remains synonymous with unyielding conservatism and Protestantism is considered exotic or is identified with foreign aggression? It means that a whole continent is attempting the reconstruction of life without adequate religious leadership, and we cannot but feel that this would be a calamity.

4. If that leadership has been lost or has not been won it is because the religious forces have either failed to hold the confidence of the more enlightened public as is the case with Catholicism, or have not yet won that confidence as is the case with Protestantism. From what we know of the South American people this cannot be laid entirely to their charge. A whole continent stands open to that type of religion which shall most accurately interpret the aspirations of these sixty millions of people, as they struggle to free themselves from the shackles of the past and to win for themselves the fuller expression of life which democracy affords, and which shall minister most effectively to the pressing needs of the individual and of society as those

~~as these~~ needs reveal themselves progressively in experience. The role which religion of any kind will play in the future will depend upon the quickness with which these felt needs are sensed and the efficiency with which they are met. Our interest turns then finally to the South American sense of need, revealed in Bolivian authors, as indicating the part which religion may be called upon to play in the future democratization of these nations.

Some of the Bolivian authors are feeling keenly that one of the things from which their country is suffering is a traditional excessive confidence "en lo de arriba", or in that which is above. Arguedas complains of one aspect of the weakness which he calls "empleomania", or the pernicious habit of looking to the State for a comfortable income and taking it for granted that it is the business of the State to provide respectable occupations for its citizens. In like manner, those who have inherited a comfortable fortune from their forefathers look to that for an assured support which will make personal effort unnecessary. Those who can expect but little from either the government or their ancestors preserve the same attitude of passive confidence in the power and the goodness of another, by means of a philosophy of life which is expressed in the familiar phrase "God will provide." And if no provision is made, then the only other alternative is that "God has not willed it thus," and with that one submits to the inevitable with little or no thought of personal responsibility. (El Pueblo Enfermo, pp.104-111.)

Tamayo refers to this same lack of confidence in one's own powers and industry in his diagnosis of national debility. After alluding to the attempt to some to attribute national misfortunes to geographic and ethnic conditions, he goes on to say: "No, such explanations are not correct; and furthermore, the very attempt to seek the origin of our evil in such exterior conditions as are unfavorable to us is but one more symptom of those states of doubt, those periods of debilitated national consciousness and of depression of the will," from which the country is suffering, and which he calls "racial doubt." "The remedy must be as radical as the evil itself....therefore for us

the central question remains forever the same: to awaken national consciousness." (Tamayo, Creación de la Pedagogia, pp.36-39.)

These two writers have put their finger upon the crux of the whole matter. Herein is the fundamental difference between a democracy and an absolute monarchy. In a monarchy, the entire structure of the state is ^u hinged down from the superior authority of the sovereign; all depend upon him; all live under his protection and his favor. Therefore the natural attitude in the subject is one of dependence upon "lo de arriba," for the blessings of life. Democracy is essentially confidence in the capability of human citizenship to bear the weight and the responsibilities of the entire national superstructure. The subject who once hung upon the words of another now becomes a citizen upon whose powers of action and soundness of judgement the state is built. This demands a radical change of attitude within the individual himself. These authors are right in maintaining that one of the most vital needs of the Bolivian nation today is a change in the hearts and minds of the Bolivian people which shall correspond to the change in political constitution which they have already written for themselves; else the dismal attempt of the last one hundred years to build a democracy upon an attitude of mind which had become habitual under centuries of despotism, will be continued indefinitely.

But if the state is built upon confidence in its citizens then those citizens must be made worthy of confidence. This is the thought which Arguedas has in mind, when he quotes from the Spanish author Don Joaquin Costa: "It ought to be the first care of a republic to create men, to make men. There will never be any other Spain than that which emerges from the brains of the Spaniards themselves." To this Arguedas adds: "To create men; here in the words of another is our program. Precisely this is what Bolivia needs,—men. Men of sober will and of character as firm as the granite of our own mountains. Men who are both honorable and industrious. Men who are both thoughtful and good." (El Pueblo Enfermo, p.253.)

If the writer has rightly sensed the mind of the nation during

his residence in the country, Arguedas has here expressed a conviction which is becoming common to all, namely that what Bolivia needs is a universal citizenship of ability and confidence. It is this lack which largely accounts for the election scandals and for the fact that any government, once it is in power, is never turned out except by means of a revolution. The government is afraid to trust any issue freely to the franchise of the citizens because it fears that the electors as a whole may lack the intelligence to understand the real issues at stake, or the integrity to withstand the machinations of the opposition party. Likewise the people readily lose faith both in the ability and the integrity of their representatives and rulers, and suspect them of betraying the interests of the country either through ignorance or through selfish designs. Ultimately this lack of confidence springs from a lack of character. In the past men thought to save the nation by creating and recreating constitutions; now they are seeing that there is only one way in which a strong nation can be built and that is by building it of strong and upright men. "We need men of sober will and of character as firm as the granite of our mountains." This is the cry of the modern school of patriots. A serious effort is being made therefore to transform schools, the press and literature in general into agencies for the formation of a character which shall be able to stand the ever increasing strain which democracy places upon its citizenship. Any assistance which religion can render in the effort to regenerate the lives of men and make them worthy citizens of their native land will win for that religion a lasting debt of gratitude from the nation and the personal allegiance of a growing constituency. It will thereby make a real contribution to national life.

