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THE
CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY
OF CHILI

A LECTURE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Young Men's Christian Association

IN

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH SCHOOL ROOM,

AUGUST 2, 1883

BY THE

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

At the commencement of this century the monarchy of Spain was suffering severely under the intrusive power of Napoleon Bonaparte; and at that juncture its Spanish-American provinces, with only two exceptions (Cuba and Porto Rico), seized the opportunity to revolt and break away from the control of the "Metropoli," as they had been accustomed to style the mother-country. The provinces had been divided into four vice-royalties, Buenos Ayres, Peru, Nueva Granada and Mexico; and seven captain-generalcies, Puerto Rico, San Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela, Yucatan, Guatemala and Chile. The Viceroyalties wielded extensive military and administrative powers, accountable only to the Supreme Council of the Indies, far away in Europe, though under the partial inspection of a local body appointed by the King, styled the *Audiencia*. In much the same manner the Captains-general held sway, only on a scale less extensive; were directly named by the King, to him accountable, and having to acknowledge little or no preëminence in the Viceroyalties. The eleven provinces of Spanish America were almost entirely isolated from each other, while from the rest of the world they were very carefully separated. The Audience in Chili was sometimes a check on the Captain-general; while he consulted it, appeals could be made to it, and it corresponded directly with the crown. There were also City Councils, called *cabildos*, popular bodies, though not chosen by the people; for the upper class, *los rejidores*, were appointed by the King, while they in turn nominated the *alcaldes*. Such, before 1810, was the organization of government in this country. During four years prior to that date the citizens had been receiving notices of increasing political disturbance and growing democratic discontent in Spain, until finally, hearing that Ferdinand VII had been captured and carried a prisoner out of his kingdom into France, and Napoleon's brother put upon his throne, they resolved to frame an administration of their own in Santiago and, as they phrased it, "to hold the country for its rightful monarch until he shall be liberated." In that acute, far-seeing and considerate act, the cutting of the vine, whose growth

we are now to trace, was planted on these western slopes of the Andes. The country 73 years ago, instead of what can be seen to-day of advancement, education, commerce, literature and public life, had a backward, undeveloped population of less than three-quarters of a million; no navy, no army, no university. Not a book, not a newspaper had ever been published here, and there was not a printing press in the land. And yet, notwithstanding all these deficiencies, a few resolute, high-minded leaders set out to organize a separate national government that should be independent, free, just, strong and permanent. The political principles under which they had been trained, or rather kept back from being trained for self-government, were:—

1. First, that foreigners were not to be admitted into any of the Chilian seaports, even to trade. If any came, as now and then an English or American vessel did come, it was by stealth or under pressure of bad weather, and then they were compelled to put to sea again as promptly as possible. For instance, in 1789, an American ship, the "Columbia," sought refuge in the harbor of Juan Fernandez; but there being no one on board that could speak Spanish, nor any one on shore knowing English, intercourse was most difficult. Fortunately, a Spanish vessel called in *en route* from Callao to Valparaiso, with a Frenchman on board, a barber, and as there chanced to be among the Americans a man that knew a few words of the Gallic tongue, it was learned that they needed to obtain supplies and make repairs. By the Spanish vessel proceeding on her voyage to Valparaiso, the Governor of the island reported to Ambrose O'Higgins, Governor-general of Chili in Santiago, that he had "consented they should remain only six days, under the most exact inspection, and under the gun of the battery, where the captain with four men had been allowed to land, after his vessel had been examined and the Governor had satisfied himself that they had brought no provisions, no luggage, nothing absolutely for trade; and had taken every precaution that they might not inspect the state and condition of the post." Thus, summarily dismissed, the ship went away, but Ambrose O'Higgins (father of the patriot of the later history) arraigned the Governor of the island for having practised even this hospitality which humanity seemed to call for, laying the case before the *Audiencia*,

who asked the opinion of the crown lawyer, who asked nothing less than that the Governor of the island should lose his life for violation of his duty! He was let off, however, by O'Higgins, with the loss of his office instead.

