

COUNTRY LIFE IN CHILE
AS OBSERVED IN CERTAIN NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
MODERN LANGUAGES AND THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF THE KANSAS STATE
TEACHERS COLLEGE OF EMPORIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY
GONRAD J. HANSEN
SEPTEMBER 1938

Approved for the Major Department

Minnie M. Miller

Approved for the Graduate Council

Quinn D. [Signature]

83893

Received
Ja 25 '08

Exp. 2. 2. 1908

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his sincere thanks to Dr. Minnie M. Miller, head of the department of Modern Languages in the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, for her valuable assistance in selecting a subject for investigation, in the development of this study, and for pertinent suggestions pertaining thereto. Special thanks are due the libraries of the University of Chicago, the University of Kansas, the University of Iowa, the University of California, the Library of Congress, and the Pan American Union at Washington, D. C., for the loan of various volumes used in this study. The writer is also indebted to Dr. Arturo Torres-Rioseco of the University of California at Berkeley for suggestions concerning authors and their works suitable for this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. CHILE AND ITS PEOPLE	1
II. THE CHILEAN NOVELISTS AND SHORT STORY WRITERS	
PORTRAYING COUNTRY LIFE	9
Introduction	9
Works used in this study	11
Nineteenth-century writers	12
The generation of 1900	13
Early twentieth century writers	16
World-War and post-ballum authors	21
III. THE CHILEAN COUNTRYMAN	27
<u>El hacendado</u>	27
<u>El administrador</u>	30
The <u>campesinos</u> or working classes	33
<u>El ruto</u>	37
<u>El huaso</u>	42
IV. THE CHILEAN FARM AND FARM WORK	54
The farm and manor house	55
Workers' abodes	59
Surroundings	61
Buildings on the farm	63
Farm tasks	65

CHAPTER	PAGE
V. SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS	74
Family relations	74
The place of women in the family life	78
Weddings and marriages	86
Festivals and entertainment	89
Poetry and music	97
Religion and superstition	103
Food	117
Alcohol and drinking	120
Fighting	122
Fatalism	123
Justice	124
VI. CONCLUSION	127
BIBLIOGRAPHY	130
INDEX OF AUTHORS	139

PREFACE

Country life in Chile has been of great interest to the author ever since he had the experience of living there for more than four years, from 1927 to 1931. Hiking trips into the countryside and visits with friends or acquaintances on Chilean farms gave him numerous opportunities to come to know the countryman rather intimately. A renewing of this acquaintance has been made possible through the perusal of Chilean novels and short stories.

The huaso, as the countryman is generally called, is a picturesque character, who figures extensively in the Chilean novel and short story. The term huaso, with its variant spelling of guasó, is the name commonly given the horseman, or cowboy, of the land, although by extension the word is used more freely to indicate any countryman.

The Chilean huaso is not so widely known as his kinsman, the colorful gaucho of the Argentine pampas, nor is there extant for this character so abundant a literature as the voluminous gaucho literature, but the Chilean writings which treat of rural life are nevertheless sufficiently ample to form the basis of study of the countryman and his environment.

The following picture of country life is gathered principally from the works of the ranking regional novelists, authors of novelas costumbristas, and short-story writers of Chile.

CHAPTER I

CHILE AND ITS PEOPLE

The campesinos, or country people, of Chile occupy a country that is as beautiful and picturesque as its inhabitants are interesting and simpático.

Chile, like the Argentine and Brazil, is one of the leading countries of South America. Popularly known as the "shoe-string republic," it is a long, narrow strip of country along the west coast of the continent's southern portion.

Its isolation has been a great factor in its development.¹ Bathed on the west throughout its entire extent by the waters of the Southern Pacific, the long, broken coast line reaches from the warm desert region of Atacama in the north to the cold, stormy Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn in the south.

Extending from 17° 10' south latitude to 56° south latitude, it has a length of some twenty-seven hundred miles. This is approximately equivalent to the distance from the City of Mexico to southern Alaska. Its width averages not much more than a hundred miles, varying from about sixty-five miles at some places to about two hundred eighty-five at others.

¹ The material on the country of Chile has been taken from the author's own experiences and from Augustin Edwards' La Tierra, (Valparaíso: Soc. Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1928), 393 pp., and Carlos Tornere's Baedeker de Chile, (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1930), 320 pp.

The country has a territorial area of about 292,580 square miles. This makes it almost two and one-half times as large as the United Kingdom and one and one-half times as large as France. Due largely to its mountainous nature and its stretches of uninhabitable territory, the country is rather sparsely populated² with only about four million three hundred thousand people (1930).

The hot, arid Atacama Desert on the north, the cold, stormy Antarctic Ocean on the south, the mammoth wall of the Andes mountains on the east, and the expansive Pacific Ocean on the west, all combine to give the country unusual geographic isolation. This has provided a certain natural security against foreign aggression and at the same time isolated it from many contacts with other peoples. Whatever contacts it has had with others have been largely the results of conscious effort on the part of the Chileans for their own benefit or improvement.

When the Spanish Conquerors arrived at that section of the continent they were surprised to find that from the 25° to the 44° south latitude, on the western slope of the Andes, the natives spoke only one language. These inhabitants, the Araucanians, who were probably Indians from the Gran Chaco, most likely offshoots from the Quichuas and Aymarás, had achieved a unity of language which was a strong factor in binding together the whole race.

This factor of a single language combined with the mountainous

² Ternero, op. cit., p. 16.

terrain and geographical isolation made for the people a bulwark of independence. Inca invaders, and later Spanish troops, although able to drive back the Araucanians, were not able to conquer them. The former drove them to the River Maule, parallel $35^{\circ} 20'$ to 36° , the latter to the River Bio-Bio, parallel 37° to 38° .

The original inhabitants of the country thus were able to conserve their arrogance, which was largely achieved by their isolation, and to maintain their spirit of adventure, which they had manifested by their domination of the deserts of the north and the forests of the south. Although the Spanish Conquerors took a portion of the country, they failed to subdue the Araucanians who retired south of the river Bio-Bio where they held sway in their own domains for more than three centuries until degeneration and poverty caused them in 1881 to relinquish their lands in a final struggle.

Though there exists general uniformity in racial make-up, the land which the people inhabit contains differing regional characteristics. The northern zone, from the Peruvian border, parallel $17^{\circ} 10'$, and the Atacama Desert almost to the valley of Copiapó, is largely of reddish brown sand and very arid, with no vegetation whatsoever. It is rich in minerals, however, with saltpeter in abundance. From this is produced nitrate of soda which has gained a world-wide market requiring the establishment in this area of mines, ports, and large cities.

The great central valley, reaching from the northern out-posts of agriculture in the province of Coquimbo to the River Bio-Bio, is called la cuna de Chile, the cradle of Chile. Here the snow-capped

mountains have cacti and thorn bushes at their bases and trees in their canyons and glens. Swiftly rushing rivers produced from melting snows and winter rains make their way seaward. The broad valleys among the hills and mountain chains are very fertile. Agriculture, viticulture, cattle-raising, fruit-raising, and manufacturing flourish. Rains are abundant in winter and scarce in summer. The snow-covered mountains of this region, which are the highest in the western hemisphere, make for great scenic beauty.

In the southern zone, or the Chile austral, from the Bío-Bío river to Puerto Montt and the Island of Chiloé the mountains are not so elevated, though snow-topped volcanoes are numerous. Rain in the summer as well as in the winter makes for an abundance of moisture. In the fertile soil of the broad valleys grow wheat, barley, and other cereals. Grass carpets large stretches of the country. Woods and forests abound and the lumber industry is well developed. Waterfalls, broad rivers, and large, beautiful lakes add to the attractiveness of this region which is popularly called the Chilean Switzerland.

An almost uninhabited zone reaches from the Island of Chiloé southward. Its forests, glaciers, fjords, mountains, archipelagos, and stormy channels extend to the Straits of Magellan and the Tierra del Fuego in the extreme south. In the province of Aysen, 43° to $48^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, colonization has recently been undertaken by the government. Surrounding the city of Magallanes, where there are extensive grazing lands and where good automobile roads are being developed, there has grown up a large sheep industry with some four million animals.

Besides the distinct variations throughout the tremendous length of the country, there are also differences in the very narrow lateral strip of land. Reaching from the great heights along the Argentine border, the immense granite wall of the Andes mountains grades into the fertile valleys of the middle region. From the valleys the coastal range reaches here and there to the sea with intermittent coastal valleys that permit habitation and cultivation near the ocean. Generally speaking, the lateral regions are three: the high cordilleras, or mountain regions; the longitudinal plateaus with fertile valleys of varying width; and the coastal region with alternate mountains and valleys.

In commenting on the influence of country and climate on the psychology of the people, Augustin Edwards says that the secret of the soul of the Chilean is found in his complete integration with nature. He adds:³

Marino desde que vagaba pintarrajeado y semi desnudo por las soledades construyendo embarcaciones con cuero de lobos marinos o con troncos atados; minero desde los tiempos en que enviaba a los Incas del Perú tributos de oro y plata para conservarse libre. . .; aventurero como sus ríos que se desbordan y cambian de cauce; rudo como sus abruptas montañas; áspero como la lucha que ha sostenido para domar a la naturaleza y vencer a los hombres; honrado desde la época remota en que pagaba puntualmente al Perú en metales preciosos, sumas que Almagro, el descubridor de Chile, pudo ver con los ojos atónitos cuando encontró en su camino la caravana que los transportaba, el pueblo chileno comenzó su ascensión hacia la cima del progreso sin riquezas heredadas y sin apoyo de otros pueblos.

³ Edwards, op. cit., p. 7.

La naturaleza le escondió sus tesoros para despertar su curiosidad, y le negó las dádivas para templar su carácter.

Fortes fortuna adiuvat reza un viejo adagio latino. ¡La suerte ayuda a los valientes!

Edwards pointed out how nature has molded the Araucanian mariner and miner into a freedom-loving adventurer, a powerful but honorable fighter who has learned to struggle against and dominate the forces of nature.

Few women came with the Spanish conquerors to the new world with the result that marital relations were begun with the native women. Not in the capacity of slaves, however, did these women become the consorts of the Spanish soldiers. The first mothers of the new Chilean nation are said to have been five hundred women, all unmarried girls from fifteen to twenty years of age, whom Michimalonco, lord of the valley of the Mapocho, presented to Valdivia, the conqueror of Chile, who had come with Spanish soldiers from the vice-royalty of Peru. This gift served as the chief's ransom and was given in proof of peace and friendship, in order that the women might work the fields and search for gold.⁴ Instead of doing this work, however, the women went on campaigns with the men, usually five or six women with each man, sharing his hardships, preparing his food, finding forage for his horses, and caring for him in general. A new race was in the making. Within ten years the streets of the new village of Santiago, founded in 1541, were crowded with children all under nine years of age.⁵ The descendant of these two strong, proud

⁴ Luis Durand, "Apreciación del roto," Atenea, 138:371, December, 1936.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 372-373.

raças, the Spanish adventurer and the unconquered Araucanian, is said to be the inheritor of a fine spirit and a good intelligence, which is developed in a splendid manner whenever given the slightest opportunity.⁶

The racial base of the first Spanish conquerors who came to Chile was Andalusian. These conquerors were followed later by men from Extremadura and Castile. With the coming of more Spaniards throughout the country's colonial period, the proportion of indigenous blood, even in the lower classes, became less and less. In the eighteenth century and by special concession of Charles III, there came people from the Basque country and Navarre, most of them merchants, who began taking over the lands ceded by the kings of Spain to the conquerors and their descendants.

In Chile the proportion of Indian blood in the population is very small. In Bolivia, Peru, and in Mexico, for example, the persistence of the Aymará, Quichua, or Aztec, not mixed with the Spaniard, makes for a social and racial situation quite different from that of Chile and the Argentine where the amount of indigenous blood is much less and the number of persons of unmixed native stock is very small.⁷ In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which was not long before the War of Independence from Spain, Chile had only half a million inhabitants of which twenty thousand were Spaniards born in Spain and occupying the official positions, one hundred fifty thousand Spaniards

⁶ Ibid., p. 373.

⁷ Mariano Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," Atenea, 137:184-85, November, 1936.

born in Chile and called criollos, about three hundred thousand mestizos of indigenous and Spanish blood, besides about one hundred thousand Araucanians who preserved their independence in their own district.⁸

James Bryce⁹ speaks of the Araucanian Indians as "a race deservedly famous as the only aboriginal people of the western hemisphere that successfully resisted the European intruders." There has not been, on the whole, much intermarriage between the Araucanians and the Spanish colonists with the exception of occasional infiltration.

At the present time, according to Carleton Beals, probably sixty per cent of the Chileans are mestizos, not over thirty or thirty-five per cent pure Creole, or white, and the remaining five or ten per cent Araucanians.¹⁰

The novels and short stories treating of country life in Chile that have been used in this study contain characters who have the racial strains explained in this chapter and who are depicted against the background of terrain and climate here outlined.

⁸ Ternero, op. cit., p. 11.

⁹ James Bryce, South America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 233-36.

¹⁰ Carleton Beals, America South (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 48.

CHAPTER II

THE CHILEAN NOVELISTS AND SHORT STORY WRITERS PORTRAYING COUNTRY LIFE

I. INTRODUCTION

The fact that Chile has essentially a rural civilization accounts for the predominance of country life in Chilean literature. Except for its three major cities: Santiago, the country's metropolitan center and capital; Valparaiso, the chief seaport; and Concepción, the leading city in the south, practically all the cities of the nation have the general aspect of overgrown villages.

Even in the leading cities, including the capital, society has been largely rustic. The manorial house in the city, which modernism, however, is rapidly destroying, has been an outpost of country life. Still conserved in these city homes are typical country customs. The city, moreover, has always been dominated by the country because the large fortunes which put their impress on the republic have been those which were gathered in the country, either in the cultivation of the large farms or in the working of mines. Representatives in the national congress have also been the special emissaries of the rich, influential country barons.¹

It is, therefore, the exception that Chilean novels concern them-

¹ Domingo Melfi, "La influencia del campo en la novela chilena," Atenea, 131:178, May, 1936.

selves with painting city life or depicting the conflicts that breed and break out in the city. It is common, on the other hand, that in many novels the action commences in the town only to be terminated in the country or takes place entirely in the country regions.²

A country that counts only a hundred years of independent life seems scarcely to feel that it can pretend to possess a literature of its own. For some time it seems content to imitate the literature of the older countries. It is rare that writers in the young country can produce anything that by its own merit can attract special interest in the lands that have enjoyed long years of literary renown.

The Chileans, nevertheless, feel that ever since the beginning they have manifested a certain literary originality of which they are proud. The first literary production in Chile was in the days of the conquest when Alonso de Ercilla (1533-94), the Spanish poet who accompanied the conquerors, returned to Spain and wrote his now widely known poem, La Araucana. Other original literature of the colonial period was that which related the various combats of the brave mapuches, as the Araucanians called themselves, with the invading Spaniards. In these works the Indian customs and habits of living were frequently described. In the subsequent literature of the young country, there were written with equal originality and ingenuity stories of the manner in which the descendants of the Araucanian heroes and Spanish conquerors lived, sang, wept, loved, and

² Ibid., pp. 171-72.

fought.³

It was not until the appearance in 1858 of the works of Alberto Blest Gana, however, that it could be said the novel began to exist in Chile. The only possible exception was El Inquisidor Mayor by Manuel Milbae in 1852. Of the novelists in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the only two to deal at all with rustic characters and setting were Alberto Blest Gana and Jotabeche.⁴ Jotabeche is not used in this study although he described with somewhat bitter humor the provincial types especially as found in the desolate mining regions of the north.

II. WORKS USED IN THIS STUDY

From this time until the present day, leading Chilean novelists and short story writers have written works in which have figured more or less extensively country characters and customs. Of the works which deal with the subject of this study, there have been chosen, partially because of their greater availability, the following leading novels and collections of short stories:⁵

Barrios, Eduardo

Un verdugo (1921)

Blest Gana, Alberto

Durante la Reconquista (1897)

³ Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena. Período colonial (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1918), pp. 5-8.

⁴ Samuel Idillo, Literatura chilena con una antología contemporánea (Santiago: Imp. Nascimento, 1930), pp. 130-31.

⁵ Short summaries of each of the novels or collections used will be found in the bibliography, pp. 130-37.

Brunet, Marta	<u>Bestia Delfina</u> (1926)
_____	<u>Montaña Adentro</u> (1933)
Díaz Garcés, Joaquín	<u>Páginas Chilenas</u> ⁶ (1907)
Durand, Luis	<u>Campeños</u> (1932)
_____	<u>Tierra de Pellines</u> (1929)
Edwards Bello, Joaquín	<u>El Roto</u> (1929)
Gana y Gana, Federico	<u>Días de campo</u> (1916)
González Vera, J. S.	<u>Alhucé, una estampa de aldeas</u> (1928)
Labarca Hubertson, Guillermo	<u>Al amor de la tierra</u> (1905)
Latorre, Mariano	<u>Cuentos del Maule</u> (1912)
_____	<u>Ully y otras novelas del sur</u> (1923)
_____	<u>Zureulita</u> (1920)
Lillo, Baldomero	<u>Sub-Sole</u> (1931)
Maluenda, Rafael	<u>Escenas de la vida campesina</u> (1909)
_____	<u>Los Ciegos</u> (1913)
Prado, Pedro	<u>Alcino</u> (1920)
_____	<u>Un juez rural</u> (1924)
Santiván, Fernando	<u>Una rebelión</u> (date unknown)

The rest of this chapter treats the place in Chilean literature of those writers used in this study. The authors are discussed, for the most part, in chronological order.

III. NINETEENTH CENTURY WRITERS

⁶ The spelling of the author is used in this title.

Alberto Blest Gana (1831-1920). Blest Gana was perhaps the only great Chilean novelist in the entire nineteenth century and is usually conceded to be the real creator of this genre in the country. Son of an Irish doctor and a patrician lady of Santiago, he joined to the Celtic imagination and Spanish fire a serene, well-balanced temperament. He became a diplomat of the first order and the ranking literary light of the nation. His historical novels are accurate but somewhat tinged with romanticism. His novels deal with Chile from the time of the Reconquest (1814-1818), during the War of Independence (1811-1818), down to the time of the War of the Pacific (1879).⁷ Blest Gana was primarily a city man and nearly all his works are of the city.⁸ Exceptions are Durante la Reconquista and Un drama en el campo. The former tells the tragic story of a Chilean family persecuted by a sanguinary Spanish captain during the period known as the Reconquest (1814-18). While not essentially a novel of country life, there are woven throughout the two lengthy volumes of Durante la Reconquista scenes of country life and character.

IV. THE GENERATION OF 1900

A group of authors writing at the turn of the century has come to be known as the generation of 1900. This group is said to have

⁷ Augustin Edwards, La Tierra (Valparaiso: Soc. Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1928), pp. 330-31.

⁸ Melfi, op. cit., p. 172.

discovered the scenery forgotten in the novels previous to that period, or at least barely visible in the works of the writers of the nineteenth century.

The generation of 1900 not only became impregnated with the aesthetic and social modernism prevalent in Europe at that period but also became moved with compassion for the neglected countryman. The whole generation turned its attention to the country and became thoroughly familiar with the nature and conditions of the country areas. But they were more than men subjectively identified with the countryside; they were cool, objective observers of country life. They saw principally, nevertheless, the aesthetic part of the country with its scenery and its character types as important elements. The suffering of the farm workers, their submission to the complete authority of the landlords, and their ill fortune were not examined profoundly. But at least, their writings were the beginnings of the literature that first tried to realize the difficult existence of the countryman.⁹

Federico Gana y Gana (1867-1924). The initiator of the story of rural life in Chile was Federico Gana y Gana. He was born in Santiago and published his first work in 1886 at the age of only nineteen. But his short stories of country life which had appeared in the periodicals of Chile and the Argentine were not collected and published

⁹ Domingo Melfi, "La influencia del campo en la literatura chilena," Atenea, 131:172-79, May, 1936.

until 1916 when they appeared under the title Días de campo. Manchas de color, a later publication, is more poetic and philosophic in nature.¹⁰ He did not leave behind him any extensive work, only a few brief stories. These stories are grave and yet impregnated with freshness and with the fatalistic melancholy of the countryman. His works were concise and restrained. He seemed always on the point of realizing the achievements of which he dreamed.

Gana lived the life of a gentleman of leisure, traveled through Europe, and only from time to time wrote for the public those Días de campo in which the characters were apparently employees on his own country estate. One is reminded of the man who takes a shot gun, gets on a horse that has been prepared for him by a servant, and, calling his dog, trots off to hunt. In riding over the countryside he encounters those characters which later animate his stories. From the point of view of the gentleman of leisure he listens to the confidences of the campesino, sometimes smiling about what is told him, sometimes condoling, and other times advising.¹¹

Baldomero Lillo (1867-1923). Lillo, a contemporary of Gana, was born in the mining community of Lota a few miles south of Concepción. Unlike Gana, who saw the man in the lower economic scale

¹⁰ William Belmont Parker, Chileans of Today. (Santiago: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920). pp. 226-27.

¹¹ Domingo Melfi, "Rural Life a Strong Force in Chilean Fiction," Chile, 50:272, June, 1930.

from a pedestal, Lillo actually participated in the life and work of those of whom he wrote. He went to work in the stores and offices of a mining company. Sickly from childhood, he worked bravely under harsh conditions in the mines. There he gathered the information and interpreted the spirit which permitted him to write Sub-Terra (1904). He was able to express sincerely the pity he felt for the miseries and the sadness of the miners among whom he lived. In 1907, he wrote Sub-Sole which contains stories of the sufferings, loves, and exploits of the laboring and submerged classes, the Indians, country people, and vagabonds. His works are exclusively of the country, and more especially of life in the mines. Baldomero Lillo is considered one of the best South American story writers, sober, realistic, honorable and sincere, a punctual observer and narrator of human sufferings.¹²

V. EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY WRITERS

A workers' strike, put down with bloodshed in 1905, awakened in several Chilean poets a strong indignation against the treatment of the submerged classes. Later the novelists entered the ranks of protesters, painting the picture a little more deeply, but not becoming especially profound. They still remained somewhat aesthetic rather than realistic. Among these writers who will be described in the following pages are Maluenda, Labarca Hubertson, Santiván, Latorre, and Díaz Garcés. In all of them is shown country life, including the life of the queteros

¹² Lillo, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

(herdsmen), of the bandits, of the girls ravished by the sons of the property owners, and of the peones de labranza (laboring men).¹³

Juanario Espinosa, born in 1882 in Linares, and Carlos Acuña, born in the province of Maule in 1889, are also excellent regionalistic writers but they are not included in this chapter as none of their works were examined for this study.