There is also a growing conviction that further national progress will be possible only in so far as the former spirit and habit of lordly superiority and of exploitation gives way to the only spirit in conformity to the nature of democracy--cooperation and mutual helpfulness. Tamayo gives voice to these sentiments in a ringing appeal to the very best there is in his

fellow countrymen; "We must inaugurate a great new movement in the midst of the superior classes. It is necessary to begin now with what we should have done three hundred years ago, namely, by means of united and collective action to rectify ~~and~~ a distorted and not unselfish manner of thinking with reference to the Indian and his place within the Bolivian nation.....Unqualified bestiality consists in thinking of the Indian as a ~~max~~ beast.....And who is it that must execute this new movement which we do not hesitate to call a national reconstruction? It is not the Indian. Rather we the thinkers, the directors, the governors, are the ones who must take full cognizance of our national life ~~of~~ and of the true significance of our history. We must begin by seeing how much of human dignity there is in the Indian, dignity which we have insulted.... We must come to understand that all this injustice will finally come back upon us, and that while apparently and for the time being the victim is the Indian, nevertheless ultimately and in reality we are the only ones who are destroying the only source of life and of energy which nature provides us." (La Creacion de la Pedagogia, pp. 145-147.) This feeling of responsibility on the part of the higher classes for the welfare of the lower grades of society has never been entirely absent; but as men have been looking back over colonial and national history, they are seeing that one of the curses which they have inherited from their forefathers was the almost universal attempt of the higher classes to lord it over the lower, and to live off the lower. Democracy cannot be founded upon the desire to dominate or upon a mere profession of liberty and of \int individual rights, but rather upon the duty and the willingness of the man who is free, intellectual and strong to give himself in willing service for the benefit of the whole. Democracy must of necessity be a leveling process. The spirit and \int attitude of the upper classes largely determines whether it shall be a building up or a leveling down. Unless the upper classes deny themselves and share their abundance righteously, the lower classes will sooner or later assert themselves and compel their superiors to share their poverty. A comprehension of this great truth is coming home to an increasing number of

Bolivia's most high minded citizens, and it is that which finds its expression in Tamayo's appeal; a deeply religious appeal, if ever one was made. "~~Now ye that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please yourselves.~~" (Romans, 15:1.)

In the spring of 1912 the following editorial appeared in one of the liberal papers of the City of La Paz. "In the present era of evolution our country needs prophets with high ideals; men of brilliant talents who, rising above the commonplace and threadbare, will open up channels to religion and give it new applications to present day questions; men who will challenge the attention of our most intelligent citizens, leading them into an appreciation of the beautiful teachings of Jesus, and in this way making life more humane, society sweeter, and mankind more honorable, more devoted to duty and above all more tolerant. No longer do we hear the voice of a Bosque or of a Granada. It would seem as though our pulpits were draped in mourning to lament the absence of their former princes. Sacred oratory today is barren, occupied merely in fomenting organizations which are given to political rather than to religious ends. A profound stupor has passed over our pulpits, and their voices no longer echo through our national life or touch the hearts of men..... The recent lack of intelligent, vigorous, and up-to-date preachers is nothing less than a national misfortune." This editorial is the cry which arises from the soul of a nation as it turns disappointed from the altar, where ministers the priest of the established order, to the pulpit where ~~was~~ should stand the prophet of today and of tomorrow, and finds that pulpit empty. It is ^{for} an appeal ~~for~~ religious leadership which shall be disinterested, intelligent, sympathetic, practical, courageous and forward looking.

Through these extensive quotations we have sought to bring home to the reader the manner in which the modern school of Bolivian writers has begun to interpret the great fundamental need of their national life: a greater confidence in man and a more vigorous effort on man's part to work out his own national salvation, the development of ^a national character of ability

and reliability, the awakening of a new passion for service throughout all grades of society, the transformation of the altar into a pulpit and of the priest into a prophet, in order that the country may be provided with disinterested leaders of thought, untarnished and unbiased by either political or ecclesiastical designs.

Although none of these authors would probably acknowledge the fact, this will readily be recognised as a deeply religious appeal; only an appeal for a kind of religion so distinct from what is traditionally known as religion that it would scarcely be recognised by them as such. This is the Bolivian democracy's confession of a great sense of incongruity and inconsistency in the existing state of national affairs, and the acknowledgement of a need which as yet is scarcely understood and much less provided for. It is a revelation to the world of that sense of internal division and tension which always prevails in periods of marked social transition, when man in one feature or aspect of his life is struggling to advance while held back and hindered by other aspects which refuse to move, except with slow and heavy step. There is no other remedy than to bring up the rear, in order that progress may become uniform again.

Persistence

The strength and ~~permanence~~ of the colonial regime rested in the fact that all departments of human activity, political, economic, social and religious were organized upon the same general plan; they united to give a more or less harmonious type of life and cooperated in the pursuit of one fairly consistent ideal. This gave a unity and a harmony to live; but unfortunately it was the unity and harmony of stagnation. Then came the breaking up of the dam. The stream of life began to move on rapidly in some respects, more slowly in others, with the inevitable result that South America is now divided over against itself. The reason why there has been so much strife and turmoil in the political world is because there is so much division and strife in the inner forum of the South American's own being, and the present confused condition of society in general. One thing seems fairly certain; the continent is aroused.

Placed as it is in intimate contact with the rest of the world, Latin civilization can never lapse into its former rigidity but will fall in with the general world movement. The spirit of progress and of development is abroad in the land. The new business activity is typical of this. Even political turmoil is but the struggle of something new to be born. Democracy is on the move. But religion and social and economic conditions are still thought of largely in static and final terms. What seems to be necessary ~~then~~ then is a new harmonious cooperation of the social, economic and religious activities with the political aspirations in the present great progressive movement, similar to the cooperation of these in the static economy of colonial days. But ere such harmonious cooperation can exist both society and religion must experience a great new birth which shall make them likewise to be both democratic and progressive.

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