Six years later, in 1794, two more American ships, the "Ruby" and the "Favorite," entered the harbor of Coquimbo, but O'Higgins wrote the Madrid government that he had "ordered them away without the relief they sought, not considering their need to be so urgent as to make it inhuman to refuse them." He further remarked coolly, that "on being so ordered to leave these seas with all possible dispatch, they had sailed away but little satisfied with the reception they had met with!"

In 1809 an English ship that had been here before, the "Scorpion," came to the coast. Her captain's name was Tristan Bunker, who brought a cargo valued at £90,000 sterling; entering first the port of Topocalma, to the south of us, where certain speculators bought and landed a trifling portion of his goods, \$3000 worth, it was suggested he should proceed with the rest to Pichidanguí, just north of us. This he did, but it cost him his life; for landing there he was assassinated by a crowd of armed soldiers, and the ship and cargo being seized as contraband were confiscated. The occurrence led to great discontent in the colony at the time, and possibly helped on the revolution which soon after ensued. A Chilean historian, Mr. Barros Arana, writes: "So public an event could not happen without the cognizance of the government. The Governor-general, Carrasco, is known to have commissioned an officer with 80 men to assist in capturing the 'Scorpion,' allowing him a part of the booty: \$580,000 was the amount divided between the captors of the vessel and the officials of highest rank."

True, Bunker was smuggling, which technically, according to Spanish law, was a crime; but his partners in it were the authorities who were in league with others that decoyed him on shore, murdered him at the supper-table and then seized his ship. My object, however, is not to call up irritating memories any further than may be unavoidable in showing the isolated condition, in which, during colonial times, the mother country sternly strove to keep the inhabitants of this coast.

2. It followed as a natural result that almost no foreigners at the beginning of this century were to be found in

Chili. In 1760 there had been 8 Portuguese, 6 Frenchmen and 1 Italian, who in some way had become naturalized, paying money into the king's treasury for the privilege : at that time only one was compelled to leave. From a census taken 50 years afterwards, in 1809, it appears there were 79 foreigners scattered through the country, of whom it is added "only four were non-Catholics, and of these, one was ready to be converted."

At that time Carrasco, the Captain-general, ordered the expulsion of any foreigners residing in Chili "without permission, unless they were married and had children, or if unmarried were of good conduct, being Catholics, or were following some mechanical trade of known utility, or through age or infirmity were unable to leave the country." Such were allowed a fixed time to procure naturalization, taking meanwhile an oath of fidelity to the king of Spain, "while others must leave the coast without fail and at the earliest day possible."

3. Incidentally it follows from what has just been mentioned that dissent from the Roman Church as established by law was, during colonial times, not to be permitted, nor even for a moment thought of. Infidel opinions, or even heterodox Christian views were maligned, outlawed, branded as intolerable, excluded by severest edicts and put under the ban civilly as well as ecclesiastically. In this, as in almost all things else, the will of the king's majesty was made supreme. All were to obey his mandates, and against his decrees no individual rights could be asserted, still less contend.

4. Instruction had scarcely risen above the minimum visible ; primary education was neglected and the higher education unknown, save among the few lawyers and judges, the clergy, and here and there an occupant of a convent. To give an idea of the scholarship of the church, a celebrated bishop in the capital once published in a formal treatise of 36 folio pages, double columns, his views on the magnitudinous question of hair worn by the clergy. The fashion "of the world" was to wear what were then called in Spanish, *guedejas*, corresponding to a modern term *melenas*, answering apparently, from the description, to our present English word "fringes" or "*bangs*." Such importance was attached to this matter, that another bishop in Lima had alleged that his clergy were imitating women ; he also complained that they

parted their hair down the middle ; and frowning upon both forms of wickedness, first, forbade “presbyters to use *guedejas*, under pain of the greater excommunication, and, next, deacons and sub-deacons under penalty of 10 days’ imprisonment, with a warning that they must expect no further ordination to higher grades of the priesthood, since by these gaieties, in imitation of women’s fashions, they showed themselves unworthy of advancement ; and, inasmuch as they manifested the wish to be taken for women, they therefore ought to be treated as such in exclusion from the ministry.”