Rafael Maluenda (born 1885). Maluenda, who was born in Santiago, wrote for newspapers and periodicals, but his chosen medium was the short story in which he has successfully portrayed scenes and types from the lower middle class--the medio pelo.¹⁴ Escenas de la vida campesina (1909), a collection of short stories, is his principal work dealing with country life. His stories generally end tragically. Los Ciegos (1913) is a collection of short stories which contains, among other stories, several brief dramatic incidents of country life grouped together under the sub-title, Escenas campesinas. Yeridos a menos (1916) describes life in the humble classes but does not deal with the country.¹⁵

Guillermo Labarca Hubertson (born 1880). Labarca Hubertson, like Rafael Maluenda, has portrayed Chilean country life and country

¹³ Melfi, "La influencia del campo en la literatura chilena," op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁴ Parker, op. cit., p. 438.

¹⁵ A. Torres-Riosoco and Margaret K. Kress, Chilean Short Stories (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929), p. x.

people in an artistic manner.¹⁶ He has placed his talents at the service of los desamparados (the abandoned or deserted). His collection of tales entitled Al amor de la tierra (1905) received favorable comment from the critics. Vida de campo, taken from this collection, is the only example of his writings used in this study.¹⁷ Mirando al océano, one of his chief works, appeared in 1911.

Fernando Santibáñez Puga (born 1886). Santibáñez Puga, who writes under the pen name of Fernando Santiván, was born in Arauco, near Concepción. Santiván is considered a keen psychologist. He is credited with a strong temperament and at times is bitter in his psychology, somewhat reminiscent of Dostoyevski. Palpitaciones de la vida, a collection of short stories, was written in 1908. Two novels that he wrote were Ansia (1910) and El crisol (1913). In 1916, he produced his masterpiece, La hechizada, a novel of rural background in which this aspect of Chilean life is skilfully and colorfully portrayed. Juanario Espinosa¹⁸ stated that it holds first rank among the pieces of regionalistic literature of Chile.

Mariano Latorre (born 1886). University professor and critic

¹⁶ Alfred Coester, The Literary History of Spanish America (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 238.

¹⁷ Henry Alfred Holmes, Spanish America in Song and Story (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932), p. 169.

¹⁸ Juanario Espinosa, "Santiván is a Keen Psychologist," Chile, 52:61, August, 1930.

as well as author, Mariano Latorre Court was born at Cobquecura in the Province of Maule. He has manifested a great love for the Chilean soil and countryside, for its mountains, its woods, and its sea. His novels serve as an excellent source of reference for those who wish to become familiar with the lives of the Chilean peasant, sailor, mountaineer, and with the environment which surrounds them.

Cuentos del Maule, a collection of stories placed against the background of the shores of the river Maule, in Latorre's native province, was published in 1912. These stories were, on the whole, well received by the Chileans, though they were widely censured for the abundance of detail and the wealth of descriptive passages they contained. His characters seemed to be lost in a maze of background so dense that they never emerged. Adverse criticism, however, was but a spur to him. Six years later he published a greatly improved collection of short stories, Cuna de cóndores. One of the stories, Risquera vana, is considered one of the greatest short stories in Chilean literature. La epopeya del Moñi was even a more complete triumph than Cuna de cóndores. As in his earlier works, he here gives a tragic picture of human existence.

In 1923, Latorre published a long novel, Zurgulita. The scene is a ranch in the mountains and the characters are simple laborers. He was accused, however, of depicting extremely unprepossessing individuals, egotistical and devoid of personal nobility. Too much description was here also considered a detracting quality in his novel.

In the same year, Latorre won first prize in a contest sponsored

by El Mercurio, a leading daily newspaper of Santiago, with a short novel called Ully. The chief character of this novelette is a girl of German ancestry, born on the shores of Lake Llanquihue, in what is called the Chilean Switzerland. Here are described the characteristics and manners of the German-Chileans, descended from the German colonists who inhabited and farmed the provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue. A group of short stories, chief among which was Un hombre, was published along with the novelette, Ully.

Chilenes del Mar, published in 1929, is said to be superior to all Latorre's former works. It is a collection of short stories dealing primarily with the sea.¹⁹

Domingo Malfi²⁰ says that Mariano Latorre is the writer of his generation who has worked with most unity and continuity in interpreting rural life. He claims that Latorre is the most vigorous and the one who has explored most insistently the exclusively Chilean milista.

Joaquín Díaz Garcés (1878-1921). Díaz Garcés, who was born in Santiago, is a lawyer, a statesman, and a journalist as well as an author. Under the pseudonym, Angel Pina, he published a volume of short stories which deal largely with country life or incidents of

¹⁹ Juanario Espinosa, "Mariano Latorre," Chile, 47:114,139, and 141, March, 1930.

²⁰ Malfi, "Rural Life a Strong Force in Chilean Fiction," op. cit., p. 273.

military campaigns under the title Pájaros Chilenos (1907).²¹

VI. WORLD-WAR AND POST-BELLUM AUTHORS

Chilean literature, like that of the rest of the world, was profoundly influenced by the World War of 1914-18 and the post-bellum conditions. The country ceased to be for the writers a place of exclusive beauty, of the good-natured, fatalistic peón, of the weak girl, of the roving, restless cuatrero (mounted highwayman), or of a people submissive without rebelliousness, and came to be a place that began to fill with tragedies. The spirit of rebellion and passion for revolt became apparent on every hand. Peons were becoming aware of their rights as humans to fit decently into the modern framework of civilization. The feeling became apparent that exploitation must come to an end and its place be taken by a humane view of industry and the economic order. Into this rising feeling of the worth of the individual was thrown the disconcerting situation of the world-wide depression which began late in 1929.

Literature followed the economic and industrial trend. The old, romantic countryside, in which men and their activities appeared like quiet, decorative pictures, began to disappear. Restlessness and a spirit of expectancy toward some unpredictable social cataclysm began to appear in the writings. The objective criollismo, or native Chilean

²¹ Parker, op. cit., pp. 618-19.

spirit, of an earlier period became converted into a subjective criollismo in which not only was the oppressed soul of the campesino made clear; but his problems, his position in society, and the tragedies of his existence were interpreted more clearly.²² Writers of the war and post-war period who wrote especially of country life include Manuel Rojas, Eduardo Barrios, Pedro Prado, Joaquín Edwards Bello, Luis Durand, and Marta Brunet. Manuel Rojas, although an important writer, is not treated in this chapter as none of his works are included in the present study.

Eduardo Barrios (born 1884). A native of Valparaiso, Barrios has traveled widely on the continent of South America and has a thorough knowledge of the various Ibero-American people.²³ He has written several dramas, a volume of short stories, and three novels, El niño que aprendió de amar (1914), Un perdido (1918), and El hermano asno (1922).²⁴ Un perdido, which is said to be one of the great Hispano-American novels, describes the atmosphere of the north country and of the capital city. The theme which is developed concerns principally the psychological portrait of a timid man.²⁵

²² Melfi, "La influencia del campo en la literatura chilena," op. cit., pp. 181-82.

²³ Melfi, "Psychology Interests the Present Generation of Writers in Chile," Chile, 51:22-23, July, 1930, p. 22.

²⁴ Parker, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

²⁵ Torres-Ricseco and Kress, op. cit., p. xi.

Pedro Prado (born 1886). Prado, who was born in Santiago, is a sculptor, painter, and poet as well as novelist.²⁶ Prado is one of Chile's purest artists. In his novel Alsino, Domingo Melfi²⁷ says:

He traces a symbolism in which are mingled Chilean reality, strong evocations of the countryside, and idealism. Alsino is a poetic novel of spiritual values; the elevation of the un-cultured man who is transformed by his contact with beautiful things, who longs for space and truth, but whose external life, harsh and contradictory, opposes him without pity.

Many clear descriptions of country scenes occur in Alsino. In Un juez rural, Prado also interprets the spirit of the country districts of Chile.

Joaquín Edwards Belle (born 1888). In his youth, Edwards Belle wrote several novels of little value. After a long absence in Europe he returned to Chile and wrote El Bata (1920), considered by Chilean critics as a small masterpiece.²⁸ Edwards Belle describes here the miserable and somber environment of the lower strata of society. His heroes are born in a house of prostitution. He pictures in detail the life in the prostibulo and tries to fathom the conditions which cause such things to exist.²⁹

Luis Durand (date of birth unknown). Luis Durand began the

²⁶ Parker, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

²⁷ Melfi, "Rural Life a Strong Force in Chilean Fiction," op. cit., p. 273.

²⁸ Torres-Rioseco and Kress, op. cit., p. xi.

²⁹ Melfi, "Psychology Interests the Present Generation of Writers in Chile," op. cit., p. 22.

writing of his stories later in life than is ordinarily the case. This gives them the benefits of maturity and experience. His youth had been spent on large farms in the south among rude countrymen, by the side of herdsmen, peons, and laborers, where there were cruel landlords. In that environment of hardship and work, of heroic denials, and of quiet suffering, the literary emotions of Durand were molded. His descriptions are vigorous and rich without being drawn out, and intense without being cheap. La Chabela was published in 1927. Tierra de Pellines (1929) and Campesinos (1932) deal with country life in Chile.³⁰

Marta Brunet (born 1901). Reality permeates the works of Marta Brunet, one of Chile's foremost women writers. She is a powerful delineator of the country's campesinos and huasos in the south. In her works, there is no treatment of surface emotions, no preoccupation with superficial loves and inconsequential jealousies, but a profound study that goes deep into the heart of Chilean peasant life. While still a child on her father's estate she became deeply impressed with the personalities of the servants and tenants. Montaña Adentro was published in 1923. Three years later there appeared Bestia Duffina (1926) and Don Florisondo (1926). Menemudo, which was published in 1929, is said not to attain the heights reached in her first novel.

The force of what Miss Brunet has to say influences the form

³⁰ Ricardo A. Latcham, Foreword to Luis Durand's Tierra de Pellines. (Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929), pp. 7-11.

of her prose which is described as having a concise simplicity, a terse conviction, and a finality about it. She reflects the influence of no master. Her work is her own, born of her genius for observation, an observation that is not photographic but dynamic. She is said to absorb the characters into herself so that she is completely delivered over to them, so to speak, and the story seems to write itself.

Juanario Espinosa³¹ says of her:

Her characters are familiar to everyone who knows the Chilean countryside—a mingling of tenderness and ferocity in their make-up, the brutishness of their loves and hates offset by something of sweetness that burgeons unexpectedly forth from their harsh strength.

It is this ability to depict with bold, sharp strokes her characters in all their contradictory emotionalism that has won general acclaim for this young Chilean authoress.

J. S. González Vera (born 1897). González Vera wrote a novel entitled Vidas mínimas in which he paints the gray existence in a Chilean conventillo or tenement. In the work used in this study, Alhué, estampas de una aldea, he describes the simple aspects of town life in a somewhat ironical manner. Melfi³² says he has a "translucent, expressive, fastidious style perfected by the use of inference." His accounts of life in the village in which he spent his boyhood are intimate.

³¹ Juanario Espinosa, "Rural Life in Chile Finds a New Portrayer," Chile, 46:68 and 95, February, 1930.

³² Melfi, "Psychology Interests the Present Generation of Chilean Writers," op. cit., p. 22.

Rural life has attracted very strongly the Chilean novelists and short story writers. Most of the writers who have found in the rural environment inspiration and material for their works have lived for long periods in the country. Some have had their contacts in the north, like Jotabeche and Barrios; others in the central valleys, like Díaz Garcés, Edwards Bello, Prado, Elcst Gana, and Federico Gana; others in the south, like Durand, Maluenda, Latorre, and Brunet.

A perusal of the works of these authors indicates that they have interpreted according to their own experiences the life, the motivating influences, and the aspirations of the Chilean campesino. Some of the authors are undoubtedly given to exaggeration of one aspect or another or to coloring what they have seen with their own attitudes and points of view, but a study of their works helps in understanding the countryman and his environment.

The ignorance of the lower classes, their superstitions, their spirit of fatalism and resignation, their ingenuity and generosity in the face of continual struggle for existence are revealed through the works of the Chilean novelists and short-story writers.

CHAPTER III

THE CHILEAN COUNTRYMAN

The country folk of Chile portrayed in the novels and short stories of the nation's writers occupy various strata of society. They run the gamut from the estate owner to the peón. Although the common people are the favorite object of description and treatment by the various authors, the ruling classes appear in the background of most works.

I. EL HACENDADO

The hacendado, or estate owner, naturally is set apart from the lesser farm folk, but to an extent he has become influenced by them and has taken on certain of their characteristics. From colonial times the Chilean hacendado has traditionally had contact with the campesinos and has absorbed, unconsciously, their customs and qualities adding to them his own culture as a person of wealth. He is something like the huaso himself on a higher level. There have been many grandsons and great-grandsons of the estate owners who have habitually dressed in the huaso costume, have spoken the picturesque, queer, country dialect, and have passed on their qualities to their descendants scattered over the countryside.¹

The hacendado either lives on his hacienda all the year round,

¹ Mariane Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," Atenea, 138:383-84, December, 1936.

except for a few months in the city or he is an absentee landlord. On such haciendas there can be real comfort. There are horses to ride, possibly opportunities for hunting, and there are usually gardens for flowers as well as vegetables. The nearest neighbors may be several miles away, which makes for a certain amount of isolation and loneliness for the family of the hacendado. The patrón here is generally a magistrate with power to put a man in irons and he ordinarily exercises enormous influence over the inquilinos.²

A wide gap usually separates socially and economically the hacendado from his hired help. Sometimes the hacendado has inherited his estate from progenitors to whom the land had been ceded by the kings of Spain. Other times the hacendado may be a Spaniard, a German, an Anglo-Saxon, or other foreigner who has become rich in Chile and has purchased the estate from some long-established Chilean family of landlords. Whatever their origin, there seems to pervade in the hacendado and his family a spirit of aloofness from the hired help.

This social and economic divorce between the worker and the patrón has presented an apparent obstacle to economic progress, for the miserable wage that the hired help has received has brought about a spirit of retaliation. This spirit of revenge on the part of the huaso often takes the form of alertness for opportunities for petty thievery in a manner difficult of detection. A common form of thievery is stealing grapes from the vineyard, taking seed from the

² G. F. Scott Elliot, Chile (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. 281.

various fields in sowing time, or loafing on the job when expected to be working.

The thieving inquilino, or tenant laborer, and the unreliable workman, although apparently humble and subservient in the presence of the patrón would attempt to make fun of or get revenge on his employer as soon as his back is turned. And the patrón, on the other hand, certain of the breach of faith in which the workman would indulge may take vengeance on him by whatever means the law will allow.³

In Montaña Adentro, two workmen become greatly concerned about the angry way in which they knew the administrator of the farm would express himself when he would learn that a part of the harvesting machine on which they had been working had become broken though through no fault of the workmen.⁴

That there were many exceptions to this mutual suspicion and disregard, nevertheless, was also true. Juan Kreft in Durand's Un Valiente contained in Campesinos, for example, was a practical owner in exploiting his farm. He shared with his empleados, except in the produce of the saw mill. All of his inquilinos, nevertheless, who owned oxen were obliged each week to transport several loads of wood to the saw mill. But Juan was a man who was not afraid of having his inquilinos prosper provided they would give him the share of their

³ Mariano Laterre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," Atenea, 137:193, November, 1936.

⁴ Marta Brunet, Montaña Adentro (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1933), pp. 8-9.

produce which was equitably his due.⁵ In Segovia,⁶ too, one of the short stories in Páginas Chilenas by Díaz Garcés, the hacendado who had just died was referred to as "el bueno, el excelente, el santo viejo don Ignacio García." To show their respect for their beloved former master, four of the strong inquilinos insisted on carrying to the cemetery on their own shoulders the casket containing his body. One of them, in fact, refused to be relieved whenever a shift in pall bearers was made on the long, burdensome journey. This inquilino showed his last full measure of devotion when he dropped dead from over-exertion as soon as the grave was reached. But Díaz Garcés means the fact that today the patriarchs of the large estates no longer exist. Their present-day successors, far from maintaining any real affection for the old manor houses in which the founders of their fortunes used to live, have emigrated to the city to build palaces there.

II. EL ADMINISTRADOR

El administrador manages an estate for the landed proprietor who may, or may not, himself live most of the time on the estate. Frequently he manages the fama for an absentee landlord who seldom visits the land and takes very little part in the management. The

⁵ Luis Durand, Campeñinos (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1932), p. 25.

⁶ Joaquín Díaz Garcés, Páginas Chilenas (Santiago: Imprenta Zig-Zag, 1907), pp. 13-20.

administrator may occupy one of the various levels from that of a huaso elevated through ability or ambition to the position of manager to that of a trained agriculturalist who manages scientifically and efficiently the estate in his care. Sometimes he is a rough, uncouth person. Again he is a man of refinement and industry. At times he is a man who manifests the same disregard for the inquilino as the worst of the hacendados, without some of the saving graces of the latter and with more severity and crudeness. Or he may be a man who treats the workmen with much greater understanding and concern than the average hacendado.

The administrator, Carmen Lobos, in Mariano Latorre's Zurzulita,⁷ was not an admirable character. He was a tall man, robust, but slightly fat. The fat from over-eating filled out his cheeks and swelled his bullish neck into which his little head seemed to be forcibly sunk. He had the ruddy face of a drinker and his full lips were blood-red. His eyes of a dissolute green were cold and sharp. Solidly perched on a Chilean saddle, with large, clinking spurs, and a light poncho of vicuña wool which fell over his broad, rounded shoulders and over the haunches of his black mare, he had the dominating aspect of the patrón, the stamp of a village chieftain who managed the town just as readily as he did the reins of his prancing mare. His speech smacked of an ironic frankness typical of the country people and full of local flavor: His voice had a thick, mellow, moist timbre as though it

⁷ Mariano Latorre, Zurzulita (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1920), pp. 17-18.

became softened upon passing through the throat of a fat man.

On Carman, as don Carmen Lobos was called, knew all the corners of the district, all the roads and all the small farms and farm owners. His speech, which was untiring, was sprinkled with amusing comparisons and sharp observations but contained something of uncertainty and malevolence. He told cheerfully his innermost secrets, related what he knew of the habits of the birds of the region, told of the cultivation of the farms, warned about the danger of being stabbed from ambush in the thickets, and spoke of the various lewd happenings with which he was familiar among his tenants. He was a coarse man who lived in close contact with the earth. He was a widower who in the course of the story made a special practice of despoiling virgins.

Miguel Campos in Doña María de los perros, a short story in the collection by Durand entitled Tierra de Pellines,⁸ was a young agricultural expert named to take charge of the administration of the hacienda. He was a fat, ruddy young man, with a kind-hearted, good-natured appearance. "Tiene cara e güeno el patroncito" (The young patrón has a kind face) was the comment of old Doña María who wondered whether he would be more considerate of the poor and not oppress them like the previous administrators. The gringo, whom the patrón had hired before as administrator, had been a heartless person who did not let the farm workers have even a little pig to raise or keep a cow so they could have milk for themselves. The new administrator proved to be kind and granted

⁸ Luis Durand, Tierra de Pellines (Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929), pp. 61-62.

the empleados and inquilinos little favors.

El arrendatario is a renter who assumes all the obligations of running a farm and pays the owner in cash or in kind for the privilege. Sometimes he is a capable, high-class individual who eventually comes to own the farm himself. He differs very little from the hacendado except that his social distinction is not so great and he usually takes upon himself the task of administering the farm. Especially in the south many a German, Swiss, Englishman, or person of another nationality gets to own a farm through the process of starting out as administrator or assistant, then renting the farm for his own use, and finally purchasing the land for himself.

The patrón, whether he be a hacendado, arrendatario, or administrador, usually rules the farm with a stern hand. Nearly all the other occupants of the farm belong to the working classes, except for various specialists, such as veterinarians, that may be called in to perform special tasks in certain seasons.

III. THE EMPLEADOS OR WORKING CLASSES

The working classes on the Chilean farm include the household servants, the inquilinos, and the peones. Some of the larger farms are similar to feudal estates with as many as two or three hundred people living within their confines. The household servants who include the cooks, the scullery maids, the chamber maids, the lackeys, and the like usually occupy rooms in an inferior wing of the rambling farm

house or live in huts contiguous to the manor. The attitude towards the household servants is usually feudal.

The inquilinos are tenant workmen who usually have large families and who ordinarily occupy huts in various parts of the estate and are given a small piece of land to work for themselves with perhaps the privilege of pasturing a certain number of cattle in return for the work done on the farm. In addition to being given a patch of ground surrounding their huts they are sometimes paid a portion of the crop harvested in the owner's fields or are given credit for goods purchased in the bodega or warehouse of the farm. A small daily wage is sometimes given in return for farm work. The inquilino participates in ploughing, sowing, harvesting, herding cattle, sheep, or swine, or in doing various kinds of specialized work such as carpenter work, butchering, or blacksmithing. The inquilinos can usually be as industrious or as indolent as they choose for they are rarely discharged for idleness.⁹

An inquilino and his wife are described by Federico Gana in Crepúsculo, one of the stories in his Días de campo.¹⁰ All their lives they had been inquilinos of the same fundo (farm). They had worn themselves out in the service of their masters, but for an apparent delinquency were about to be driven from the place. In Confidencias,

⁹ G. F. Scott Elliot, op. cit., pp. 281-82.

¹⁰ Federico Gana, Días de campo (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1916), pp. 122-27.

another of the stories in the same collection,¹¹ Cana tells of an old inquilino of the fundo, don Bartolo Sepúlveda, who was known for his quarrels with his wife, la vieja María. With him was a young peón of the Araucanian type of some twenty years, tall with broad, heavy shoulders. He was a wanderer who came from time to time to the fundo to work.

The peones are usually hired in certain seasons, such as harvest, are paid for their work by the day, and ordinarily live in crude temporarily constructed sheds during their stay on the farm. Usually they are migratory workmen who travel from farm to farm and from region to region either singly, in groups, or with their families. The wage paid to a peón, or day laborer, according to John Mackay in That Other America,¹² ranged from 1.40 to 2.50 pesos a day when a Chilean peso was worth twelve cents gold at par. Thus the head of a family of this class would earn in normal times from sixteen to thirty cents a day and some beans and bread.