Returning now to Chili, the prelate of Santiago spoke to the following effect on this crowning theme: “Some people,” said he, “have their hair divided into two locks, *madejas*, falling over the ears ; *guedejas* we call them. Some frizzle them, some curl them. Women raise on the forehead an elevation of the hair which, I know not with what allusion, they call *pepino*, a cucumber, and this adornment the clergy imitate, allowing their locks to grow over the eyes in a frizzle, which they thrust aside or arrange with the fingers a thousand times a day, calling them *pedradas*, “flings.” To escape this trouble, some go to the barber, who heating small tongs, called curling-irons, secures the tufts in their places. This devilish abuse has come into vogue among ecclesiastics. My clergy, however, with a little effort on my part, have been thoroughly reformed, for the people of Chili are modest by nature. If those who come to me to be ordained have not taken the precaution to reform their hair, I myself save the barber all trouble, by making the work of tonsure thorough. There is in this city a young man, well born, rich, known to be virtuous, but intensely ill-favored ; and yet he is so superstitiously in love with his hair, that his locks, *guedejas*, being spread over his ill-favored countenance produce, not the portrait of a fury, but the original of one. He uses the clerical habit, desiring much to be ordained, but the fear of his bishop’s shears keeps him back. He has sought to secure indemnity for his hair ; a gentleman, his relative, spoke to me at a period of ordination, earnestly asking me to ordain him and allow him to preserve his hair : yet I did not care to consent to the arrangement, and to this hour, he has neither been ordained, nor laid aside the clerical habit, nor reformed his curls.”

This may give an idea of the matters with which theologians in the colonial period, sometimes to say the least, busied themselves and were occupied. In order now to take a glance at political matters in those early days, here is a question that for five years occupied the attention of civilians. The "President of the kingdom of Chile," as sometimes even then he was styled, in 1710 had attended service in a church, in honor of San Ignacio, in company with the grand "Audiencia" council, wearing only his military uniform; this gave offence to the councilors, who claimed that he ought to come with them to the church, not in uniform, but *en golilla* which meant with a lace ruff around the throat, used in high dress. The punctilious question was appealed to Madrid, laid before the Council of the Indies and his Spanish Majesty, and, after fifteen months' time had elapsed, the reply of the Most Christian monarch came, to the effect that the president might do just as he pleased, appearing on all warlike occasions, in uniform, but on other occasions, in the costume either of a soldier or of a citizen. With this the Audience were not satisfied, but sent back to Madrid another appeal, asking finally, if the president were not commanded on grand occasions to appear wearing the ruff about his throat, that the king would give orders for them not to keep him company. Three years later still came the king's final reply, to the effect that the president might attend all public ceremonies in his uniform, and that this order must be carried out under peril of the royal displeasure, and of severity to be used against any one who should dare to resist.

I.

If, now, these details have not wearied you, nor seemed entirely out of place, they may serve to bring before you the state of society during those earlier colonial centuries. With the beginning of this century, however, another wind began to blow, sudden changes occurred, and a transformation began socially and politically, the end and outworking of which has not even yet in our own day been seen.

No sooner had the independence of Chili been hinted at and attempted, than the want was instantly felt of an organic law which should, not only rule the people, but their rulers and law-makers as well. A constitution is an

attempt to define what are accepted as the principles of justice, according to which majorities should act toward minorities, and nations toward individuals. Accordingly an erudite jurist, who seems to have been also a man of most benevolent sentiments, though not at all tolerant, named Don Juan Egaña, was by special request of the patriots invited to prepare, and did write out: "A Declaration of the Rights of the Chilean People." He did this in 1810; the following year it was modified by the author in obedience to the vote of Congress; in 1812 an agreement was framed between the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion; and in 1813, a constitution was formally published by the national government. These all were incipient attempts, not by any means in the highest degree successful, for while on the one hand there was war waged against the patriots by Spain, the patriots were not harmonious and of one mind among themselves. In fact, their divisions were perfectly lamentable, and their jealousies interminable; proceeding in one instance even to a pitched battle between the troops led by Carrera, and those commanded by O'Higgins, Bernardo, (who was a son of Ambrosio O'Higgins already mentioned of the year 1789). The national cause was jeopardized and so weakened that in 1814 the Spanish general gave them a crushing defeat, altogether routing, scattering and destroying the patriot forces. For four years after that, there was no constitution-making; the national cause seemed to be utterly lost. The best men were in prison in Juan Fernandez, or wandering as fugitives in foreign lands. Some, however, did not lose heart in the good cause. Even those who had been rivals and had ruined it clung to it still with unflinching fidelity and, finally, with the aid of the La Plata provinces, gathered a new army, crossed the Andes over precipices and through the snow, and meeting the king's forces gave them battle on the plains of Chacabuco, February 12th, 1817, winning a victory that put the patriot cause high again in the ascendant. Still the struggle had to be maintained against the Spaniards, until the 5th of April 1818, when the Chileans inflicted on them a defeat that proved final. Then the domination of the most Christian King was ended, broken to rise no more, and on the Diez-y-ocho, 18th of September of that year, the anniversary of the first step that had been taken toward self-government in 1810, the Declara-