Díaz Garcés¹³ tells of the four sons of the blacksmith, el maestro tin-tin, each setting forth with a sack on his shoulder to make his own way along that wandering road of the peones of the country who needed neither compass, watch, nor calendar. They came and went with the seasons, finding temporary work wherever and whenever the opportunity

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 106-07.

¹² John A. Mackay, That Other America (New York: Friendship Press, 1935), p. 63.

¹³ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 110.

presented itself.

Federico Gana in El forastero,¹⁴ found in Días de campo, tells of the old mayerdomo Simón advising his landlord of the arrival of a new peón, don Flore Retamal. This acquisition was considered fortunate for workers were scarce and the farm tasks to be done were numerous and of great variety. Although he was old, don Flore might be put to work plowing the vineyards, opening the ditches, pulling out the black-berry brambles, or removing the kernels from the corn in the warehouse. Nearly eighty years of age, he was tall though somewhat stooped, and dressed with a certain care. An old straw hat covered his head. He wore a manta of guanaco, a sort of llama, and his boots had high heels. His long, thin, pale face with a white beard that reached to his chest was of Spanish type. There was something about this poor, old, useless peón that made him seem a direct descendant of those Spanish soldiers of the days of the Conquest. In fact, the old peón was once the owner of an extensive domain but had been unjustly deprived of his land.

In Candelilla,¹⁵ also found in Días de campo, Gana tells of another peón who was a sort of vagabond who came and went with the seasons. He was an intermittent assistant of the man on the fundo who took care of the animals. He worked without wages and received rations only when he worked. Many nights he came to the farm kitchen to eat the left-overs. In the summer when the time for the wheat

¹⁴ Gana, op. cit., pp. 67-76.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 90-100.

harvest arrived he emigrated to the south in search of work. He returned in the winter or early spring to warm himself at the hospitable hearth of the farm kitchen. Candelilla was a man of ordinary stature broad-shouldered, thin but strong. His clothes had been used so long that they were of no definite color. On his feet he wore gijas, leather-soled sandals. In spite of the warmth of the day he wore a thick manta which was torn and threadbare. His round, greenish eyes were bright and had a smiling aspect. His hair was shiny and rough, his mustache thick, and his eyebrows heavy. His sunken cheeks were pock-marked. His narrow forehead wore a heavy frown, but his thick mouth had a pleasant expression. Candelilla had seen better days before he had responded to his country's call to fight in the war against Peru. Here he had been severely wounded and returned to his home to find his wife had died of the smallpox. It was then that he began his existence as a wanderer.

IV. EL ROTO

The peón is sometimes referred to as a roto, although this term is usually reserved for the members of the proletariat or the lowest strata of society when living in the city or in industrial centers. The class limits, however, are not sharply defined and the transition from the inquilino or huaso to the roto is imperceptible. The term roto, however, is usually one of deprecatory connotation even though it has its origin in respectable circumstances. "Este tipe es un roto" or "Fulano me hizo una rotada" are typical expressions manifesting disgust

at a misdemeanor. The gaucho in Un hombre can think of no worse name to call don Ambrosio than roto ladrón.¹⁶ It is an evaluation, however, that is unjust and fickle in the opinion of Luis Durand.¹⁷ Roto is merely the term with which were designated in older times all the settlers of Chile, and in no case was it then a belittling or offensive word.

The first person to be called roto is said to be Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror of Chile and founder of Santiago in 1541. After his first hard winter there he went personally to Peru for supplies and men. Although he made a show of the gold he had, his mended and patched trousers and short leather jacket inspired the long cleaked gentlemen of the vice-regal capital at Lima to call him and other Chileans who came later, rotos. In spite of the fact that the first Chileans to be called rotos were the conquerors themselves, the term has now come to mean everything low and despicable in the race. Laziness, treason, robbery, and dirtiness are all synonymous with roto in the generally accepted and distinctly Chilean concept of the term.¹⁸

The roto is dressed after the fashion of his superiors in the country for he usually wears the cast-off clothing of his patrón, very much patched and torn. Upon going to the city to live, his costume

¹⁶ Mariano Latorre, Uly y otras novelas del sur, (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1923), p. 91.

¹⁷ Luis Durand, "Apreciación del roto," Atenea, 138:365, December, 1936.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 368-69.

immediately changes to a poor variety of the city type for his country clothes soon fall off his back and he purchases discarded city clothes from the used clothes dealer.¹⁹ But whether in the country or in the city he usually wears patched trousers and alpargatas or rope-soled sandals.

One of the chief differences between the huaso and the roto is the fact that the huaso is economical and humble while the roto is spendthrift and defiant. The huaso roots himself to the land to such an extent that only the most extreme necessity can force him to emigrate. The roto, on the other hand, is a vagabond and readily adaptable to the conditions in which he is momentarily placed. Even in delinquencies there is an important difference--the huaso becomes the mounted highwayman and the roto the petty thief or pickpocket.²⁰

The roto of Chile, moreover, is to the huaso what the palado of Mexico is to the charro. Both the roto and the palado are in a sense the social descendants of the Spanish picaro of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like the picaros of Mateo Alemán and Quevedo, the roto and the palado think nothing of the future. The present fleeting moment is to be used in living in whatever manner chance may bring, working at whatever circumstances may offer, robbing if the exigencies of the occasion require it, or, like the picaro of old in the services of a nobleman without scruples, placing himself at the

¹⁹ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., December, p. 370.

²⁰ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., November, p. 187.

disposition of the deputy or senator who pays for the vote of the rote or palade.²¹

The rote is said to have inherited to a great extent the grace, the geniality, and the sharp wit of his Andalusian progenitors. Also in his love for adornment he is reminiscent of that race. The Indian in the rote, on the other hand, is said to appear when he becomes the victim of liquor which clouds his spirit with an inherited sense of fatalism and with a disdainful resignation, or if he faces a peril from which there seems to be no escape.²²

Indicative of the disdainful attitude which some Chileans of the upper classes have toward the rote is the title El Rote²³ which the author, Joaquín Edwards Bello, gave to his novel dealing with life in a prostíbulo or house of prostitutes. While it is true that the characters of the novel are of the rote class, the inference that the typical rote is usually found in a house of prostitutes seems to be too severe a characterization.

It is when he goes to the city, unless he becomes there a semi-skilled workman such as a machine tender or a street car conductor, that the rote is apt to reach his greatest degradation. In describing a typical rote district in Santiago, Edwards Bello said that at the approach of night the district resounds with the noise of the vihuela,

²¹ Ibid., p. 188.

²² Durand, "Apreciación del rote," op. cit., p. 370.

²³ Joaquín Edwards Bello, El Rote (Santiago: Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1929),

or guitar, the rhythmic clicking of heels on the floor to the tune of the cueca, a native dance, together with the sound of drumming and discordant shouting. Saturday evening and all day Sunday it is foolhardy to venture forth into one of those neighborhoods where the murderous influence of liquor is everywhere evident. On all sides can be heard the sound of the orgy which drags men and women out of their sordid homes where they leave to their fate their ragged babies wallowing in the dirt. When at the light of dawn the murmur of the orgy dies away, the police are apt to find the coatless and shoeless, liquor-sogged remains of men, perhaps disemboweled, lying in a pool of muddy blood.²⁴

The roto, on the other hand, may be respectful, disciplined, and faithful to his promises towards his superiors and especially towards those who have won his goodwill. When he says to a gentleman, mi patrón, it is because he is disposed to serve him in whatever manner necessary. A sus órdenes, mi patrón, may be spoken in a tone of voice which is known only in Chile, with a malicious smile, but indicative of the fact that the roto will give himself, body and soul, to the service of his patrón.²⁵

The roto knows his place in society. But he does not have an inferiority complex. To anyone who obtains his goodwill, he is proverbially loyal and faithful; but if he thinks he has been wronged,

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 121-22.

laughed at, or robbed, he is high-handed and insolent.²⁶

The roto himself, in fact, is not averse to calling himself a roto for he sees in the term a badge of honor. He would far rather be called a roto than an hombre. Although he realizes the deprecativ sense others infer when they use the word, in it he places his own concept of manliness, his patriotic sacrifice, his arrogant bravery, and his virility.²⁷

V. EL HUASO

Huaso is a term that is sometimes used with a general and at other times a specific meaning. It may be applied to any countryman whether he be the hacendado, administrador, inquilino, or even peón or roto. In its more restricted sense, however, it refers to the horseman of the country, or the cowboy. In this sense, the huaso usually belongs to the class of the hired help on the farm. He is somewhat analagous to the gaucho²⁸ of the Argentine, the llanero of Venezuela, the charro of Mexico, and the cowboy of the United States.

Although the same ethnic elements in general formed the

²⁶ Durand, "Apreciación del Roto," op. cit., p. 370.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 370-71.

²⁸ Theses dealing with the gaucho are listed by Sturgis E. Leavitt in "A Bibliography of Theses Dealing with Hispano-American Literature" in Hispania 18:169-82, May, 1935. Those examined for this study are: G. A. Werner, Gaicho Life and Literature, M. A., Southern California, 1920; F. C. Hollinger, The Gaucho, M. A., The University of Kansas, 1929; and S. L. Wood, Nature as Reflected in the Gaucho Literature, M. A., Southern California, 1932.

mestizo everywhere in Spanish America, whether in the gaucho, llanero, charro, or huaso, there was a somewhat diverse physiognomy in the different countries. The environment affected the ethnic elements according to the physical characteristics of the respective countries and the degree of resistance which the indigenous races made against the invaders. The proximity of the sea, the extent of the mountains, the existence of plains or valleys, the denseness of the forest, and even the width of the rivers played their respective parts in determining the extent to which the physical characteristics of the aborigines would appear in mestizos of the various Ibero-American countries. The forests and mountains of Chile as compared with the treeless pampas of the Argentine, the geographical isolation of Chile as compared with the general accessibility of Mexico or Venezuela, and the unconquerableness of the Araucanian Indians of Chile as compared with the dominion achieved over the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico all helped to give the huaso a different racial and environmental character than the gaucho, llanero, or charro.

The physical characteristics of the huaso naturally differ in the various individuals although there are outstanding types. In Páginas Chilenas, Díaz Garcés describes Juan Neira, a capataz, that is an overseer. He was excessively tall and broad-shouldered in spite of a slight stoop. His legs were somewhat curved as though molded to a horse. Neira was a handsome, sculptural model of strength and vigor. His voice was energetic, his face determined, his expression frank. He had the captivating figure of a valient, loyal huaso. Fifty years

of a very active life had left no other mark on him than a slight stoop in the shoulders and a few gray streaks in his heavy shock of black hair. He wore neither mustache nor side burns, so his clean-shaven face showed to good advantage a frank, determined expression which made him very simpatico.²⁹

Mariano Laterre, in Un hombre³⁰ describes Don Ambrosio thus:

Para mí llegó a representar algo así como un símbolo de la sabiduría popular, de la astucia campesina, de la hidalguía del viejo huaso de los tiempos coloniales . . . su alta figura enjuta, como tallada en viejas maderas barnizadas por el uso, con su nariz aguileña de conquistador, aplastada en las ventanillas; y su barba negra, un trozo desproporcionado de carbón que se encrespaba hasta el nacimiento del grueso cuello; sus ojos oscuros, de una mansa humedad de buey, tenían una chispa bondadosa que no podía olvidarse. Cada vez que miraba sus rasgos enérgicos, pero de nobles líneas, venía a mi memoria la observación de Nicolás Palacios al afirmar que los descendientes de los antiguos hidalgos españoles, de los tercios que hicieron la conquista, eran precisamente estos Aguirres y González, Perez y Rodríguez, esparcidos entre el inquilinaje de los campos, los hijos de aquellos soldados imprevisores y fanfarrones que jugaron a los dados las encomiendas cedidas por el rey, a los sórdidos mercaderes judíos con apellido vasco, llegados al siglo XVII. Si esta hipótesis se verificase alguna vez, Ambrosio sería el descendiente de algún antiguo soldado de la conquista.

Don Ambrosio was a tall man with weather-beaten figure, a black patch of beard on the chin, dark, soft, yet sparkling eyes, and an aquiline nose. He looked like the veritable descendant of one of the soldiers of the Spanish Conquest.

In El Remi, one of the stories in Tierra de Pellines, Durand³¹

²⁹ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 3.

³⁰ Laterre, Ullý, y otras novelas del sur, op. cit., p. 86.

³¹ Durand, Tierra de Pellines, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

compares two huasos of different character. Ulloa had the aspect of a bird of prey. His face was narrow, his cheek-bones prominent, and his cheeks bruised. His chin was sharp and his nose like the beak of a young eagle. His little round eyes had a penetrating glance. His appearance was that of a huaso who was crafty, malicious, and distrustful. Maucha was the opposite. His face was full and broad, and his large eyes were mild and free from malice. He was good-hearted, humble, and long suffering. When he rebelled against anything, however, he was violent. His strong fist was ever ready to defend the weak. In spite of this generous bravery, he was fearful of the fantastic and supernatural.

The costume of the huaso includes primarily the chaquetilla, or jacket, which is short, almost like that of the Andalusian shulo. The trousers of corduroy, or diable fuerte, fitting very tightly in the legs, are well adapted to his needs.³² He sometimes wears black leather leggings which reach to the thigh and, in the case of a huaso of higher degree, are adorned with many a buckle as well as with designs done in red and white thread.³³ He takes special care that his jacket reaches only to just a little above the waist so that it will not be wrinkled by the high rim of his saddle and so that in this way he may show off the fineness of his bright sash the ends of which fall with

³² Durand, "Apreciación del Roto," op. cit., p. 369.

³³ Ernesto Warth, "A Chilean Sphinx," The South Pacific Mail, December 11, 1935. Typewritten copy received from the author.

grace and elegance over the clasps of his high riding boots.³⁴

The poncho, which the huaso wears especially in the winter and on journeys in the cordillera or high mountain ranges, is multicolored with an attractive design and showy fringes.³⁵ Similar to the poncho, but smaller, is the manta, which is the pride of the huaso. It is a square piece of stiff cloth with a slit in the center through which the wearer puts his head. Although it may be of sheep's wool, often it is woven of vicuña wool by the Indians of the north in gay designs and colors. Often on cold or rainy days the huaso wears a larger poncho, generally called a castilla.³⁶ This third kind of poncho is made of heavy, frizzly material and is large enough to reach to the boots.

The hat which the huaso wears is usually a round, felt hat with broad, stiff brim.³⁷ Díaz Garcés, however, in Páginas Chilenas,³⁸ mentions huasos and their enormous hats of pita, a fibre of maguey cactus. The same author in another story³⁹ describes an arrendatario who wears a calañés, or Andalusian hat of brown cloth. He had wrapped around his neck a kerchief of white silk and he carried a manta of vicuña wool.

³⁴ Durand. "Apreciación del Roto," op. cit., p. 369.

³⁵ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., December, p. 399.

³⁶ Wurth, op. cit.

³⁷ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., November, p. 187.

³⁸ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 27.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

The typical huaso garb when worn by certain foreigners is apt to attract attention as in Ully, y otras novelas del sur⁴⁰ where it is remarked that the young man was "un joven rubio, vestido a la chilena, faja roja, tacón alto y pantalón bombacho (un alemán disfrazado de huaso)." The young blonde, dressed in huaso attire, was to the Chileans only a German disguised as one of them.

The favorite weapon of the huaso is the corvo. It is to the Chilean huaso what the facón is to the Argentine gaucho, the facón being an American evolution of the Andalusian faça, a near relative of the Moorish alfange and the blade of fine Toledo steel. The huaso is agile and clever with the use of this double-edged knife, the corvo. He keeps it concealed in his hand under the forearm, ready to strike with it as a lion would with his claw.⁴¹

A picture of the huaso is not complete without reference to his horse which is as indispensable to him as to the Argentine gaucho. Environment has made of the Chilean horse quite a different creature from the Argentine animal. Both animals have the same Andalusian-Arabian origin, but the differing environment of the mountains and the pampas has produced a continually increasing change so the American animals have become quite different from their Spanish progenitors as well as different from each other. The gaucho endearingly calls his horse a pingo. The huaso with equal affection calls his horse a manco.

⁴⁰ Latorre, Ully, y otras novelas del sur, op. cit., p. 55.

⁴¹ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., December, p. 397.

The horse of the pampa, the pingo criollo, has a large, elongated head and is large boned with a long body, probably due to his covering long distances. Through the long trails in the grass and wheat fields of the pampas the horse gallops along at an easy pace for hours and days, with the reins hanging loosely from the horn of the saddle. Twenty leagues on the pampas is of little consequence. Except for such minor things as a small river, a little glen, or a low hill, there are no obstacles in his way as he gallops along. It is almost as though he were traveling along without a rider. Thus when the huaso goes to the Argentine pampas to fetch cattle and has occasion to try to ride the pingo, he finds that it has little restraint.⁴²

The broken terrain of Chile with its many snail-like roads that rise and fall as they skirt along the edge of hills and mountains has made of the Chilean horse a nervous animal, obedient to the slightest insinuation of the reins in the hands of the rider. His small head has the vivacity of a bird on the lookout for his prey. As the hoofs must have sure footing in the uneven, hilly trails, the ankles of the Chilean horse have a surprising muscular development, as has been seen of late in the prowess of the Chilean cavalry horse in steeple chases in the United States.⁴³

The mountainous roads and the uneven trails over which the Chilean horse must travel, besides accounting for his liveliness and

⁴² Ibid., p. 397.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 398.

sensitivity, also explain the small saddle which the Chilean rider uses. It is practical and comfortable. It consists of a saddle-tree placed on a large number of peleros, or saddle-cloths of sheepskin, all very securely tied to the horse's back by means of two broad cinches, attached to untanned leather thongs running through rings.⁴⁴

The legs of the rider are clamped like hooks to the flanks of his mount and his feet are stuck into the enormous, hand-wrought stirrups, the wooden tarugos, which Charles Darwin mentioned while visiting in Chile during his voyage with the *Beagle*.⁴⁵ These large wooden stirrups are ornately hand-carved. Into them the horseman slips lightly only the tips of his very pointed boots. These large, heavy stirrups are a protection to the rider in case the horse should fall, as the bulky stirrup would hold the body of the animal far enough off the ground to keep the rider's leg from being crushed or broken. In rainy weather the stirrups help keep the feet of the rider warm and dry. Being about three pounds in weight, they also weight the rider's feet down so it is more difficult for him to be thrown at an unexpected turning of the horse.⁴⁶

In the narrow mountain passes, the thorny branches of trees and the bushes of litre and huingán scratch the legs unless protected by the chaps of goat skin or the leggings of green or black wool, which

⁴⁴ Wurth, op. cit.

⁴⁵ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," op. cit., December, p. 398.

⁴⁶ Wurth, op. cit.

were also described by Darwin.⁴⁷

The difference in the spurs of the Chilean and the Argentine horsemen is caused principally by a difference in the technique of mounting. The spur of the gaucho is small like the English spur wheel. The spur of the huaso, on the other hand, has an enormous wheel.⁴⁸ The spurs are usually supported by a leather rest which is strapped to the boot in order to keep them in place. The purpose of the high heel of the boot is to keep the large-wheeled spurs off the ground when the horseman walks.⁴⁹ When walking, moreover, he usually goes on tip-toe so as not to drag his spurs.⁵⁰

Thus, separated from his mount, the huaso will appear to the gaucho somewhat ridiculous with his enormous spurs and short mantle. Chimango desplumao, or plucked buzzard, the gaucho would be apt to call the huaso upon seeing him laboriously dismount from his horse impeded by his large, tinkling spurs. As a matter of fact, while mounted the gaucho does not have quite the same proud, decorative appearance as the huaso. But, on the other hand, the agile leap of the gaucho upon jumping to the ground with his bombachos and short spurs shows superior grace and form. So the huaso, not being able to retaliate about the personal appearance of the gaucho, takes vengeance on the gaucho by

⁴⁷ Laterre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesia popular," op. cit., December, p. 398.

⁴⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Wurth, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Diaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 27.

caricaturing his horse, which is less sensitive in its response than the Chilean animal.⁵¹

The lasso, or lariat, is another very important part of the huaso's outfit. It is rolled in many coils and tied to the back of his montura. It is a long, tough cord of plaited leather and is used for catching horses or cattle, an art in which the Chilean cowboy is well versed.

The manea, a broad leather strap in the shape of a figure 8, hangs from the pommel of the saddle. It is used to hobble the dismounted horse to keep him standing still.

The heavy reins which the huaso uses are of plaited leather and adorned with a silver ring. It is hung from a complicated bit with a curb.

Tassels of colored horsehair hang from either side of the head stall of the bridle. An abundant forelock dangles over the horse's head, thus giving him a rather fierce appearance.

The panca is a heavy whip used by the Chilean huaso. One end is heavily loaded with lead and is fastened by that end to the reins. It is readily detached from the reins and may easily be used as a rather formidable weapon. It is not intended, however, for inflicting punishment on the horse, for the spurs are used to greater advantage in that respect. At the opposite end of the whip are affixed two stiff, flat pieces of leather which produce a clapping noise when the horse is

⁵¹ Latorre, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," December, op. cit., pp. 397-98.

struck.

An unusual piece of trapping is the bajador, which is a leather strap tied to the horse's skin, passing between the forelegs, and fastened to the cinch of the saddle. This is used to prevent the horse from unexpectedly throwing his head back against the head of the rider and knocking out a tooth or inflicting other damage.⁵²

In Un hombre,⁵³ is seen the love of a Chilean for his horse. Don Ambrosio had seen his Mocho grow up from a colt. He was a typical example of a Chilean horse. His hair was of a shiny, reddish color. In his small graceful head gleamed his two vivacious eyes. His legs were agile and he was obedient to the slightest pressure of the rein. He was a sort of spoiled child. He was very frisky and when galloping over the pasture would raise high the short tail to which he owed his name, Mocho, meaning cropped tail. When el Mocho was sick, Don Ambrosio took good care of him. This attitude is what prompted him to say to his patrón, "Este manco es como persona." In this phrase he summed up all his love for el Mocho which in his estimation was the best horse in Chile.

The regard of a campesino for his horse is also manifested in the case of Mateo and Patizamba in Santiván's Una rebelión.⁵⁴ At

⁵² Wurth, op. cit.

⁵³ Díaz Garcés: op. cit., p. 86.

⁵⁴ Fernando Santiván, Una Rebelión, from Chilean Short Stories (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929), pp. 45-52.

struck.

An unusual piece of trapping is the bajador, which is a leather strap tied to the horse's chin, passing between the forelegs, and fastened to the cinch of the saddle. This is used to prevent the horse from unexpectedly throwing his head back against the head of the rider and knocking out a tooth or inflicting other damage.⁵²

In Un hombre,⁵³ is seen the love of a Chilean for his horse. Don Ambrosio had seen his Mocho grow up from a colt. He was a typical example of a Chilean horse. His hair was of a shiny, reddish color. In his small graceful head gleamed his two vivacious eyes. His legs were agile and he was obedient to the slightest pressure of the rein. He was a sort of spoiled child. He was very frisky and when galloping over the pasture would raise high the short tail to which he owed his name, Mocho, meaning cropped tail. When el Mocho was sick, Don Ambrosio took good care of him. This attitude is what prompted him to say to his patrón, "Este manco es como persona." In this phrase he summed up all his love for el Mocho which in his estimation was the best horse in Chile.

The regard of a campesino for his horse is also manifested in the case of Mateo and Patizamba in Santiván's Una rebelión.⁵⁴ At

⁵² Wurth, op. cit.

⁵³ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 86.

⁵⁴ Fernando Santiván, Una Rebelión, from Chilean Short Stories (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929), pp. 45-52.

times Mateo manifested sentimentality toward his horse, Patizamba, and at other times displayed unbounded anger. Ordinarily they were like two comrades. Mateo ostended the horse highly but did not show it except when he had been drinking too freely. "Zambito," he would then say as a pet name and stroke his horse's neck as he continued, "chuzo de mi reina! ¡Patilindo!" When asked whether he would sell the horse, Mateo responded:⁵⁵ "Vender a mi Patizambo? ¡Mi por todo el oro en el mundo, compadre! ¿Qué no ve q'este pingo está como pegao a mi pellejo?" Not for all the gold in the world would he part with the horse. In spite of this sentimental treatment, however, Mateo one day in a petulant mood while trying to make the horse, after a hard day's work, carry a heavy load of hay struck him severely on the face. At this Patizambo rebelled, bucked his master off, and kicked him to death.

This picture of the different countrymen of Chile, the various strata of society they occupy, their relationship to each other, and their personal appearance will serve as a background for the explanation of the work and habits of the campesino, which is to be found in the later chapters of this study.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHILEAN FARM AND FARM WORK

Chile is a country where land monopolization is worse than in Brazil or the Argentine, according to Carleton Beals.¹ Four-fifths of the arable land is owned by some three thousand people. Seventy-eight per cent of the properties in this country are in farms with an area of twenty-five hundred acres or more.

Chilean farms are designated by various descriptive terms, according to the size of the farm, haciendas, fundos, chacras, or quintas. Haciendas of twenty-five and thirty thousand acres are common, those of five or ten thousand acres are frequent, and the fundos of five hundred to a thousand acres are still more numerous. Chacras are very small farms and quintas usually consist of a few acres on the edge of town. Life differs greatly on these farms according to their size. The haciendas are farmed by inquilinos, or tenant workmen, with the hacendado or an administrador as manager. The fundos are generally farmed by the owners and their families with some hired help, or by ambitious renters. The smaller farms are more numerous in the southern region which has been developed through more recent colonization. In this study, the chief concern is with the haciendas and fundos.

¹ Carleton Beals, America South (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 250.

I. THE FARM AND MANOR HOUSE

Pedro Prado, in Alsino, describes an hacienda which is more or less typical of those in the more mountainous country of the central area. He begins by saying:²

Siguiendo el camino hacia el portillo de Maltasudo, en la provincia de X, desde los primeros contrafuertes de la cordillera de los Andes, por verdes ensanadas, abras angostas, cerros suaves y redondos, cubiertos de retazos de bosque indígena, y otros altivos y desnudos, sólo erizados de rocas amenazantes y de espinudos quiscos, se extiende la hacienda de Vega de Reinoso.

Escasa en tierras de riego, fértiles potreros vecinos a las barrancas del río; rica en rulos trigueros; con viejos viñedos de fama lugareña; abundante en montañas vírgenes; y con leguas y leguas de serranías, aptas para pastoreo de temporada, es un feudo valioso y pintoresco.

Having described the lay of the land of the hacienda, with its hills, valleys, and glens, its thorny cactus, native woods, and menacing rocks as well as its irrigated fields, rich wheat lands, luxuriant vineyards, and leagues of pastures, Prado describes the farmyard thus:³

Un callejón breve y oscuro, metido entre trepidos zarzales y álamos viejos cubiertos de quintral, siempre inundado por el desborde de las acequias, va recto hacia una plazuela, sombreada por acacias y olmos añosos, extendida en semicírculo en frente de extensas y aparragadas construcciones de adobes y tejas: antiguas bodegas, galpones ruinosos, pesebreras improvisadas, graneros y amplios corrales. Hacia un extremo asoman las enormes casas de habitación de dos pisos, rodeadas por corredores interminables. Dueño de esas casas, y de todo lo que encerraban leguas y leguas circundantes, fué don Javier Soldías.

The grounds around the house, the trees, the chickens, and the oxen are

² Pedro Prado, Alsino (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1928), p. 150.

³ Ibid., pp. 150-51.

described thus:⁴

Las casas estaban separadas del huerto por una fila compacta de álamos colosales.

Había entre los álamos y la casa un patio extenso, abierto y olvidado. Grandes encinas, acacias nacidas en desorden, zarzas creciendo en enredados ovillos, cicutas olorosas y multitud de libres malezas, arrumbadas en desorden, a las que la humedad y la herrumbre mordían sin descanso.

Sobre las segadoras abandonadas, en los grandes rastrillos de la siega, en arados rotos y carretillas tumbadas, trepaban las gallinas ociosas.

De un montón de guano salía un vaho blanquecino. Unas carretas vacías, esperaban. Los bueyes, aburridos, se entretendían en rumiarse. Algunos, hechados en el suelo, dejaban al compañero del yugo que permaneciera en posición forzada, el cuello torcido e inmóvil.

Irrigation, particularly in the central and northern regions of the country, is indispensable for every farm for in the north there is practically no rainfall and in the central region it scarcely ever rains in the summer from November to March or April. Therefore each hacendado is a subscriber to or a shareholder in an irrigation canal constructed generally at great expense and regulated by careful laws. By means of regadores or outlets water is let out from the main canal. The fields are traversed by parallel and intersecting smaller channels connected with the main canal and the water is directed from point to point as need may be by means of small movable dams. The main canals start far up in the mountains where water is abundant. Although the water is usually pure at its source, by the time it reaches the lower branches of the canals it becomes impure and offensive as well as disease

⁴ Ibid., p. 160.

bearing.⁵

The various fields and pastures and the farm limits in the north and central regions of the country, as pointed out by Baldomero Lillo in La Trampa, a short story in Sub-Sole, are separated by pircoas de piedra or stone walls, or else by tapias de adobe, or walls of adobe, plastered with mud and topped by tiles. In the southern region where timber is abundant, the lands described in La Trampa are made up of grassy pastures and rolling hills and are subdivided by cercas interminables de tranqueros, that is interminable rail fences.⁶

A typical Chilean country house is the one in which was born ex-president Carlos Ibáñez near the town of Linares, just south of Talca, aptly described in an article in Chile⁷ which calls attention to the low, rambling, colonial house so common in Chile. Built of adobe, with red-tiled roof supported on hand-hewn poplar rafters, its long series of rooms is flanked by a corridor or veranda. Nearby orange and other fruit trees give shade and the parrón, or grape arbor, not only gives abundant fruit but provides a cool, shaded walk. Flowers of various descriptions abound and not far from the door, tipped over and partly buried in the ground, is a large tinaja, a wide-bellied earthen jar, used in the old days as a receptacle for chicha (hard

⁵ F. G. Scott Elliot, Chile (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), pp. 285-86.

⁶ Baldomero Lillo, Sub-Sole (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1931), p. 87.

⁷ Juan Rodríguez, "Chile Also Honors the Humble Born," Chile, 37:200-01, May, 1929.

cider) and large enough for several men to hide in.

In Páginas Chilenas,⁸ Díaz Garcés tells of a country house that was typical of its time, with a row of rooms at the rear and two more rooms forming a right angle with the extreme ends of the others. The rooms were low, with wide heavy windows, over which were bars of hand-wrought iron. Along the house were long corridors with damp, uneven bricks, and on bases of white stone were round wooden pillars supporting the veranda roof. The furnishings of the house included old empire style sofas of mahogany and horse-hair, backless chairs, and a set of smaller antique chairs. In every corner was an old rifle, a traditional institution of country houses.

In another part of the story the author describes the bodega, or storeroom, which was located in one end of the long, low-lying house. It was reached by a long corridor. On the latch of the huge double door was a clumsy, heavy padlock, which was opened with great difficulty. The doors, when opened or closed, inevitably creaked on their rusty hinges. Inside was the coach of the hacienda which was an old vaulted carriage whose shining roof leaned awkwardly. Harness was hung from several hooks on the walls. In all the corners were piled crow-bars of various sizes, shovels, spades, plow-shares, cultivators and worn-out rusty sickles.⁹

⁸ Joaquín Díaz Garcés, Páginas Chilenas (Santiago: Imprenta Zig-Zag, 1907), p. 198.

⁹ Ibid., p. 202.

A living room of another house is described in Los Chunchos¹⁰ by Díaz Garcés, in which he tells of the window with strong iron bars on one side of the room, and on the other side a door strongly secured with a cross-bar. In the center of the room was a round table where there was a kerosene lamp with a crystal shade which rocked in the current of hot air. Next to that was the piano which was placed corner-wise and almost always stood open to help pass the long evenings in the country with beautiful music.

II. WORKERS' ABODES

In contrast to the more substantial manor house are the squalid quarters of the workers. The place of abode of an inquilino is described by Marta Brunet in Montaña Adentro:¹¹

Era esto un edificio miserable, en que las tejuelas ralas por la vejez dejaban rendijas tapadas malamente con tablas sujetas por grandes piedras. La puerta, amarrada al quicio con alambres, había que levantarla en peso para hacerla girar. El interior lo formaba una sola habitación, sin más luz que la proveniente de la puerta abierta y la escasa que filtraba por las innumerables rendijas laterales. Solo el costado norte estaba protegido de las lluvias por trocitos de listones, clavados pacientemente uno junto a otro a lo largo de las rendijas. No había cielo raso ni piso y amoblaban el tugurio: un catre, un camastro, una caja guarda-ropa, varios cajones, otros tantos pisos, una mesa enana, un brasero y una tabla sujeta a la pared a modo de vasar.

Diez metros más allá alzabase la cocina: otro edificio análogo, pero aun más miserable. Detrás, protegido por tablas y ramas, quedaba el horno. Enfrente una ramada servía de comedor a los peones cuando el tiempo lo permitía: lloviendo se comía en la

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

¹¹ Marta Brunet, Montaña Adentro (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1933), pp. 27-28.

cocina, sentados en la tierra endurecida y negruzca, rodeando el montón de leña que ardía en el centro. Olletas, tarros de parafina vacíos, una batea de amasar y, sobre una zaranda, tarritos de conserva arreglados manosamente con un alambre a modo de asa para servir de vasos. Platos, fuentes y cucharas de latón: todo ello misérrimo, pero limpio.

The miserable hut with leaky roof and poor walls, with dirt floor, and skimpy pieces of furniture was a depressing place in which to live, and the kitchen with utensils that were paltry but clean was not only a place for cooking but on rainy days a place for the peones to eat seated on the floor.

Marta Brunet also described the temporary living quarters of the peones, known in the country district of the south as la rancha.¹² It was composed of boards leaning with their upper ends together so that they formed a triangle with the ground. The structure resembled a large campaign tent. There slept in a heap the peones known as fuerinos, transients working by the day or by the job during the months of extra work. In such conditions thirty or more men slept in la rancha, which was enlarged at will by the simple manner of adding to it more boards. The men slept in their clothes on a little dried grass and in that mountainous region where the ojotas, or Indian leather-soled sandals, are worn, did not even take the trouble to remove their footgear. Some of the peones preferred to sleep under the trees except when it was raining, when they perforce had to take refuge in the rancha which, according to the author, was nauseatingly infested with parasites.

¹² Ibid., pp. 28-29.

III. SURROUNDINGS

Whatever the sort of abode the countryman may have, whether it be the modern house of the up-to-date prosperous hacendado, the low-lying colonial manor house of an earlier style of architecture, the modest hut of the inquilino, or the miserable shack of the peón, there is almost sure to be some charm in the scenic surroundings of the abode. From the charming valleys of the region of Copiapó in the north, the broader valleys with more distant mountains in the central region, the coastal districts along the Pacific, the rugged mountainous canyons towards the high fastnesses of the Andes, to the wooded lake regions of the south the farms are situated in surroundings that tempt the descriptions of many of the novelists and short-story writers.

Miguel Campos in Dofia María de los perros,¹³ a short story in Tierra de Pellines by Durand, contemplated the scenery of the fundo he had been hired to administer, absorbed by its great beauty. In the distance, the slopes of the hills of Adencul were whitened by the ashes of burning underbrush of the region. Here and there were to be seen dark spots of new growths of trees known as hualles and maquis, that had escaped the fire. These patches were interspersed among the tall coihue trees the whitened, ash-colored trunks of which were fluted with black streaks produced in them by the flames. On the other side, the hills were golden with growing grain in the midst of which rose a

13

Luis Durand, Tierra de Pellines (Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929), pp. 64-65.

solitary, maitén tree with leafy foliage. Below, in the canyon between the hills, a river, shining like a white ribbon in the sun, wound its way among the woods. Along its banks and running into the virgin mountains were magnificent robles or oaks, canelos or cinnamon trees, avellanos or hazel-nut trees, fragrant bushes of boldo, and odoriferous olivillos or terebinth trees in the tall mast-like trunks of which were entwined the vines of the rosy copihue, the beautiful national flower of Chile.

The dusty mountain road in Montaña Adentro¹⁴ was flanked by trees of various kinds. The wheat fields were broken by two glens twice crossed by the River Quillen, which wound its way like a serpent among pasture lands of clover. The hillocks beyond the river were covered with trees: robles, maitenes, and raulies. The beauty of the scene was enhanced by the white light of the moon.

The bushes that cover the Chilean hills in the north central region of the country are described in Juan Neira,¹⁵ one of the stories in Páginas Chilenas by Díaz Garcés, as follows:

¡Quién no ha visto los cerros chilenos cubiertos de boldo!
Un faldeo gris, con manchas doradas de teatines; algunos quiscos
que se levantan como brazos armados; y los boldos del más oscuro
e intenso verde que parecen escalar el cerro como peregrinos
haciendo penitencia.

These bushes are typical of the Chilean landscape in the north central region.

¹⁴ Brunet, op. cit., p. 493.

¹⁵ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 6.

The lake region of the south, however, offers the most enthusiastic descriptions of scenery. In Uly, Mariano Latorre tells about the inspiration of the blue skies of the south, the quietness of the lagoons near the big rivers, and the imposing walls of virgin forest. Later he describes the country thus:¹⁶

El cielo de verano, de un gris ligeramente azulado, empapa el paisaje un su frescura flotante: en el lago, la luz se densifica y cobra un intenso color azul. Ni un soplo de aire commueve la lojana quietud donde se baña la nieve rosada de los cumbres y sus masas azules. Los papales reflejan en las aguas más oscuras de la orilla sus limpios verdores: y en las quebradas que dividen geoméricamente la tierra, negrean de vez en cuando manchas de bosques que aún persisten desde la fundación de la colonia, restos de la gran selva de laurales y lingues que venía a mirarse, salvaje e imponente, en la espejeante tersura del Llanquihue.

The virgin forests, the rosy-tinted snow on the mountain tops and volcano summits, the waters of the beautiful lake, all are typical of the region.

IV. BUILDINGS ON THE FARM

On a large fundo, or hacienda, there is usually a church.

Although recent immigration from Northern Europe and from the United States as well as missionary influence has increased the Protestant population of Chile, the majority of churches are Roman Catholic as they were in the colonial days when church and state were united. In Glorias de la Chisetera,¹⁷ Díaz Garcés tells of the parochial church

¹⁶ Mariano Latorre, Uly, y otras novelas del sur (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1923), p. 11.

¹⁷ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

which was surrounded by what could be considered a corralón, or large corral, rather than plaza, or square. In this corralón were some two hundred horses, some well-saddled, others not, all belonging to the inquilinaje, from the neighboring farms. The organ was out of tune and half its reeds were broken so that from it sounded shrill, discordant notes.

A side light on the appearances of a Chilean church is obtained by the implied comparison with a German church in the Lago Llanquihue district of the south. Mariano Latorre in Ullv¹⁸ makes special mention of the fact that the little church of the German village was as neat and clean as one of the prosperous homes among the German colonists. The inference is that as much could not be said of the usual Chilean country church.

La escuela, or school building, was to be found on some fundos or haciendas. In Zurgulita,¹⁹ a school house is located just a few steps from the manor house of the fama. The school contains a dining room as some of the pupils come from other farms and must have a place to eat their noon lunch. A young girl is the teacher and instructs all the grades.

Other buildings and constructions on the farms include barns, dairy-sheds, wine-houses, store-houses, and silos. The extent of

¹⁸ Latorre, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁹ Mariano Latorre, Zurgulita (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1920), pp. 26-27.

these buildings depends upon the size and the up-to-dateness of the farms. On some of them, for example, are found clean, modern sheds with blooded cattle. On others, the shacks for keeping the cattle are unkempt and in poor repair.

V. FARM TASKS

The Chilean farm is a busy place. There are numerous tasks to be performed and some seasons of the year are busier than others. Díaz Garcés²⁰ described the varied activity of farm life thus: "el trabajo del campo tiene tanto color como la paleta revuelta y enmarañada de un artista." Plowing, sowing, and harvest time are especially busy. Wine-making, fruit-growing, sheep herding and cattle raising, and their related tasks take the time and attention of various individuals. Carpentry work, blacksmithing, and machine work are done by those who specialize more or less in such crafts.

When the directors are harsh, the farm work is drudgery. In describing workers in a wheat field, Marta Brunet²¹ relates a scene as follows:

NI un canto, ni una risa, ni una frase chacotera salía de sus labios. Harapientos, sucios, sudorosos, iban y venían con cierto mecanismo en los movimientos que les daba aspecto de autómatas: hasta el mirar angustiaba por la falta de espíritu. Autómatas y nada más eran aquellos hombres que el administrador vigilaba desde una ramada. Que alguno perdiera el equilibrio de su mecanismo y la frase cruel lo flagelaba:—¡Así no, pedaxo de bruto!

²⁰ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 54.

²¹ Brunet, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Lo temían. Seguro de su omnipotencia, irascible, cualquier falta le hacía despedir al trabajador.

Ragged, dirty, and sweaty men worked like automatons under the sharp vigilance of the cruel administrator.

La trilla, or threshing, is one of the interesting processes on a Chilean farm. Modern machinery is extensively used in threshing on the up-to-date farms, but here and there the ancient method of threshing by having mares gallop over the grain is used. Wheat, and more often beans, are still threshed on some farms in this manner. La trilla is a time of festival-making as well as working. Díaz Garcés in a story from Páginas Chilenas called La trilla²² describes at length an old-fashioned threshing. La encierra, or the gathering in of the grain, begins towards the end of January, the month corresponding with July in the north temperate zone. There is no time for siestas. The great two-wheeled carts go creaking down the road filled to the brim with golden ears of grain. In the fields the workmen are mowing the grain with sickles. The day for threshing arrives early in February. On the farm where the modern, prosaic threshing machines have not yet made their invasion the more colorful manner of threshing is used by driving mares over the grain. Along the road come carts laden with tools for work and girls tuning their guitars. On horseback come riders from all directions in their best attire with holiday manta and large-wheeled spurs. When all preparations have been made, in a cloud of

²² Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 54ff.

dust through a gate from the pasture come a troop of mares. The threshing itself is described thus:

Su marcha remece el suelo alfalfado y endurecido por el sol, y se van acercando como una avalancha, sueltas al viento las crines, la cabeza balanceándose con coqueta alegría y el braceado galope mostrando la buena sangre de la yeguada.

Los jinetes se separan de la entrada, parten al galope, revuelven sus caballos, y abren por fin calle a la enorme cuadrilla que relincha, se encabrita, levanta las orejas, se detiene ante la abertura de la quincha, y se lanza después silenciosamente sobre el trigo que forma un muelle colchón a la yeguada.

El galope se cambia dentro, primero en trote y después en paso: y no se sienten ya los pasos sino el crujido de la espiga envuelta y desmenuzada bajo los cascos de las yeguas.

Los jinetes se ofrecen la preferencia, para correr; por fin se lanzan dos y comienza la trilla, la alegría y la fiesta del campo.

Las yeguas van al galope, saltando casi y enterrándose en el grueso colchón de espigas. Es un círculo vertiginoso, que da vueltas, que se emborracha con sol, con luz, con fuego, con el polvo que se levanta por el aire y cae jugueteando con millares de pajitas que parecen plumilla de oro caída del cielo.

Más tarde las yeguas no se ven entre el remolino de la paja que levanta el viento y el polvo dorado que envuelve la cara: y los jinetes siguen sucediéndose de dos en dos alternando sus clamores, con risuello y variado estribillo.

Having described the manner in which the mares, chased in a dizzy circle by the shouting horsemen, throw up a heavy cloud of golden dust as they tramp out the grain beneath their hoofs, the author goes on to relate that when the threshing is finished the participants and visitors make ready for the feast of caziela and dance to the tune of guitars.

Grape-growing and wine-making keep people busy on many Chilean farms. In 1930, Chile occupied seventh place in the world's wine production. Vineyard cultivation is one of the oldest and most important

industries in the country. The vine-cultivated areas cover a total surface of something like two hundred thousand acres and wine production, including chacolfes (light wines) and chichas (hard ciders), reaches over one hundred five million gallons annually.²³

In Alsino, Prado²⁴ describes the work of Florencio, the bodeguero, or keeper of the cellar, at the time of the grape harvest. His hut is located far from the rest of the buildings on the fama. It is his duty to watch over the arrival of the grapes and the working of the old, leather wine presses. On top of the wine press heaped with black bunches of grapes, half naked boys dance to squeeze out the juice. From the press the juice runs into vats through a tube made of a hollowed ox-tail. It is also the work of the bodeguero to load the press with grujo or grape refuse, and to keep an all-night vigil to prevent the big casks from stopping up when the wine starts fermenting.

The rodeo is a typical farm task which carries with it something of an air of fiesta. The rodeo immediately follows the encierra or round up of the cattle that have been scattered all season over the fields of the large haciendas. Vaqueros, or cowboys, and campesinistas, or cattle drivers, assisted by dogs drive the animals to be used in the rodeo into an aparta, or enclosure. The purpose of the rodeo itself is to separate the cattle for market, achieved by running down and lassoing the animals one by one. The more vivacious the steer, the more

²³ Ricardo Rodriguez, "Cooperatives Enter the Chilean Wine Industry," Chile, 48:156-57, April, 1930.

²⁴ Prado, op. cit., pp. 214-15.

risky the task. Combined with the work itself, the rodeo includes contests such as steers pushing each other, horsemen pushing their steeds one against the other, lariat throwing, and racing. In Rafael Maluendas' story of En el rodeo²⁵ in Escenas de la vida campesina, is mentioned the gathering of women in their best Sunday clothes and huasos with new riding accoutrements. The rodeo is the noisiest task in the country and in this instance the patrón helped to make it a gala event by providing extra facilities. In shady arbors which had been constructed for the occasion, women were busy preparing food and groups of people gathered for gossip while horsemen raced back and forth trying out their mounts.

The rodeo is a dangerous piece of work so the participants went about their work with necessary precaution. When the bars of the corral had been let down some of the horsemen watched the gates while others galloped impatiently into the corral for the more active part of the task. The horsemen commenced their swift riding and risked their lives in separating and running down the cattle. Clouds of dust arose, the frightened animals bellowed, the dogs barked, and the boys sitting on the pircas, or stone fences, of the corral filled the air with their shouting and whistling. The cowboy selected for singling out the animals called to the riders to charge a certain steer, with the cry of ¡al negro! ¡al negro!²⁶ With a shout of ¡Ah! toro...! ¡ah!

²⁵ Rafael Maluenda, Escenas de la vida campesina (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1909), pp. 3-11.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

torooco! the riders at breakneck speed chased the steer which became separated from the rest. At times it seemed as though the group would dash against the pioca surrounding the inclosure, so great was the speed. But a rider was there ready to change the course of the animal so that by the pushing and striking by first one cowboy and then the other the steer was driven into the adjoining corral. After each animal had been driven in there was a brief breathing space and the cacho, or drinking horn, circulated among the riders so they might drink the chacolí, or wine, and crack a few jokes. Then once more the riding began. In the scene that followed, a rider in his enthusiasm to chase a steer allowed his horse to get ahead of the steer. The horse was thus put into such a position that there was nothing to prevent him from being gored by the dashing, dizzy steer as they both crashed into the wall of the corral, breaking the neck of the steer and killing the rider outright.

While the rodeo is a seasonal occupation and a festival occasion, the herding of cattle is an every day task. In Juan Neira²⁷ the caustaa, or overseer, never failed in his daily rounds through the hills to return in the evening to the house of the administrador to say que no había novedad en el ganado.

Caring for the sheep involves a number of tasks. In Zurzulita,²⁸ a sheep corral is located behind the manor house and from there could

²⁷ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁸ Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., pp. 81ff.

readily be heard the muffled running of the frightened flock as it made the earth resound with its trampling of many hoofs. In the corral, the esquila, or sheep shearing takes place. From the many sheep around him, On Varo takes one of the sheep by the neck, and hobbling the four legs he carries the animal to the center of the corral. There la vieja Pascuala, a conscientious esquiladora, or sheep shearer, clips with a large pair of shears the dirty fleece from the sheep.

Butchering is an important task on the farm. In Alsino,²⁹ Banegas, besides being the hortelano, or gardener, was the matancero, or butcher of the fundo. It was his job to cut the throats of the sheep and dress the carcasses for household consumption. He also prepared the charqui, or jerked beef.

Carpenter work of various kinds is indispensable on every farm. On the larger haciendas it is usually necessary to employ an expert for this purpose. Marta Brunet, in Bestia Delfina,³⁰ tells of a boy who helped his father as a carpenter, even when a very young lad. While the other youngsters were chasing about the pastures in search of nests and fruits, young Santos would be patiently working with his father, building little boxes, brackets, shelves, or benches. At the age of ten, he became part of the personnel of the hacienda as carpenters' helper, under orders from his father.

²⁹ Prado, op. cit., p. 218.

³⁰ Marta Brunet, Bestia Delfina (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1936), p. 12.

There are many tasks on the farm, too, that must be performed by the blacksmith of the hacienda who is often the handy man of the place. One described in Pájaros Chilenos³¹ was el maestro tin-tin. He lent his services to the hacienda in whatever way was necessary, repairing one day the rim of a cart wheel, another day fixing the handle of a plough, making the latch for a door, or soldering the pipe of a tub. From early dawn were heard the vibrant blows on his anvil, calling to the entire valley and being heard above the thousand other noises at day-break in the country. Its sharp, high, crystal-like note, like a tocue de diana, resounded among the inhabitants of the valley. This joyous note from his anvil caused the smith to be known among the people on the farm as el maestro tin-tin. Whenever people called at his door he came out with his sleeves rolled up wearing his apron of blue denim, always smiling, always amiable. The last blow on his anvil sounded with the setting of the sun.

The making of pottery has an importance on Chilean farms quite unknown on those of the United States. An alfarero or olero, that is, a potter, is described in Zurzulita.³² An old blind man, Quicho, sat in the corridor at his potter's wheel passing his sensitive fingers over the dark clay. The calanac, cántaros, and ollas, various types of clay vessels, which had just finished being molded, were placed in the humid shadows to dry. Quicho's sensitive fingers shaped in marvelous

³¹ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 109.

³² Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., p. 92.

fashion the various clay vessels that he turned out in his alfarero, or pottery shop. In the meantime, an old woman piled up dung cakes and vine twigs for use in the bake oven where the clay vessels were baked.

These and other occupations on the farm take the time and attention in one form or another of the hacendado, the administrador, the capataz, the huaco, the inquilino, the peón, and the specialized workman.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

The social life and customs of the country people of Chile are given ample treatment in the material used for this study. It is the description and discussion of the folkways and mores of the people as contained in these passages that provide the most revealing insight into their attitudes and actions. Some of their typical habits and manners of living are discussed in this chapter.

I. FAMILY RELATIONS

Family life, for example, follows the general customs of other people with a few differing features. There is much family affection and, among the landed proprietors especially, married sons and daughters-in-law usually dwell happily under the paternal roof. Although greatly lessened in more recent years, the authority of the father in the family and in the home has been practically absolute. This has been true whether the home was that of an hacendado or an inquilino. Failure to comply with the desires of the father was an indication of lack of respect. Don Alejandro Malsira, in Durante la Reconquista,¹ who in 1810 lived part of the year in his ancestral home in Santiago and part of it at the hacienda of Los Caneles near

¹ Alberto Riest Gana, Durante la Reconquista (Paris: Garnier Hermanos, 1927), Vol. I, pp. 157, 205, 230, and 250.

Melipilla, for example, was severe in his home. The fact that he was a revolutionary, working for the freedom of his country did not make him ready to accept the doctrine of liberty for his family. For his daughter, Trinidad, to persist in a love affair upon which he frowned was to be lacking in respect. His severity, he believed to be for his daughter's own good. Rather than allow her to marry a Spaniard, he would send her to a convent. His wife, although broken-hearted, dared not oppose his decision for she had lived submissive to his authority since the day of their wedding. As the trees on a plain become inclined by the prevailing wind that blows so her will had become inclined to his.

This same feudal-like spirit has been brought down to our present day in isolated mountain communities, according to Marta Brunet in Bestia Delfina.² "El patrón es el señor omnipotente del cual se reporta todo sumisamente, aunque en lo hondo se lo reconozca injusto," she said. This spirit of over-lordship of the hacendado over the inquilinate is exercised in the villages by the father, the husband, or the eldest brother over the rest of the family, and as the hacendado bequeaths his possessions to his sons, so the mountaineer leaves to his children his trade. The eldest son is the one expected to take up the trade of the father. Thus Santos Flores, in Bestia Delfina, became a carpenter as had his father before him.

² Marta Brunet, Bestia Delfina. (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1936), pp. 12-13.

For the son to follow in the footsteps of the father was a great joy to the latter. For him to fail to do so was usually a great disappointment. When the three sons of el maestro tin-tin,³ the blacksmith, went their way without learning their father's trade, he grieved greatly. His sadness knew no bounds when a strange blacksmith set up his anvil on the fundo when el maestro tin-tin no longer could swing a sledge. His scheme for getting his sons to learn the trade was to make a dying request for them to erect a huge cross over his grave to be made out of scraps of iron which he had been gathering for months before his death. In the month which they labored together making the cross they acquired enough skill and interest in the blacksmith's trade to be able to replace the stranger.

Don Zeilo, in Cuentos del Maule,⁴ ran away from home because he wanted liberty. It was not only the cruelty of his father which he feared, but rather that survival of Roman imperial authority which made the father believe it his duty to beat his son, who was his property, an idea fully substantiated by popular belief. The boy was treated as a slave as long as he remained at home.

Unhappy family relations appear in a number of stories. In Bestia Domina,⁵ Santos Flores, who married at the age of forty, and

³ Joaquín Díaz Garcés, Páginas Chilenas (Santiago: Imprenta Zig-Zag, 1907), pp. 111ff.

⁴ Mariano Latorre, Cuentos del Maule (Santiago: Empresa Zig-Zag, 1912), p. 152.

⁵ Brunet, op. cit., pp. 22-24.

was left a widower, had difficulty in bringing up his three daughters. Meche, the second daughter, was often defiant and was sometimes beaten for it. When it became known that the father at the age of sixty wanted to marry a girl no older than his eldest daughter of eighteen, the daughters protested. Meche, especially, laughed at him and cast aspersions upon the girl he wanted to marry. For this, the father beat Meche and knocked her down. He called her la bestia dañina or harmful beast and she swore she would run away from home if her father married the girl.

Woman's influence is seen in the manner in which the mother of Santos Flores⁶ chose his first wife for him. She frequently told him she would like to have him take Juana del Molino. She was neat and genteel and rather pretty. He thought he was not yet ready to marry, but when the mother died, Don Santos decided to marry. The girl of his choice was Juana, whom his mother had often suggested. He found her to be a kind little woman who devoted herself exclusively to her modest household. She humbly submitted to whatever Santos said. He was easy going and kind to her and made her happy after a fashion. The only thing for which he could not forgive her was that she had given him three daughters two years apart, but no son. Four years later, she gave birth to a boy but he was still-born and she died in the ordeal.

⁶ Brunet, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

II. THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY LIFE

As wives and mothers, the women in the country manifest similar characteristics whether in the family of inquilinos or hacendados, although there are fundamental differences in customs according to the social category of their respective families. Submission to their husbands, although in less degree than formerly was the case, and devotion to their children seem to be characteristic of the women of all classes.

Whereas the woman of the families of hacendados differs little from the higher class woman in the city, the Chilean campesina of lower degree is different from either of them. In El Roto,⁷ Edwards Bello describes a young country woman from the class of inquilinas, who has been thrown into low company in the city. She was a robust, credulous girl from the country district of Aconcagua. Her parents were ignorant inquilinos. Her features were those of the typical Chilean woman. Her mouth had full lips. Her eyes were pure Chilean, admirable, but somewhat bovine, that is, large and with a kind, passive expression. Her skin was lusterless and her chestnut-colored hair was thick and curly. Her hands were not refined nor her figure well shaped. Her body was solid and set upon legs as strong as posts.

In Zurzulita,⁸ another woman is described as being mature and

⁷ Joaquín Edwards Bello, El Roto (Santiago: Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1929), p. 92.

⁸ Mariano Latorre, Zurzulita (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1920), pp. 51-53.

strong of frame. She was of that robust type of hembra varonil, so common in the country districts of Chile. Her figure was somewhat plebeian with hips that were full. On her solid, almost athletic neck rested a head of very fine features, of Roman type. She had a willful nose, and her eyes were of a bluish gray that had no femininity whatever.

When engaged in house or farm work, the country woman would probably be dressed in clothes as ordinary as those of the men. On festive occasions, they might adorn themselves like Meche in Bestia Dafiina.⁹ She was dressed in red calico with her manto, or cloak, worn slantwise. Resting over her eyes was her chupalla, or hat, which was adorned with a handful of poppies. Her shoes were of red leather.

The country folk in Bestia Dafiina¹⁰ were quite impressed with the dress and habits of la señora Carmela Rojas de Conejeros, proprietor with her husband, of the cocinería, El Trompesón. In her youth, la señora Carmela had been a servant in the city and that contact had given her upon her return to her own town a series of refinements that were the admiration of the village. She used gloves, corset, hat, and veil. She spoke but little and in a voice that was low and measured. She treated those of her class with a sort of Olympian disdain and those of higher station with somewhat irritating familiarity. She had servants and took a bath in warm water every

⁹ Brunet, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

Saturday.

The Chilean farm women who do the work belong to the servant class or the inquilinaje. Cooking and cleaning are their principal tasks. The tools with which they work are usually very primitive as the kitchen is the last place to receive any modernization. In Un juez rural,¹¹ the daughter of the house is seen squatting beside the clear water of the asequia, or irrigation ditch, with her sleeves rolled up, washing the clothes. In Montaña Adentro,¹² Cata kneels beside the canal with her skirts wound around her legs while she beats with a stick the clothes she has taken there to wash. Doña Clara and her daughter Cata, ever since the death of Doña Clara's husband who was a mayordomo, had to earn their living as cooks for the workmen. They were strenuous workers and skilful in baking, cooking, toasting, and grinding wheat and yet could find time for spinning yarn and weaving picturesquely designed cheapinos, or rugs, which they soon sold for a good price in the city.¹³

What the Chilean expects and wishes to find in the women of his race is apparent to a certain extent by what he sees in women of another race. This is the case in regard to the opinion the Chilean has of women of the German race in the south of the country. Latorre's

¹¹ Pedro Prado, Un juez rural (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1929), p. 99.

¹² Brunet, Montaña Adentro (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1933), p. 25.

¹³ Ibid., p. 19.

Ully¹⁴ paints a picture of the German people in the village of Frutillar on the banks of beautiful Lake Llanquihue. A certain amount of disdain coupled with admiration exists in the attitude of the Chileans toward them. The German immigrants began coming to southern Chile in the late forties of the past century from Bavaria, East Prussia, Saxony, and the Tyrol. The workmen, tailors, shoemakers, and tanners of the old country became tillers of the soil in the new land. By dint of hard effort and sacrifice, they became skilled agriculturalists and surpassed the prosperity of the Chileans who had been cultivating the land since colonial times.¹⁵ The two races remained apart for nearly three generations. The Germans clung to their own habits and customs. The food they ate and the houses they built were of Teutonic aspect. They maintained their own schools, supported their own churches, and used the German language in their homes and on the streets. The difference between the two races, however, is beginning to break down and they are coming to know each other better. The hatred of the Chilean for the gringo who has become rich in his adopted land is changing to admiration, almost to emulation. The disdain of the German for the native Chilean has changed and the attitude become one of consideration.¹⁶

Emilio,¹⁷ while visiting his German friend Carl, was surprised

¹⁴ Mariano Latorre, Ully, y otras novelas del sur (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1923), p. 63.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 34 and 62.

that the mother of the household and the girls did their own housework, scrubbed the floors, and washed the dishes, as well as doing the baking and cooking. Such a thing seemed inconceivable to a Chilean who was accustomed to find women who did not belong to the servant class themselves disdaining to do the work of a servant. This accounted in the mind of don Emilio for the fact that the hands of the German girl whom he admired seemed somewhat large and red.

Don Emilio was also impressed by the tallness and strength of the German women. In spite of their size, they were agile and quick of movement. Their countenance and gesture showed marked competence. Their straw-colored hair, their blue eyes, their ruddy complexions were in decided contrast to the features of the women of his own race. Their open-heartedness and their frankness impressed him. Their natural behavior and lack of self-consciousness and eternal coquetry in the presence of the men seemed new to don Emilio. Although he thought some of the robust women with shining cheeks seemed to be as round as stuffed sausages, don Emilio found that in the girl ULLY the Teutonic qualities were refined, harmonized, and softened.¹⁸

Occasions for young people to see each other have been apparently rare. In Maluenda's story of En el rodeo in Escenas de la vida campesina,¹⁹ the young huaso, Juan Francisco, had been on the lookout for a week for an occasion to see Rosa, the young lady in whom he

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 37, 62-63.

¹⁹ Rafael Maluenda, Escenas de la vida campesina (Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1909), pp. 4-6.

was interested, but without avail. The vigilance exercised over her became more strict every day, because the girl's widowed mother desired to reserve her hand for an older campesino who had gained the mother's sympathy. The rodeo offered the first opportunity in a long time for the young couple to get together. Thanks to the services of a mutual friend, Juan Francisco succeeded in meeting Rosa. When certain of his tasks in the rodeo were completed, Juan and Rosa separated themselves a little from the other groups of sampesinos. Passersby ventured remarks to them while they were engaged in their intimate conversation. "Buena al niño. ¡cómo cuenta la plata!" (Good for the lad! How interested he is in love making!) was the comment of one. "¡Aprovecha, hijo, que el tiempo que se va no vuelve!" (Take advantage of the occasion, son, for time once gone will never return!) was the remark of another. The girl, casting a glance at the guaina (Chileanized Araucanian word for young man), showed by the sparkle in her eyes that she was pleased. Oblivious to most of the other remarks thrown at them, the young couple remained in intimate communion until it was time for him to hurry off to another task in the rodeo.

Another young man who could see his beloved only on occasions was Manuel in Vida de campo, a short story in Labarca Hubertson's Al amor de la tierra.²⁰ Even though he had already spoken with the girl's father, Do José, for her hand in marriage, Manuel could see the girl

²⁰ Guillermo Labarca Hubertson, Al amor de la tierra, excerpt in Henry Alfred Holmes, Spanish America in Song and Story (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932), pp. 169-70.

only on Sundays.. Filumena was a beautiful young girl "con dos ojos como dos luceros, picaresca y valedosa como ella sola que dejaba con la boca abierta a todos los guainas del lugar cuando bailaba una cueca bien zapateada en la fonda." In spite of Manuel's great love for her, however, she ran away one day to Santiago with the son of the owner of the hacienda.

Chilean family life in some cases is complicated by the unwedded sex relations. As Latorre says in Zurzulita,²¹ speaking of Norberto and his beloved, "La naturaleza los había casado aquella noche de verano, en la cálida protección de su seno, y los demás acataban esta santa decisión de la vida."

Although the couples thus united often continue to live together, the union in many cases is not permanent. The girl, sometimes too late, insists on marriage or some form of public recognition. Mafunga, in Durante la Reconquista,²² refuses to grant Cámara, her lover, another gita, "hasta que me cumpla su palabra," that is, until he fulfills his promise to marry her.

The daughter of Doña Clara, in Montaña Adentro,²³ is continually warned by her mother to beware of familiarity with the workmen on the farm. She pays no attention to the warning, however, and after continuing her friendliness too far finds herself to be with a child. The man

²¹ Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., p. 91.

²² Elvst Gana, op. cit., p. 169.

²³ Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., pp. 20-24.

whom she accuses defies her to prove the pregnancy is his fault. At first the girl is greatly taken aback, but by the time the child is born she resigns herself to her fate. The mother is perturbed, counts her rosary, and refuses to eat. The daughter, however, philosophically says, "Lo hecho ya no tiene gñalta. Hay que tener conformidá." When the child is born the daughter accepts him as "carne de su carne" and resumes her employment. Later the daughter begins to accept the attentions of another man, don Juan. She defends herself by saying, "Este no es como l'otro, mamita," but the mother responds with "Tos son lo mesmo." When the daughter reminds don Juan that if he marries her he will be taking someone who has already had a child with another man, he responds:

Na tiene qu'icirme. Su hijo es mi hijo. Mi mamá también tuvo su fatalidad, pero halló un hombre que la quiso de veras y se casó con ella y jué hasta que marió una mujer guena y respetá y su marío me quiso mucho y supo hacer de mi hombre gueno y trabajar.

Thus don Juan expresses his willingness to accept her child as his for his own mother made a similar mistake in her youth. Later she married a man who respected both her and her son.

In Zurzulita,²⁴ Latorre calls it la ley ineludible de la costumbre when he refers to the readiness into which sex relations would be entered. Milla, the teacher on the fundo, shudderingly is aware that the day must sometime arrive when there will be expected of her what has occurred to her girl friends who all had one or two

²⁴ Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

children by different fathers. She hoped that some day young Mateo would marry her and thus free her from those huagos of the fundo who closed the world of love to her, for she wanted none of their ways.²⁵

In Alsino,²⁶ an unmarried servant, while busily engaged in her housework, had to take care of her baby as well. From her experience she had come to look upon men with fear and suspicion. This only served, however, to make her more desirable.

In Alsino,²⁷ too, Prado tells of a place filled with beautiful women, daughters by adultery of the great lords of the region. The owner of the hacienda of El Olivar alone had twenty-two ox-cart drivers, all of them his own sons.

Although usually taking his own conjugal relations lightly, the man would almost always be relentless upon finding his own wife guilty of a sexual misdemeanor. In the tragic novel of Bestia Dañina, the sixty-year old don Santos throttles furiously to death the young wife, his second, whom he accuses by factual evidence of being engaged in adultery in his own house.²⁸

III. WEDDINGS AND MARRIAGES

²⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁶ Pedro Prado, Alsino, Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1928), pp. 215-16.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁸ Brunet, Bestia Dañina, op. cit., p. 93.

Don Fernando, in El Roto,²⁹ bemoans the fact that girls from the country in Chile so often had to lead a life of evil when they might just as well have lived a happily wedded life. In searching for the cause of this condition, he recalled that in California he had often seen plebeian weddings with the young people going joyously about the village streets. But never in Chile had he seen a plebeian wedding where the public was happily taking part in the proceedings. That was one reason why poor country girls were apt to have to end as harlots. No one in Chile encouraged weddings among the populace. A wedding among the poor people was most unusual and secret. Betrothals for the servant girl or the working girl were scandalous in the minds of their employers. Laws in regard to matrimony, moreover, were insufficient. Legally the religious wedding ceremony was not valid and the civil marriage was not obligatory.

In 1883, in spite of clerical opposition, a law recognizing civil marriages was passed. The government would thereafter not allow a clerical marriage any force in law and the church would not allow any force in religion to a civil marriage. Women took the side of the church, men the side of the government, so there were few marriages.³⁰

A wedding procession, however, is described in Bestia Delfina.³¹

²⁹ Edwards Belle, op. cit., p. 118.

³⁰ G. F. Scott Elliot, Chile (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. 227.

³¹ Brunet, Bestia Delfina, op. cit., pp. 28-30.

A joyous caravan of half the hacienda started out for Cura-Cautin to take part in the wedding ceremony. As the horses trotted along they raised clouds of dust which the summer sun gilded as they formed a wreath about the nearby mountains. The colorful mantas which the men wore were resplendent in the sunshine. The metal trimmings on the saddles sparkled. The multi-colored boxes of provisions were crammed with appetizing victuals. The enormous wheels of the riders' spurs clinked continuously. The red, green, yellow, and blue trimmings of the dresses of the women shone brightly in the morning light. The wide-brimmed hats shaded their sun-tanned faces with beaming eyes and smiling lips that disclosed shining white teeth. Spicy words that would attract the attention of the bridegroom were shouted from one group to another. The women, riding behind their men on the haunches of the horses, would blush at the especially piquant phrases. Some of the women would demurely lower their eyes thinking they ought to feign modesty and then at other phrases would open their eyes wide with the sensual pleasure which made their blood tingle.

Santos Flores, the bridegroom, rode thoughtfully and silently, as usual, on his white horse without looking towards his bride who rode near him on a yagua mamota, or Chilote pony. The bride's hat of shining straw was decorated with a feather which waved in the breeze. Her dress was made of a costly, pretty material. The dress and the hat were the gift of the bridegroom, selected by both of them in the best store in Victoria. Also gifts from the bridegroom were the watch and chain, the ring set with green stones, and the earrings.

The entire wedding party journeyed thus to Cura-Cautin where they went to the inn, El Trompesón, for eating and dancing. The middle of the living-room floor was cleared for dancing and the guests seated about the room were served punch, cookies, cake, fruit, and cold beverages. Merry conversation ensued, some of the couples danced the guasa to the accompaniment of guitars and clapping, and songs were sung for the entertainment of the guests.

Finally the bridal couple was ready to return to the hacienda. Abrazos, embraces of departure, were made, congratulations to the couple were called, and the health of the pair was toasted. ³²

IV. FESTIVALS AND ENTERTAINMENT

Entertainments and festivals are part of the social life of the haciendas and fundos of Chile. In the manor house the class of entertainment is naturally usually distinct from that of the inquilinaje, although there are occasions for which both groups combine.

La yelada was occasionally held in the salon of the manor house. In Los Chunchos, a yelada is described where friends were invited to pass the evening. At a table in the salon two old friends were busily engaged in a game of checkers. At another, a group was interested in going through an album about the French Revolution. The wife of the host entertained at the piano with music from the masters. Conversa-

³² Ibid., pp. 41-49.

tion flourished.³³

Social life for the lower classes often had to be fitted into their work-a-day world as well as possible. La trilla³⁴ or wheat-threshing, la vendimia³⁵ or the grape harvest, and the rodeo³⁶ or round-up were occasions for festivals, as well as for work. Baptisms, weddings, and funerals also served as opportunities for social life.

The picture of the arrival at all these occasions is similar, whether it be a rodeo, a trilla, or a wedding. The roads leading to the designated hacienda resound with the trotting of cavalcades of horsemen dressed in their best clothes. There is heard the tinkling and clinking of large-wheeled spurs. The prancing, sweating horses trot along with the bright, flowing ends of attractively designed mantas and ponchos of their riders floating to the breeze. The men wear short coats with pearl buttons and the women have on brightly colored calico dresses and wide-brimmed hats. Some of the women ride behind the men on the horses' haunches, some are mounted on their own horses, and some are in carts and carriages.

Not far from the scene of the work is erected an arbor, in the shape of a half moon. Beside this is placed a platform of woven branches for the patrones and their guests. The cantoras or minstrels

³³ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

³⁴ Cf. pp. 66-67.

³⁵ Cf. pp. 67-68.

³⁶ Cf. pp. 68-70.

will also be given a place here. In the description of a rodeo, Durand³⁷ says that at the gate of the apifadero, or enclosure, are the foremen and their assistants. Inside the enclosure are the young steers, impatient and nervous, poking each other with their horns, and bellowing. In a brilliant cavalcade, the owners of the hacienda arrive flourishing their handsome mantles. These gentlemen wear short jackets of black, blue, or white, profusely adorned with buttons. On their feet are fine boots with high heels and they make their spurs jangle like the sound of harps. The women and girls come in open coaches. Laughter and shouting fill the air. The minstrels make their appearance on a flower-bedecked cart which is soon surrounded by the crowd. A tonada (song) expressing the kind of sentiment that strikes fire, is called for. Also a cueca (dance) with tamboreo y huifa,³⁸ that is, drumming and shouting, is requested by the onlookers. A harpist and two guitar players strike up a melody as the singers burst into vibrant song. The voices are somewhat sharp and strident, but full of vivacity and enthusiasm, "con todo el saber del alma chilena, en que hay rebeldías, amores y dolientes desvíos."³⁹ The tonada over, large glasses of chicha, or cider, are served to the minstrels. Without much urging, the musicians break into a frolicsome cueca, the merry sound of the guitars and harp inspiring a desire for the dance among all those

³⁷ Luis Durand, Tierra de Pellines (Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929), p. 35.

³⁸ Cf. p. 100-103.

³⁹ Luis Durand, op. cit., pp. 35-38.

present. In the meantime, the nearby round-up proceeds. The attention of the people is called from time to time to the rodeo, to the horse-men with their clever riding, their dexterous rope throwing, and their skilful and dangerous antics in rounding up the steers. Frequent intermissions in the rodeo give the spectators time to go back to the arbor for more tonadas, more cuecas, and more drinking of chicha and wine.⁴⁰

Sometimes the festivity is away from the hacienda as on pay-day after harvest when the holiday crowd makes its way to the village for a drinking party and dancing at the despacho.⁴¹

The velorio, or wake, which serves as a social occasion is described in Zurgulita.⁴² On Varo told his patron, don Mateo, of the death of his child and asked a favor. Mateo wondered whether it was money he needed, but On Varo explained that he wanted a cask of wine and invited Mateo and Mills to the velorio that night. When they arrived at the rancho or hut of On Varo, they found outside, behind a barricade of colihues or bamboo, that there were candles burning. Over a campfire hung a kettle in which were boiling lamb meat and potatoes. Around the fire a group of old women, with shawls thrown over their heads, sat silently smoking cigarettes of corn husks.

On Varo, already drunk, greeted the recent arrivals and all the

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 38-44.

⁴¹ Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

⁴² Latorre, Zurgulita, op. cit., pp. 179-183.

guests were invited to enter the rancho. In a group of women was to be seen the shrouded figure of the wife of On Vare visibly mourning the loss of her angelito. The candles were extinguished and the darkness was only broken here and there at intervals by the shining of a cigarette being puffed. The country women took up the chant of a rosary which was followed by the sound of a muffled guitar and the voice of an old man singing: ⁴³

Madrecita, le suplico
que no se ponga a llorar
Y yo me voy a rogar
por usted, madre querida.

The sound of the occasional stamping of the horses tied to the nearby fig tree was heard. The odor of incense permeated the atmosphere.

Within the rancho, once more the women knelt and commenced the intonation of another rosary. The angelito was placed on top of an improvised altar made of tables covered with starched sheets. The boy Pituto was hardly recognizable. A soft, fine gauze, like a white gown, covered his body. Glumy spots of rouge reddened his cheeks. The child was seated in a little armchair adorned with silvered paper. A crown of artificial flowers on his head gave the impression that he was being entertained by the festival at his feet. It seemed as though he were a Catholic idol fallen into the hands of a savage tribe whose people were adoring him as a god. On top of the table at the foot of the chair was burning an incense pot which filled the rancho with the aroma of High Mass. Four candles stuck into pegs around the chair

⁴³ Ibid., p. 181.

were burning. Little greenish wooden crosses were hung from the folds of the white gown on the child. Through the filmy white gauze which had been placed over it could be seen a little waxen, lifeless hand with dirty finger nails clenched like a claw which made it seem as though the child were in pain and which was in funereal contrast to the little reddened face that looked as though a strange smile were frozen on it.

Between stanzas of his song which the old puesta accompanied clumsily on his guitar, he would stop for a drink of mixtela. The words which he sang were:

No me quea que pensar,
no sé como me lamente,
entre el agua y su corriente
se ven mis ojos llorar.

Yo me llamaré dichoso;
y me sirvo de mi Dios;
y con un crecido llanto;
adíos, madrequita, adíos.

The song and the lugubrious spirit of the scene caused the shrouded mother to break out into hysterical sobs. The other women moved to console her.

While the older folks were engaged in the velorio, some of the young folks were taking advantage of the occasion by going out into the hills and bushes for covert love-making.

Soon the time of pitanga, or eating, arrived. Every one was seated around the steaming kettle near the campfire. Each in turn stuck his wooden spoon into the kettle and pulled out a juicy piece of lamb. No one spoke. They went about their tasks methodically and

ritually. There was no sound save the chewing of food and the sipping of hot soup. The cask of wine went the rounds, every one taking a long drink and wiping his mouth with the back of his hand.

A drunken old man had rolled away from the crowd and was soon snoring loudly face downward on the ground. An old woman who had become loquacious from her protracted imbibing became furious when she discovered that her young daughter had been out love-making. The others laughed and joked away her drunken protests of the girl's delinquency in an effort to calm her.

The women soon returned to the rancho to renew the burned-out candles and pray the final rosaries. The men remained around the camp-fire, almost all of them drunk. They were no longer careful about speaking in low voices so as not to awaken the angelito and increase the sorrow of the mother. They began to shout, sing, and quarrel. The air became chill with the approaching dawn so the fuel on the camp-fire had to be replenished.

The last rosaries were finally said. The campesinas silently rose to their feet and each in turn moistening a coin with saliva stuck it on the face of the angelito so it soon seemed covered with small silvered circles. Some placed bills of currency in the folds of the white gown which by this time was covered with white ants. All this was to help pay for the burial of the dead child in the cemetery at Purapel.

It was not long before the entire assemblage slept where best they could, wrapped in their ponchos and castillas. Soon after dawn

it began to rain. The sleepers were awakened. The last farewell was sung by On Juan Oro, the puesta:⁴⁴

De ver de que en este mundo
 hoy soy, mañana no soy,
 'adiós, madrecita, adiós!

An old gray-bearded man, godfather of the dead child, came with a little box painted white into which the angelito was placed. Various women sought to restrain the mother who was struggling to get outside.

A little dark-eyed girl carried in her hands a cross. A procession of cloaked figures was soon formed at the head of which was the old godfather, the only one in the group on horseback. Down the long winding road to the village cemetery the procession of mantled men and women made their way in the rain.

The mother, left behind in the ranchito beside the empty altar, hoped the godfather, in his hurry to get home, would not forget to push the sepulchre of Pituto tightly shut, so the dead child's soul would not be tortured in the future life by being obliged to wander about the surrounding country-side transformed into a will-o'-the-wisp.⁴⁵

Holidays of various kinds are celebrated. Besides Christmas and Easter, there are numerous saints' days and church festivals.

In Alsino,⁴⁶ the fact is mentioned that the saint's day of one of the girls of the household was celebrated. Instead of on the

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 191.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 191-92.

⁴⁶ Prado, Alsino, op. cit., p. 136.

birthday, a celebration is held on the saint's day for whom one is named. All the Juans celebrate on Saint John's day, the Pablos and Pedros on the day of Saint Paul and Saint Peter, the Catalinas on Saint Catherine's Day, and the Isabelas on Saint Elizabeth's Day. Sometimes the anniversary of one's birth coincides with one's saint's day for the child is sometimes named for the saint on whose day he is born. Those not having the name of a saint could celebrate on the Day of Saint Michael and All Angels or on All Saints' Day.

The great patriotic day of the Chileans is "El Dieziocho de Setiembre," usually shortened to El Dieziocho. This day commemorates the day on which independence from Spain was declared, the eighteenth of September, 1810. The nineteenth of September is an added day of celebration. On the Dieziocho, the country people frequently journey to the towns and cities to celebrate. The Cousiño Park in Santiago is a favorite rendez-vous. Picnics, excessive drinking, and the dancing of the cueca with fireworks in the evening mark the day's celebration.⁴⁷

V. POETRY AND MUSIC

Ever since colonial times there has existed in Chile a popular poetry, very characteristic of the country. It is nearly always narrative in style and sometimes has dramatic intent. The theme is developed by means of dialogue or monologue.

The songs are sung by puestas and payadores who are unlike the

⁴⁷ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 532-37.

payadores of the Argentine, but more nearly like the troubadors and juglares of Spain, more specialized in their profession. A true gaucho of the Argentine could sing his own heroic deeds as a payador. Not so the huaso of Chile. The Chilean pueta sings to the accompaniment of a guitarrón bedecked with silvered trimmings and braids.⁴⁸

Descriptions of Chilean life are found in the corridos, décimas, and cuartetos. Some of them treat of religious themes like the villancicos and the nadales of Spain. Others more typical are of every-day affairs dealing with farm tasks, personal deeds, fights, bandits, assassinations, or supernatural events. The palla was sometimes sung in Chile. It is a popular poetic composition in the form of questions and answers. The story of Taguada is one of the ancient pallas of Chile. Dating back to the first half of the nineteenth century, it concerns the young hacendado don Javier de la Rosa and a mulatto, Taguada or Taguá.

Unlike the payador of the Argentine who plays his own guitar, the payador of Chile seldom uses the guitar himself. It is considered a feminine instrument and frequently a woman would accompany the verses of the corridos on a guitarrón, or large guitar. A rabel or rebec, a pastoral instrument something like a lute, would sometimes be played by a man. The scene of the singing and guitar-playing is in fondas and chinganas, that is, inns and taverns, in parks on the

⁴⁸ Mariano Latorre, "El gaucho y el huaso en la poesía popular," Atenea, 137:204-05, November, 1936.

Diezlecho, and at weddings, baptisms, funerals, harvests, and round-ups.⁴⁹

Chanfaina who played at the cocinería of Conejeros in Bestia. Dafina was well known in the region for her voice, her skill in playing the vihuela or guitar, her appetite, her strength in being able to knock down a man, and her capacity for getting drunk. She earned her living singing at baptisms, weddings, and wakes.⁵⁰

The music and guitar playing were designed to move the listeners to the spirit of the occasion. Eduardo Barrios explains in the following words the feeling which the song would evoke:⁵¹ "Era una canción humilde e ingenua como los más sentidos de nuestros cantos, para ofrecer un corazón que se rinde, para gemir tímidamente una pasión que duele." He stressed the aching passion which the song expressed.

Don Juan Oro in Zurzulita was the puesta of the region. He made verses to the satisfaction of everyone for whatever occasion he would be asked, for wakes, weddings, and religious services.⁵² The type of song sung at a velorio has already been indicated.⁵³

The sensual verses sung in the sueca are intended to be such that

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 380-82.

⁵⁰ Brunet, Bestia Dafina, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

⁵¹ Eduardo Barrios, Un Perdido (Buenos Aires: Editorial "Patria," 1921), p. 152.

⁵² Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵³ Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., p. 85.

"Los hombres sintieron correr fuego por las arterias y en los ojos de las mujeres brilló húmeda una luz de aquiescencia." The words that inspire this feeling are:⁵⁴

La carta que t'escrebí
 en un pliego e papel
 verás cuando la estés lendo
 lágrimas se t'han de quer.

Of similar intent are the following:⁵⁵

Me aconsejan que te olvide
 y no te puedo olvidar
 como no saben querer
 se ponen a aconsejar.

The cueca is the popular national dance of Chile. The cueca, according to Edwards Bello in El Roto,⁵⁶ is a sexual, blood-thirsty allegory of the warlike fusion of the two races of the country. Thus, in it is heard the drum beating of Castile in old Spain and the chivates or war whoop of Arauco. In it is seen the continual chasing of the Indian girl by the European. In the final steps of the dance the girl yields with lowered eyes, simulating until the last a reluctant, savage resistance.

A cueca usually is danced by one couple at a time with the remainder of the party as spectators, joining at times in the song, helping out in the tambores, drumming, clapping hands with the proper rhythm, or shouting suggestions to the dancers. The huaso leads his

⁵⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵⁵ Edwards Bello, op. cit., p. 76.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 106-07.

partner by the hand to the platform before the santoras or musicians. He places himself jauntily opposite his partner, his kerchief in his right hand poised above his head, his left hand at his waist, and his chupalla, or broad-brimmed hat, usually cocked over one ear. At the first sound of music, the huaso breaks into dance, smiling and arrogant, to the accompaniment of the sharply accented song. With graceful movements and cheerful ardor he begins to pursue his partner waving his kerchief before her as though trying to shake her out of the common scorn which she affects in intricate gyrations, and at the same time without losing brilliancy or getting out of step.

The song sung by the minstrels or audience is destined to quicken the dance. A sample is: ⁵⁷

Tondondoré, tondondoré,
no sé si me moriré.

Another is: ⁵⁸

Y hásemela con chancaca
y la cama bien anchita,
y hácele tuto a la guagua...
y hácele li-li-lu-lá...

¡Papas con luche, hartito aji,
me querís negra, no me querís...
me echas al agua, no me echarís!...

While some of the spectators empty their glasses of wine or chicha, others shout encouragement to the dancers as they reach a certain pitch of enthusiasm. They may call 'C6metela, retito! 'Nole tengáis miedo,

⁵⁷ Best Gana, op. cit., pp. 520-21.

⁵⁸ Durand, op. cit., p. 42.

hombre! 59

The tamboreo, or drumming, which accompanies the music is done by minstrels or spectators who beat their hands like wooden rattles on the box of a guitar not being used, on the back of a guitar being played by another, on a piano top, or on anything resonant. The beating is done alternately with the fingers and palms of the hands, keeping time to the song and guitar, measure by measure, rolling like a snare drum with the fingers on the accented beats and switching to the heel of the wrist at the change in tempo. Various people pride themselves greatly on their skill in keeping time to the envy of those jealous of their cleverness in this art. The tamboreo is accompanied by huifas and rehuifas which are shouted with the hui part in a sort of falsetto voice. 60

As the dance progresses and the spectators follow avidly the capricious gyrations of the dancers, the shouting increases and the tamboreo and rhythmic clapping or palmateo is redoubled. The man calculates tactfully the right time for his final gyration which ends in an embrace of the couple to the shouts and applause of the spectators. 61

At this juncture one of the spectators shouting aro, aro usually approaches the couple with two glasses of punch. One glass is

59 Hiest Gana, op. cit., p. 521.

60 Edwards Ballo, op. cit., pp. 107-09.

61 Hiest Gana, op. cit., p. 521.

given to the man, the other to the girl, each taking the glasses in their right hands after their right arms have been interlaced. In this posture they each raise their glasses to their lips and drink. This causes the enthusiasm of the spectators to reach its peak. The shouts of approval become thunderous. Everyone shouts are y viva with voices that soon become hoarse. Amidst shouts of cira, cira, another couple steps up to dance the cueca, or zamacueca, as it is sometimes called.⁶²

VI. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITIONS

The only reason for treating religion and superstition in the same category is that there is a nebulous zone where true religion and superstition are often confused though the two are poles apart in purport and content.

The country people in Chile have a profound religious faith and invoke the intervention of the saints to obtain their wishes. "El alma popular chilena es una mezcla del fanatismo de los conquistadores con las supersticiones araucanas," says Edwards,⁶³ in explaining the mixed heritage of the people.

Every village has its Roman Catholic Church and on some of the large fundos and haciendas there are churches⁶⁴ on the farm property for the benefit of those living on the farm and those who come from

⁶² Ibid., pp. 521-22.

⁶³ Agustín Edwards, Mi tierra (Valparaíso: Soc. Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1928), p. 358.

⁶⁴ Cf. pp. 63-64

adjoining farms. In the story of Juan Neira by Díaz Garcés,⁶⁵ it is mentioned that the campanilla in the church belfry of the fundo was ringing the Angelus. In El Maestro tin-tin,⁶⁶ the blacksmith, after he had struck his last blow on the anvil at sunset, would go to his doorway and stand watching the passers-by returning from their work. There he remained until the Angelus sounded on the other side of the river. He prayed it with his head uncovered and bowed and then entered his house where the kettle of freíoles was boiling on the fire for his supper. When el maestro tin-tin was dying the priest was called to help him make provisions for his final journey. What is life, the priest explained, but a smithy where each one pounds the anvil until his arms become fatigued and the fire in the forge is extinguished.⁶⁷

In Glorias de la Chiesters of Páinas Chilenas by Díaz Garcés,⁶⁸ the priest from the nearby church exhausted his ability, his resources, and his good will in trying to point out tactfully to two owners of adjoining haciendas that their quarreling and bickering had already caused too much trouble and bloodshed. But it was useless. On Sunday when some two hundred huasos came from the quarreling haciendas to attend church, the priest directed a dissertation to them. He exhorted the inquilinaje to peace and in no uncertain terms referred to their

⁶⁵ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 8.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 113.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

recent altercation. The admonition to love one another was the burden of his discourse. He reminded them that farmers who live a life of hard work should set an example of peaceable character. He said it was very unchristian to be so wrought up with hate and that the inquilinos should forget the grudges that divided their patrones.

After some organ music the service was over and the priest turned to the congregation to say, "Ite, missa est, ideo, porque se acabó la misa."

That the priests were sometimes defenders of the status quo to the detriment of the common people is indicated in Durante la Reconquista where the cura was about to preach a Christmas Eve sermon against the patriots, or insurgents, as he called them. La misa del gallo, the midnight mass of Christmas Eve, began at twelve o'clock. The family of the hacendado was near the altar seated on little rugs. Behind them were some servants. The wives of the huanos occupied the center of the chapel, and the men stood along the walls. At a certain point in the ceremony, to the tune of the vihuela and rabal, the minstrels intoned their Christmas praises to the Virgin and the Child God. Their words were:⁶⁹

Viva la señora Virgen
Y viva el niño Dios,
Viva el padre san José,
Y el buey que lamó al Señor.

After the invocations to the wise men, to the ass in the stable, and to the cock which "al cantar cocoricó, cantaba Cristo nació," there

⁶⁹ El Est Gana, op. cit., p. 427.

followed the offering of the Christmas gifts:⁷⁰

Aquí te traigo señora,
Para que coman los dos
Esta gallina y sus huevos
Y este pavito mechón.

The poor huaso offered in his open-hearted adoration the fowls from his corral, the fruits of his orchard, and the little lambs from his field so the child Jesus could play with them. The priest, who had had to fast until after mass was over, became furiously hungry at the mention of all these good things to eat and raced through the pages of his book for the mass, desirous at the same time of starting his sermon so he could launch a tirade against the dogs of insurgents who were beginning to undermine the Spanish rule. But before he could reach the sermon he was taken prisoner by insurgents who had come to win over the huasos of the hacienda to their side.⁷¹

The celebration of Holy Week is described in Alhú.⁷² It was the great week of the year. Gossiping women sealed their lips. People refrained from indulging in sweet meats. Misers became a little less avaricious. Enemies became friends. Drunkards smashed their wine glasses. In short, everyone improved his conduct. Jesus to them was one of those all too rare, kind patrónes. Those who had betrayed him and crucified him were hated as personal enemies.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 428.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 428.

⁷² J. S. Vera González, Alhú, y estancias de una aldea (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1928), pp. 81-91.

Sometimes the burden of behaving well for a whole week was too much to bear. When children who had been granted free reign during the week caused their mothers too much irritation, they were reminded that a week would not last forever. When the week was over they would be given a hearty beating at the first provocation.

From Monday morning of that week the church would remain open. People of the village and the nearby fundos would spend hours on their knees praying that their insignificant sins be washed away. It was a busy week for the priest. In addition to sermons and masses, he would be called upon to receive for confession everyone in the village. As soon as the bells began to peal forth the arrival of Easter and to announce the resurrection of the Lord, the people resumed their habitual happiness. A donkey drawing a little cart would wander all Easter day about the village streets. He was supposed to be the devil in disguise. A straw Judas that was appropriately clothed and carried a bag of thirty coins was hauled about the streets in a cart. On him was vented all the anger of the villagers. They called him names and stoned him. At length he was hanged. Then he was burned in effigy, the priest saturating the straw figure with oil and igniting it with a match. As the last vestige of the figure would be consumed the villagers would make a dive for the blackened coins that had fallen to the ground.

That one of the religious contributions of the church was in the form of display and demonstration of a material sort coupled with participating in mundane and pagan festivals is the impression given

in the account in Zursulita⁷³ of a xomeria or pilgrimage, to the village for a festival of San Francisco. On the outskirts, groups of huasos from neighboring farms dressed in their many-colored, holiday mantas and accompanied by their women folk paused for rest and gossip under shelters made of branches. Every house in the village was converted into a chingana or drinking place, where country folk came to dance the cueca.

A great crowd jammed the streets near the church where the celebration was being held. A midday sun beat down upon the crowd and church bells clanged loudly, as the religious procession arrived. The priest with special vestments and wearing an infrequent beatific and unctuous expression was accompanied by acolytes carrying candles. These were followed by two Franciscan friars wearing special ceremonial garments. Behind them came the crowd of the faithful led on by a blind, desperate faith and chanting what sounded like a litany. The figure of the miraculous saint dressed in robes and with a hard pale face of varnished wood rested on a platform which was carried on the shoulders of men. One old man expressed in his face pangs of agony caused by the excessive weight of the share of the platform he was bearing on his shoulder. But it was a form of penance for him.

As the procession slowly wound its way to the village cemetery and returned, crowds along the way watched with great concern. Old people who could not leave their houses looked out the open windows

⁷³ Latorre, Zursulita, op. cit., pp. 228ff.

beating their breasts and imploring the mercy of the patron saint of the town whose wooden image was carried above the sea of heads in the street. In other houses where drinking and dancing was going on, the sound of drumming and of guitars playing would be suspended as the procession approached and drunken huasos would come out to sign themselves with the sign of the cross.

As the procession reached the church once more, the big bell and the little one pealed forth again their noisy clamor. At the door of the church were gathered lame people and blind stretching forth their hands to implore compassion from the image of the saint. As the huge platform was lowered to go in through the church door, a wave of thunderous emotion surged from the crowd and the primitive cry of their faith was sounded, "Viva San Francisco! Viva San Francisco!" The cry of the faithful rose from the throats of anxious, delirious people on all sides clamoring for the miraculous saviour to give them good crops, water in the drouth, wind for the threshing, and cures for the ills of the coming winter.

Into the church went many of the pilgrims to implore further mercies and favors. A woman with the face of a tubercular but with the expression of iron will crawled on her knees to the altar of the saint to pray for comfort and aid.

Shertly afterward, the crowd began to disperse. Having paid their respects to the saint with money or burning candles, they went to make purchases or buy refreshments. Wine which the priest had prepared to sell on San Francisco Day was available to all. In fact,

the priest would change the date of the day to suit the wine-making so as to insure himself a good income from the sale of his wine. The remainder of the day was spent in the village by the country people in drinking, dancing, carousing, and sexual indulgences.

Praying to the Virgin Mary or the saints in time of death and trouble was common. "Tres rosaries pa que l'haga bien el baño," murmured distractedly the grandmother, doña Clara, in Montaña Adentro⁷⁴ when her little grandson was ill. Soon after she offered a rosary so that the child would go to sleep. And another rosary would be forthcoming so he would not cry so much. The religion of doña Clara was a rather singular one. She had a very vague idea of God and if she kept the divine commandments it was not because of love of God, but rather through fear of Hell. But she had a veritable passion for la mamá Virgen with whom she was always entering into negotiations, offering so many rosaries for one thing or another. When Juan Oses was being set upon and beaten, the grandmother cried: "Un rosario pa que no lo maten...Mamá Virgen otro rosario...¡Ay! ¡Ayayay! Señorcito querido... ¡Ay!"⁷⁵ Sometimes the Virgin would not lend herself to the negotiations in which Doña Clara promised rosaries for favors. Then Doña Clara would devotedly burn a candle on the hill where a number of years before had been assassinated the compadre Juan Andbelin. But the compadre would also turn a deaf ear to her prayers.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., p. 42.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 33-34.

From the canutos, the Chilean name for Protestants, derived from the fact that an itinerant evangelical preacher of a generation ago was named Canute, Doña Clara had gotten some of her notions on religion. When a child, there had been missions at the hacienda. Years afterwards a laborer who was a canuto came at harvest time to the hacienda. At night he would preach his doctrines to the peones who paid little attention to him. Doña Clara was interested in hearing about the parables which were wonderful stories to her. But outside of these stories and the matter of not confessing, she found the doctrines of the canuto hateful and repeated, "¡Bah! ¡Como que no! ¡La manita Virgen era la manita Virgen!" She took a little from here and from there and made up a religion for her own use. Her prayer on retiring at night was: "Mi Diosito—Tú que too lo vis y sabis, sabrás cuales son mis pecasos y me los habris ya perdonao.--Amén."⁷⁷

At the death bed of a little girl in Alsino⁷⁸ the trembling voice of la señora Dolores intoned, "¡Ave María Purísima!" The other women, all kneeling, in chorus murmured Santa María. Candles and flowers surrounded the little girl's couch.

At the death of the owner of the fundo, La Quebrada, the huasos who esteemed very highly their patrón kneeled near the bed of the dying man, intoning, "Jesús misericordioso, tened compasión de mí."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Loc. cit.

⁷⁸ Prado, Alsino, op. cit., p. 244.

⁷⁹ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 16.

Belief in a wandering of the soul after death in the form of a will-o'-the-wisp is expressed in the account of a child's funeral.⁸⁰

In Alsino,⁸¹ is mentioned a woman, fat, almost blind, and given to munching tidbits, who lived with eternal concern for death. Every day she prayed her rosary and during the month of the Virgin, which is December in Chile, she prayed special rosaries. Every night she went to bed not dressed in an ordinary night-gown, but in a death shroud so as to be prepared for the inevitable event.

When Rosario,⁸² the mother of Santos Flores, died with the grippe, she hoped to go to the other world in search of su finao, that is, her deceased husband, who according to her belief awaited her at the gate of heaven. Maria Juana, the eldest daughter of Santos Flores, who fell sick with a fever, bemoaned feverishly the fate of her sister, Meche, who had eloped. She prayed the Lord for mercy on her sister's sin for the flames of the infernal regions burn briskly.⁸³

Tatito, the youngest sister in Bestia Daffina,⁸⁴ believed that her troubles were sent to her by God to be borne as a cross to purge her faults.

Among the various superstitions found in Chile is the one that when a chuncho or owl hoots, a person will die. The story of El

⁸⁰ Cf. pp. 92-96.

⁸¹ Prado, Alsino, op. cit., pp. 217-18.

⁸² Brunet, Bestia Daffina, op. cit., p. 14.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 59.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

Chuncho, in Fábulas Chilenas,⁸⁵ is based on this superstition. The author was visiting his friend Ricardo on his hacienda one evening when an owl hooted. This reminded the author of the story of a man who heard an owl hooting in the dead of night in his garden. The man went out in his night shirt to shoot the bird. He missed the first shot and moved on through the garden to shoot again. He finally killed the chuncho, but within twenty-four hours he was dead with pneumonia. Within a fortnight, the author received word that the wife of Ricardo, to whom the story was told, had passed away suddenly.

To stroke softly the hump or loroba of a hunchback would bring good luck. Unhappy people, sad women, melancholy lovers, ruined gamblers, lovesick girls, and beggars would search out Alsiño to stroke his hump in the hope of good fortune.⁸⁶

The devil in Chilean mythology has the reputation of being a simpleton or a rascal. He could often be bested by the opportune invoking of the name of a saint or by other magic devices. The half-wit Samuelón in Zurkulita⁸⁷ was believed to be possessed of the devil. The only way to end the bewitchment was to kill the devil in him. It was said this could be done by sticking his body full of pins to kill the enchantment. On Rubo, in the same novel, was said to have a pact with the devil. A sure sign was the fact that the dogs never barked

⁸⁵ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 48-52.

⁸⁶ Prado, Alsiño, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

⁸⁷ Latorre, Zurkulita, op. cit., p. 108.

when he would steal his neighbor's sheep.⁸⁸

On moonlight nights in the country, old don Zoilo seemed to think the countryside was populated with invisible beings. In the hills and hollows there was surely a witch who would celebrate there the furious agualarres, or witches' sabbaths, or there was a devil whose presence on earth was indicated by the furious barking of dogs at some lonesome hour. The barkings were known to cease when the workman upon awakening would place his shoes with the soles down.⁸⁹

Ghosts are mentioned in Alhué.⁹⁰ The ghost of old Albornoz would often return to the house where he had lived. The sound of the ghost's footsteps were exactly the same as when Albornoz had been alive and indicated just the same kind of living. The death of an aunt of a householder was attributed to the fact that the family had insisted on living in a house that was said to be haunted.⁹¹

Loreto in the same novel believed that people were born only to suffer and die. Her mission, therefore, was to cure suffering people. This she did with herbs which she had gathered from her garden and which she thought had curative qualities for one illness or another. She ground the herbs in her stone mortar, boiled them in holy water, and poured the resultant brew in large, greenish bottles.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 117.

⁸⁹ Latorre, Cuentos del Maule, op. cit., pp. 172-73.

⁹⁰ González Vera, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

Whenever she heard of an ill person, even though not of her acquaintance, she would wrap her embroidered mantle about herself, fill a little bottle with her brew, and piously go to offer it to the suffering person. Whenever she went to visit a baby that suffered from indigestion or had been bewitched with the evil eye, she would take her wand of palqui. While making movements with the wand that were designed to effect cures she would utter simple supplications which she had learned as a little girl from the lips of her grandmother.

With other herbs she prepared powders that had special powers. They would serve to insulate certain houses where discontented husbands liked to pass long evenings. In these cases it was necessary to dust the doorways of these houses during the first hour after midnight. This done, these places would lose their charms and the men in question would no more visit them. If anyone enjoyed continual health, Loreto believed it was because the person had some one in heaven interceding in his favor.⁹² Clorinda received powders from Loreto which she sprinkled near the house of a widow that her husband used to frequent. Before doing this, however, she prayed and lighted candles to the Virgin who protects the integrity of married couples.⁹³

Loreto had a most strange yet exact idea of heaven. In winter, it is above the almost ever-present clouds. In the clear summer-time, it is above the blue zenith in the skies. Heaven is like an immense

⁹² Ibid., pp. 51-54.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 110.

field where there is eternal spring and where there are no buildings. The trees are laden with white, blue, and lilac flowers. The ground is covered with a green carpet of soft grass. Numerous streams sing in glorious harmony. This broad valley slopes gently to a vast hill. On top of this the Lord of the heavens sits on his imposing throne. His figure is immense as only that of God can be. His snow-white beard blends with his white tunic. He never smiles but neither is his expression severe. At his right hand are arranged the blessed ones who suffered on earth and died in accord with his will. There are the masons who fell from scaffoldings; the train switchmen; those stabbed by assassins; the women who caused jealousy; the hunters who had been surprised by wild beasts; the beggars frozen at the porticos of churches; the drowned people; those who went to bed and never awakened. They are all somewhat surprised to be there for the grace of the Lord has come to them unexpectedly. Behind this host, in quiet attitude, are awaiting their turn those who have arrived in heaven legitimately, by their own right. There in a prominent situation are hundreds of priests with chaste countenance; a multitude of rigid old maids; men who in life knew nothing but illness; individuals of low intelligence; lighthouse keepers; mild-mannered inquilinos; old women in shawls; convicts who were the victims of injustice; and many more. Their immediate worry is to keep their distance from those who have arrived in heaven accidentally. There is very little change going on. The denizens of heaven do not think, do not desire, do not suffer. The days, the months, the years, and the eras pass undisturbed. For those who have recently

arrived, however, there is some variation. The children play with the stars, the archangels cover many miles in carrying messages to the Lord. Saint Peter, standing at the celestial gate, entertains himself passing the key from one hand to the other. In the distance, a thousand old angels are writing in large books. They keep looking down below and note in one column the sins and in the other, the good deeds.⁹⁴

Of the various cures that are attempted some are by means of incantations, by magic, or by home remedies. A father of an inquilino household in Alsino attempted cure for his particular malady by wearing plaster patches of fried potatoes on his temples.⁹⁵ Juan Oses in Montaña Adentro, prescribed a remedy he had learned while a servant when he saw the grandmother praying for Cata's child who lay sick with a fever.⁹⁶ An old maico or witch doctor and a bruja or witch meet at midnight in El mal de ojo⁹⁷ to attempt a cure on a young lady by means of black magic.

VII. FOOD

The large dining rooms and the long tables therein indicate that meal time is an important factor in Chilean country life. A

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 54-57.

⁹⁵ Prado, Alsino, op. cit., p. 253.

⁹⁶ Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

⁹⁷ Durand, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.

dinner table ready for company is described in Un bautizo.⁹⁸ On the long table were aligned three large dishes of dulces and on top of each was a little sugar angel on a spiral wire. Around these dishes were placed slabs of sugared ham. There were dishes of trembling gelatine with a violet in each one. On other plates were roast turkeys with the feet shriveled and with a sprig of parsley in their beaks. There were also dishes of dressed olives seasoned with bitter oranges, limes, bananas, sweet oranges, and various kinds of cheese. On the table were bottles of every brand imaginable and a great profusion of flowers.

The dinner began at one o'clock and was not over until five in the afternoon. The cazuela de ave (chicken soup) which was especially succulent and tinted with red flakes of pure pepper, was followed by a great variety of other dishes. Chief among these were empanadas de hornos (a sort of meat pie); a malaya (meat dish), with frejoles (beans); tallerines (Italian noodles); pejerreyes (a sort of mackerel); rifiones (kidneys); various kinds of salads; las costillas (ribs); las jaivas (crabs); la cabeza de ternera (head of veal); and a tortilla de erizos (cake of sea-urchins). The long list of guisos was followed by the postres: tortas (cakes); gelatinas (gelatines); alfajores (pastries); dulces en almibar (sweets in sugar syrup); and fruits.

As the fare of the family of the hacendado was likely to be abundant, so the fare of the inquilino was apt to be penurious. Charqui or jerked beef, which was a common dish among the campesinos,

⁹⁸ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 339-40.

would usually be hung up in strips to dry on the reed roofs of their ranchos.⁹⁹

A common food of the poor is harina tostada or toasted flour. When served with honey, it is considered a special delicacy.¹⁰⁰

Another dish enjoyed by Chileans is sopaipilla which is a fritter about the size of a small flap-jack and is fried in honey. It is sometimes served pasado por chancaca, that is, dipped in molasses.¹⁰¹

Mote a maíz (stewed corn and hominy) is an excellent dish that refreshes and is sometimes sold on the city streets. Frequently it is served con huesillos, that is, with stewed dried peaches.¹⁰²

A favorite drink in the country is mate, although it is not as popular as in the Argentine and Uruguay. Yerba mate is an herb usually imported from Paraguay which is brewed by placing some of it in a little cup made of a hollow gourd and filling the cup with hot water. It is imbibed by sucking it through a silver straw. A tea kettle is usually to be found on the brasero in the winter time so that the hot water may be used for preparing mate. Sometimes it is served amargo, sometimes with sugar. A group of friends sometimes pass the mate cup around from one to the other while they converse.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Prado, Alsino, op. cit., p. 284.

¹⁰⁰ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Latorre, Zurzulita, op. cit., p. 242.

¹⁰² Elest Gana, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 314-15.

¹⁰³ Barrios, op. cit., p. 426.

VIII. ALCOHOL AND DRINKING

One of the blights on Chile is drinking. Edwards Bello, in El Roto,¹⁰⁴ calls attention to the fact that while in seven years smallpox takes more than thirty thousand lives, tuberculosis sixty thousand, and syphilis more, alcoholism is an even greater scourge. While the police of the country picked up on the streets and highways fifty-eight thousand drunkards in 1908, the number had increased to one hundred thirty thousand in 1911. The moralists can do very little about it because most of the country's powerful families are wine growers.

Mariano Latorre, in Don Zoilo, a story in Cuentos del Maule,¹⁰⁵ rehearses the effects of wine on the people in the country. "En el campo todo al mundo bebe," he says. The birth of a child is the signal for a borrachera or carousal; so also is his death. A carousal is the accompaniment to every wheat and grape harvest. The national festival in September¹⁰⁶ is marked with drunkenness. The new wine and the foaming chicha or cider turn the slow, quiet life of the country districts into a paroxysm of folly. It is at this time when drunken girls lose their virginity and when women deceive their husbands. Old drunkards are known to fall into ditches on their way home and drown there. It is when under the influence of liquor that the hugso is led to sink

¹⁰⁴ Edwards Bello, op. cit., p. 49-50.

¹⁰⁵ Latorre, Cuentos del Maule, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. p. 97

his dagger into the flesh of his rival or friend.

In Un bautizo, a man of the people explains to his friend that the aristocrats hold their baptisms en seco, that is without drinking, while "nosotros los del pueblo regamos con abundancia esta ceremonia." During the baptism which lasted all day and all night no one was allowed to escape without eating abundantly and drinking to excess.¹⁰⁷

Federico Gana tells of a funeral in which everyone was drunk from having participated in a wake the night before. In the morning, at the burial, the faces of the mourners, while affecting sadness, wore alcoholic smiles. All the pall-bearers were drunk with their otherwise melancholic natures rather excited.¹⁰⁸

Hacendados are sometimes known to foster drinking among their workers in order to keep them in poverty, according to John Mackay.¹⁰⁹ A certain Chilean farmer boasted that on one Saturday he paid five hundred pesos in wages to his peons and that at the end of the day he had the full amount in his possession again. He accomplished this by selecting a few of the buenos tomadores or hard drinkers and paid them. These began to spend their money for drink and set the pace for the rest who in the meantime were paid a few at a time. By night fall practically all the wages had been spent on liquer by the peons at the

¹⁰⁷ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 339 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Federico Gana, Días de Campo (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1916), p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ John A. Mackay, That Other America (New York: Friendship Press, 1935), pp. 63-64.

farm store.

IX. FIGHTING

In earlier days, the nature of the pioneer conditions made fighting common. Although the novels concerning country life in Chile do not contain the frequent accounts of fighting that is found in the gauche literature of the Argentine, it does find a place. The fighting of the huaso is usually the result of a quarrel inspired by drinking. Díaz Garcés tells in Glorias de la Chicotera¹¹⁰ of a feud that had existed for years between the owners of the adjoining haciendas of Colmenar and la Granja de Arriba. This spirit of animosity pervaded the employees of both haciendas. Whenever the patrones and inquilinos of both farms were present at a quarrel there was almost sure to be bloodshed.

The spectators of a fist fight in Zurgulita watched the participants with that voluptuous, hypnotic stare of the country people when they witness a fight between two men who hate each other and finally meet face to face.¹¹¹

In Juan Neira, the hero of the story, a sapata, is set upon by a gang of retos while making his rounds among the cattle scattered in the hills. Neira defends himself stoutly and heroically but the foe is too much for him. His method of fighting is typical of that of

¹¹⁰ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 21.

¹¹¹ Latorre, Zurgulita, op. cit., p. 160.

the huaso. His corvo¹¹² is grasped in his right hand. Around his left arm is wrapped his castilla, or manta, to serve as a shield.¹¹³

Cámara, a Chilean rote in Durante la Reconquista, enters into mortal combat with a Spanish soldier who is armed with a saber. Cámara is armed with his belduque or belt knife and uses his poncho wrapped around his left arm as a shield. The Spaniard fights with his back to the wall for he realizes that a possible exposure might be fatal. The Chilean fights like a demon, with the agility of a cat, and with his eyes seeming to shoot fire. The Spaniard remains largely on the defensive working his way around to a door through which he hopes to take flight. He reaches the door, but the instant his back is turned the Chilean pounces at him and in a twinkling has nailed him in the back with his belduque.¹¹⁴

X. FATALISM

The farmers complain of what they have and never confess half their earnings and advantages. This feeling of complaint is expressed by Díaz Garcés in La Trilla, one of the stories of Páginas Chilenas, as follows: "¿Cómo está la cosecha este año? Regular, contestan en el mejor de los casos. Y la viña? Helada enteramente. Y las chacras!

¹¹² Cf. p. 47.

¹¹³ Díaz Garcés, op. cit., pp. 5 ff.

¹¹⁴ El est Gana, Durante la Reconquista, Vol. II, pp. 376-77.

Mi atrasadas: no darán los gastos."¹¹⁵ Nothing ever seems to go right on the farm, is the consensus of expression.

As the hacendado is apt to be pessimistic, so the inquilino is often fatalistic. The girl Cata in Montaña Adentro¹¹⁶ had come to have that resignation to fate which causes one to accept everything with equal calmness. Fortune, sorrows, sickness, and death were, to her, powers against which it would do no good to rebel. "¿Para qué: si es el Destino," she repeated. Ignorance, misery, bad instincts, crime itself, were also powers against which to her there was no use struggling. "¿Para qué, si es la Fatalidad?"

Malhaya sea l'hora, was the first thought of don Santos in Bestia Negra¹¹⁷ when his daughter ran away. But his reaction immediately became that of resignation and fatalism so that, shrugging his shoulders, he repeated the phrase which seals the thought of the rote--Será mi Destino.

XI. JUSTICE

The inquilino usually feels that justice for him is not readily obtained either from the constituted authority of the land or from his employers. In Montaña Adentro,¹¹⁸ the head of the sarabineros was San

115 Díaz Garcés, op. cit., p. 53.

116 Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., p. 80.

117 Brunet, Bestia Negra, op. cit., p. 63.

118 Brunet, Montaña Adentro, op. cit., pp. 49 ff.

Martin who was himself a former criminal. He was rough and brutal and took delight in hunting and killing men in the name of justice. He arrested a man on the sole suspicion that he had not been at work on the day of a certain robbery. On this very slight circumstantial evidence, the man was given the third degree. When the suspect resisted he was whipped by the carabineros even though they later found the real thieves. Something of the lack of confidence in official justice is expressed in El Rete¹¹⁹ where it was said that every time the police arrived to raid the house of prostitutes, there were always scenes of commotion which were really unnecessary. In fact, the worst raid would usually result merely in the police collecting a fine and then joining in the commotion without objecting to anything and without bothering about what was actually going on in the prostibulo.

The disdain of the average campesino for the police is expressed in Un hombre¹²⁰ by don Ambrosio calling the soldier-police los milicos, a belittling term.

A feeling of rebellion toward a certain rich man in their district whom they find unjust is manifested by the poor people in Un juez rural.¹²¹ Those who are discontented join with those who have been dispossessed and foment the idea of a revolt which would result in a new division of property.

119 Edwards Bello, op. cit., p. 102.

120 Latorre, Uly, y otras novelas del sur, op. cit., p. 100.

121 Prado, Un juez rural, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

The most interesting reading in the novels and short stories of Chilean literature dealing with country life, generally speaking, is that which treats of the daily life and habits of the people. Here are most clearly evident the culture and the attitudes of the campesinos. The habits which they have as a result of the milieu in which they live, the things which they do because of the economic structure in which they move, and the outlook on life which they express because of the general culture they possess are all evident in the accounts of the people which the writers depict. Thus it is possible to gain from the various points of view of the authors, an idea of the family life of the campesinos, their attitude towards women, their manner of participating in festivals and entertainments as well as religious observances, the beliefs which motivate their actions, their manner of partaking of food and drink, their attitudes towards each other and the governing classes, and other sociological considerations. Although this does not purport to be an exhaustive study of the social psychology of the Chilean campesino as depicted by the novelists and short story writers of the country, it does indicate trends and important examples.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The preceding pages indicate that Chilean novels and short stories abound in accounts of the life and character of the countryman. As a background to the stories of his life and actions, his ambitions and accomplishments, can be placed a picture of the country. The mountains, the valleys, and the glens appear in one form or another. The flowers, the trees, and the birds come to be familiar to the reader. The picturesqueness of the country and its generally agreeable climate are also of interest to the Chilean novelists.

The sterner aspects of nature, too, are to be seen. Work in the desert region, labor under the hot Andean sun of midday, and the carrying on of tasks in the chilly, rainy winter days of July and August come to light in accounts of the Chilean campesino.

The description of the work in which the campesino is engaged, the kind of farma on which he lives, and the house in which he abides is interesting reading. The trilla, the vendimia, the gosecha, and the rodeo all have their points of interest. The combining of festivals with the large group tasks on the farma gives the work a color that it would not otherwise have.

The picturesque huaso enlivens especially the pages of many of the stories. His appearance, his horse, and his accoutrements give him a distinctive character that makes him different from analogous types in other countries.

Contrast in social strata is one of the most evident situations in the various stories. The hacendado on one extreme level of society is seen to have advantages and powers that give him a completely different sort of existence from the inquilino. The inquilinos in a different level of society, are considered by the hacendados almost as people without the same feelings and emotions that they themselves have. The privations, the penury, and the hopelessness of ever getting out of the situation in which the inquilinos are and in which their ancestors before them were for generations is a recurring theme in the campesino literature. Resignation to their lot in life is therefore a continual complement to the existing economic conditions. Dissatisfaction to the point of rebellion appears very seldom. The peón or peña who occupies the lowest rung of Chilean society is still more a creature of blind circumstance.

The cultural inheritance of the campesino is apparent in his day-to-day experiences. His attitudes are formed by his environment. His habits and his customs have been unconsciously assumed from the society in which he lives. The ignorance that besets him, the misery that surrounds him, and the superstition that guides him make him nearly helpless to change his circumstances. Here and there, however the experiences which he has had have given him astuteness and cleverness.

On the whole, the various authors have had a sympathetic attitude toward the campesino. Some have had a patronizing attitude which is largely the result of too distant contact. Others have exaggerated the

qualities of indolence and the conditions of penury to the extent that the picture appears somewhat overdrawn. Still others have undoubtedly exaggerated for dramatic effect. Perusal of works, however, by the various types of authors gives a fairly well-balanced, composite picture of the country life of Chile and the gauchos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Barrios, Eduardo, Un perdido. Buenos Aires: Editorial "Patria." 1921. 479 pp.

Describes the atmosphere of the north country and of the capital. The novel is essentially the psychological portrait of a timid man whose life is a lost one through his succumbing to the apparently overpowering circumstances that surround him. The background is more village than country, but certain references serve the purpose of this study.

Blest Gana, Alberto, Durante la Reconquista. 2 vols. Vol. I, 533 pp; Vol. II, 582 pp. Paris: Garnier Hermanos, 1897.

An historical novel treating of the background of civic and political struggles and describing the customs and social diversions of the epoch during the period of reconquest following the first phase of the War of Independence against Spain. The first popular uprisings which began in 1808 and took on truly revolutionary form by 1811 were smothered in the battle of Rancagua in 1814. The period of the reconquest of Chile by the Spaniards which began at this time and continued until the Chileans were victorious in the battles of Chacabuco (1817) and Maipu (1818) is the period covered in Blest Gana's novel. The importance of the novel from the standpoint of this study is the description of life in the country at the finca of the Malsira family whose fortunes during the guerilla warfare of the period are followed in the novel. References to the life and character of the rota and the hanga also are numerous. The value of the book for this study, however, is discounted by the fact that the incidents related transpired over a century ago.

Brunet, Marta, Bestia Domada. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1926. 34 pp.

A short novel portraying the experiences of don Santos Flores, a country carpenter, who marries at forty and brings up three daughters. At the age of sixty he marries a girl as young as his eldest daughter. His second daughter, Meche, expresses her revolt by eloping. Don Santos chokes to death his young wife when he surprises with the undeniable evidence of being engaged in adultery. The author not only records the speech, customs, manners, and emotions of country people but with terse simplicity

goes to the heart of the development of the characters.

_____, Mentana Adentro. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1933.
107 pp.

This short novel pictures the conditions of the poor inquilinos on a Chilean mountain farm. Cata, the daughter of doña Clara, the cook, becomes the mother of a child whose unmarried father refuses to recognize it. A man of a better stamp, Juan Oses, is willing to marry Cata and accept the child as his own. But Juan is murdered by the child's father when the little family is on the eve of developing a happy life together. Tragedy, superstition, and fatalism are woven prominently into this novel which depicts in an interesting manner country customs and modes of thought.

Díaz Garcés, Joaquín, Fábulas Chilenas. Santiago: Imprenta Zig-Zag, 1907. 582 pp.

A collection of one hundred five articles, narratives, and stories written for newspapers, covering a period of ten years, 1897-1907. Many of the stories deal especially with country life, depicting some character, describing some scene, or relating some incident.

Durand, Luis, Campesinos. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1932. 179 pp.

Eleven short stories describing country life in the south of Chile, very similar in character to Tierra de Pellines. The atmosphere is faithful, the scenery well described, the characters true to life, and the rural emotions well interpreted.

_____, Tierra de Pellines. Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929.
153 pp.

A collection of ten short stories very similar in character to Campesinos.

Edwards Belle, Joaquín, El Roto. Santiago: Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo, 1929. 255 pp.

Bereft of any embellishments, this novel portrays the miserable, squalid environment of the lowest strata of Chilean society in all its stark reality. The principal characters live in a house of prostitutes, the daily occurrences of which are described in startling detail. While the story deals with the drags of Santiago, there are numerous references to country people that are helpful in interpreting the Chilean campesinos. The concentration of the story on the lowest phases of life serves to make the interpreta-

tion of this novel extremely harsh. It is written largely with a sociological purpose in mind.

Gana, Federico. Días de Campo. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1916. 141 pp.

A dozen sketches of experiences of the author in the country. On his various sallies on horseback, he comes across some character or incident that inspires a sketch. The contact with the characters manifests sympathy, but not a sharing of experiences with them.

González Vera, J. S., Alhué, estampas de una aldea. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1928. 120 pp.

A series of sketches in the village of the author's childhood relating events, depicting characters, and describing scenes some thirty years before. The book is rich in material for this study.

Latorre, Mariano, Cuentos del Maule. Santiago: Empresa Zig-Zag, 1912. 226 pp.

Seven short stories, two of which, Sandías Riberollas and Don Zoilo, describe country characters and scenes in the district of Maule about two hundred miles south of Santiago. The remainder of the stories deal with the townspeople, fisher folk, and maritime merchants of the Maule district.

_____, Ollé, y otras novelas del sur. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1923. 187 pp.

The scene of Ollé is laid in the village of Frutillar on the shore of the beautiful Lake Llanquihue where the strikingly handsome, conical, snow-covered volcano of Osorno and the picturesque volcano Calbuco add charm to the scenery. A young Chilean visiting his friend in the family of German colonists witnesses customs and participates in experiences which are in marked contrast to that of his own Chilean environment. Of the short stories in the volume, Un hombre gives an apt character description of a huaso in the mines of the north and El perro de don Polo describes an incident among the charcoal burners of the dry regions in the north.

_____, Zurmalita. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1920. 265 pp.

A novel full of descriptive passages portraying life among the rustic characters of the coastal hills. Most of the characters are primitive and unrefined. The chief characters, Don Mateo and Milla, are of somewhat different fabric, but are victims of the milieu in which they live. Character, habits, and customs are described in

detail.

Lillo, Baldomaro, Sub-Sole. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1931. 255 pp.

A collection of thirteen stories that depict the sufferings, loves, and deeds of countrymen, Indians, miners, and vagabonds. The somberness and the sorrow portrayed give evidence of the close contact of the author with the people he describes.

Maluenda, Rafael, Escenas de la vida campesina. Santiago: Imprenta Cervantes, 1909. 208 pp.

A collection of novelettes dealing with dramatic incidents among country people and describing scenes of country activity.

_____, Los Ciegos. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1912. 210 pp.

Nine short novels, five of which are grouped under the heading Escenas campesinas and in which are woven brief dramas in which country life serves as a background.

Prado, Pedro, Aisino. Revised edition: Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1928. 302 pp.

A novel containing the strange tale, written with poetic symbolism, of a boy, Aisino, who had an insatiable desire to fly. After falling from a tree, he becomes a hunchback and a wanderer. From his hump wings are sprouted and one day he takes flight. His strange experiences as a sort of human bird are related. At length he is caught robbing a henhouse and his wings are clipped by the police. He lives as a prisoner on a fundo and finally escapes to a mountain rancho. There a girl who unrequitedly falls in love with him pours a supposed love potion on his eyes, which blinds him. His wings finally having grown out again, he takes a flight which ends his life, though his remains go floating throughout eternity. The story is full of fanciful situations and poetic descriptions with philocephical connotations throughout. Many of the descriptions and incidents are on the farm.

_____, Un juez rural. Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1924. 258 pp.

A novel depicting the life of Esteban Sologuren who becomes a rural judge. There are descriptions of his home, accounts of his legal decisions, and sketches of his court. Some of the events and incidents have to do with vagabond journeys which he takes with his painter friend into the country or trips that he takes alone.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Periodicals

Durand, Luis, "Apreciación del roto," Atenea, 138:365-379, December, 1936 and 139:25-41, January, 1937.

Lecture given at the University of Concepción. A discussion of the history, short soundings and accomplishments of the Chilean roto.

Espinosa, Juanario, "Santiván Is a Keen Psychologist," Chile, 52:61, August, 1930.

The psychology of one of the regional novelists of Chile.

_____, "Mariano Latorre," Chile, 47:114, 139, and 141, March, 1930.

A sketch of one of Chile's leading regional novelists showing his love of the country he describes.

_____, "Rural Life in Chile Finds a New Portrayer," Chile, 46:68 and 95, February, 1930.

The character, experiences, and style of writing of María Brunet.

Latorre, Mariano, "El huaso y el gaucho en la poesía popular," Atenea, 137:184-205, November, 1936, and 138:380-400, December, 1936.

A discussion of the comparative characteristics of the Chilean huaso and the Argentine gaucho together with an exposition of their places in the popular poetry of their respective countries.

_____, "Primera glosa sobre la novela americana," Atenea, 131:154-67, May, 1936.

A comparison of the various Latin-American novelists and their distinguishing characteristics.

Leavitt, Sturgis E., "A Bibliography of Theses Dealing with Hispano-American Literature," Hispania, 18:169-182, May, 1935.

A list of theses written on Spanish-American topics, including sixteen relative to the gaucho or the gaucho literature of the Argentine.

Melfi, Domingo D., "La influencia del campo en la novela chilena," Atenea, 131:171-182, May, 1936.

A discussion of the treatment that has been given the country and the country people by the various novelists of Chile.

_____, "Novelists and Story Writers of Chile," Chile, 49:220-21, May, 1930.

A brief account of the life and works of Jotabeche, Elest Gana, Luis Orrego Luco, Augusto D'Halmar, and Federico Gana.

_____, "Rural Life A Strong Force in Chilean Fiction," Chile, 50:272-73, June, 1930.

The treatment of rural life by Federico Gana, Baldomero Lillo, Santiván, Labarca Hubertson, Rafael Maluenda, Pedro Prado, Leonardo Peña, Eduardo Barrios, Juanario Espinosa, and Mariano Latorre.

_____, "Psychology Interests the Present Generation of Writers in Chile," Chile, 51:22-23, July, 1930.

Brief sketches of Mariano Latorre, Joaquín Edwards Bello, Carlos Acuña, Mamal Rojas, González Vera, Marta Brunet, and other writers of the present generation.

Rodríguez, Juan, "Chile Also Honors the Humble Born," Chile, 37:200-01, May, 1929.

A description of the boyhood home of ex-president Carlos Ibáñez del Campo.

Rodríguez, Ricardo, "Cooperatives Enter the Chilean Wine Industry," Chile, 48:156-57, April, 1930.

A statement of modern advances of Chilean wine producers accomplished by the use of cooperatives.

Silva Castro, Raúl, "Quientistas chilenas del siglo XIX," Anales de la Universidad de Chile, 92:106-29, third quarter, 1934.

An account of story writers of Chile in the nineteenth century.

Wurth, Ernesto, "A Chilean Spinx," The South Pacific Mail, Dec. 11, 1935. Typewritten copy received from Mr. Wurth by the author of this study.

An intimate description of a Chilean huaso.

Books

Aznátequi Solar, Domingo. Esquicio histórico de la literatura chilena. Período colonial. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1928. 106 pp.

An historic sketch of the literature of the Colonial period of Chile.

Beals, Carlston. American South. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937. 559 pp.

Up-to-date impressions with sociological interpretations of South America.

Bryce, James. South America, Observations and Impressions. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913. 611 pp.

Travel impressions of South America.

Carvighan, Margaret. "The Gaucho in the Literature of Argentina." Unpublished Master's thesis. College of Letters, Arts and Sciences of the University of Arizona, 1933. 117 pp.

A description of the gaucho with a delineation of his character, a discussion of the lyric poetry, novel, and drama treating the gaucho.

Coester, Alfred. The Literary History of Spanish America. Revised edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. 495 pp.

Chapter VI, Chile, gives a resumé of the principal poets, authors, and historians of Chile.

Edwards, Augustin. La Tierra. Valparaiso: Soc. Imprenta y Litografía Universo, 1926. 393 pp.

A complete description of Chile with something of its history, products, industry, and accomplishments. Appeared simultaneously in English as My Country.

Elliot, G. F. Scott. Chile. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907. 363 pp.

Account of the history as well as conditions of the country.

Holmes, Henry Alfred. Spanish America in Song and Story. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932. 578 pp.

A chapter on Chile contains excerpts from the writings of a few of the outstanding poets, authors, historians, and dramatists of the country.

Latcham, Ricardo A.. "Luis Durand," preface to Durand's Tierra de

Pellines. Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1929. pp. 7-11.

An evaluation of Luis Durand as author with brief biographical material.

Lillo, Samuel, Literatura chilena, con una antología contemporánea. Santiago: Imprenta Nascimento, 1930. 592 pp.

An anthology of Chilean literature with brief biographical sketches and excerpts from the works of contemporary writers.

Mackay, John A., That Other America. New York: Friendship Press, 1935. 214 pp.

A careful study of the cultural, spiritual, educational, economic, and social forces of Latin America together with indications for progress and cooperation with North America by the president of Princeton Theological Seminary who lived, studied, and worked intimately with the people of Latin America for sixteen years, from 1916 to 1932.

Parker, William Belmont, Chileans of Today (Hispanic Notes, and Monographs, Hispanic American Series). Santiago: G. Putnam's Sons, 1920. 633 pp.

Brief biographical sketches of Chileans living in 1920 who had achieved distinction in the various walks of life.

Turnero, Carlos, Baedeker de Chile. Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1930. 320 pp.

A guidebook of Chile with a brief historical sketch.

Torres-Rieseco, A. and Margaret K. Kress, Chilean Short Stories. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929. 168 pp.

Selected Chilean short stories by Rafael Maluenda, Santiván, Joaquín Edwards Bello, Manuel Rojas, with a preface and notes containing biographical material on Chilean writers by Arturo Torres-Rieseco.

Torres-Rieseco, Arturo and Raffi Silva-Castro, Ensayo de bibliografía de la literatura chilena. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. 71 pp.

A catalogue up to 1930 of Chilean authors and their works. Sections on novels, poetry, drama, and critical and biographical works.

Werner, G. A., "Gaucha Life and Literature." Unpublished Master's

thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, May, 1920.
73 pp.

The gaucho life showing his origin, types, characteristics, manners, customs, religion, and influence. Also a discussion of gaucho poetry, novels, and plays and an explanation of the peculiarities of his language.

Wood, S. L., "Nature as Reflected in the Gaucho Literature."
Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Southern California,
Los Angeles, 1932.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

A

Acuña, Carlos, 17
 Amonátegui Solar, Domingo, 11, 136

B

Barrios, Eduardo, 11, 22, 26, 99,
 119, 130
 Beals, Carleton, 8, 54, 136
 Bilbao, Manuel, 11
 Elest Gana, Alberto, 11, 13, 26, 74,
 75, 84, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106,
 119, 123, 130
 Brunet, Marta, 12, 22, 24, 25, 26,
 29, 59, 60, 62, 65, 71, 75, 76,
 77, 79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89,
 92, 99, 100, 110, 111, 112, 117,
 124, 130, 131
 Bryce, James, 8, 136

C

Carnighan, Margaret, 136
 Coester, Alfred, 18, 136

D

Díaz Garcés, Joaquín (Ángel Pino),
 12, 16, 20, 26, 30, 35, 42, 43, 44,
 46, 50, 52, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 70, 76, 89, 90, 97, 104,
 105, 111, 113, 118, 119, 120, 122,
 123, 124, 131
 Durand, Luis, 6, 7, 12, 22, 23, 24,
 26, 29, 30, 32, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45,
 46, 61, 90, 91, 101, 117, 131, 134,
 136, 137

E

Edwards, Augustin, 1, 5, 13, 64, 136
 Edwards Bello, Joaquín, 12, 22, 23,
 26, 40, 78, 87, 100, 101, 102, 120,
 125, 131, 132
 Elliot, G. F. Scott, 28, 34, 56, 57,
 87, 136

Ercilla, Alonso de 10
 Espinosa, Juanario, 17, 18, 20,
 25, 134

G

Gana y Gana, Federico, 12, 14, 15,
 26, 34, 35, 36, 37, 121, 132
 González Vera, J. S., 12, 25, 106,
 107, 114, 117, 133

H

Hollinger, F. C., 42
 Holmes, Henry Alfred, 18, 136

J

Jotabeche, see Vallejo, José
 Joaquín

K

Kress, Margaret K., 17, 22, 23, 137

L

Labarca Hubertson, Guillermo, 12,
 16, 17, 18, 83
 Latcham, Ricardo A., 24, 136
 Latorre, Mariano, 7, 12, 16, 18-20,
 26, 27, 29, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41,
 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 63, 64,
 69, 70, 72, 76, 78, 81, 82, 84,
 85, 86, 92-96, 98, 99, 108-10,
 112, 113, 114, 119, 120, 122, 125,
 132, 134
 Leavitt, Sturgis E., 42, 134, 135
 Lillo, Baldomero, 12, 15, 16, 57,
 132-33
 Lillo, Samuel, 11, 16, 137

M

Mackay, John A., 35, 121, 137
 Maluenda, Rafael, 12, 16, 17, 26,
 82, 133
 Melfi, Domingo, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15,
 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 134-35

P

Parker, William Belmont, 15, 17,
 20, 21, 22, 23, 137
 Prado, Pedro, 12, 22, 23, 26, 55,
 56, 68, 71, 80, 86, 96, 111,
 112, 113, 117, 119, 125, 133

R

Rodríguez, Juan, 57, 135
 Rodríguez, Ricardo, 68, 135
 Rojas, Manuel, 22

S

Santibáñez Fuga, Fernando
 (Santiván, Fernando), 12,
 16, 18, 52, 53
 Silva Castro, Raúl, 135, 137

T

Tornero, Carlos, 1, 2, 8, 137
 Torres-Rioseco, Arturo, 17, 22,
 23, 137

V

Vallejos, José Joaquín (Jotabeche),
 11, 26

W

Werner, G. A., 42, 137-38
 Wood, S. L., 42, 138
 Wurth, Ernesto, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51,
 52, 135