tion of Independence was officially proclaimed to the world. On the 23rd of October a new and complete constitution was solemnly signed and sworn to as the organic law of the land. O'Higgins, their successful leader, was in power, almost a dictator, although the country under him was extremely restive and unsettled. Five years later, at the beginning of 1823 (Jan. 28) he in consequence abdicated. Whatever may have been his personal merits, and great, unquestionably, as the public services of this eminent man had been in the war, yet it seems that the best citizens of the time consented to, if they did not demand and insist on his withdrawal from the presidency. Considering how he had liberated his country, the language he employed, in resigning the supreme power he had held for six years, does him great honor: "Believing," said he, "that it may contribute to the tranquillity of my country under present circumstances, that I should lay down the supreme command of the State, and having agreed on this with the people of Santiago assembled, who in the present crisis were all with whom I could consult, I have come to abdicate and do abdicate, entrusting the supreme direction of Chili provisionally to a "junta gubernativa." He named thereupon as a triumvirate los señores Errázuriz, Infante and Eizaguirre, and then the government which had been unipersonal in him became multipersonal in them. There were 3 provinces: Concepcion, Coquimbo and Santiago, but the two former provinces being dissatisfied with the triumvirate, General Freire was next named by their three respective plenipotentiaries to be the Supreme Director of the whole country. The point then aimed at being the unification of the provinces, the very first declaration made subsequently was to this effect: "The Chilian State is one and indivisible, directed by one sole government and one sole legislature." Now again Don Juan Egaña's erudition, skill and patient labor were brought into requisition; and a convention being called, a more successful attempt ended in the constitution of 1823, which somehow, although the nation accepted it, they never liked. Public power was vested, 1st, in a Supreme Director, 2nd, in a Senate of 9 members, 3rd, in a National Chamber something over 50 in number, 4th, in provincial Assemblies, with powers of censure, supervision and local legislation, 5th and finally in a Judiciary, com-

prising a court of Conciliation, another court of Appeals, and a Supreme Court. Although a benevolent spirit of civic virtue pervaded this Constitution, it fell into the error of attempting to govern too much. One most obnoxious clause specified that "every citizen must be a Roman Catholic, unless exempted by special vote of the Legislature." It contained, however, another more valuable clause: "In Chili there are no slaves; he who treads the soil for one natural day shall be free. Any one engaged in the slave-trade may not reside here more than one month, and never can become naturalized." All born in the country were Chilians as well as those born abroad of Chilian parents; foreigners residing here married with *Chilenas*, domiciliated according to the laws and exercising a profession or calling; and also foreigners married with foreigners, after a year's residence, having legal domicile and the means of living.

This Constitution, as intimated, however, did not satisfy and in 1825 was set aside. General Freire resigned, alleging that it was not possible to govern with a Constitution which the people resisted. The Senate, opposed him in asking for its abrogation; but a popular uprising in Santiago (July 24, 1825) made Freire Dictator, when he abolished the Constitution altogether. A series of ineffectual attempts to reorganize followed, lasting through the next 3 years; reforms were proposed, revolutions were made, a confederation of the provinces was attempted; some desired more freedom in religion, some thinking there was too much desired less; and finally in 1828 a new Constitution was promulgated in the time of Vice-president Pinto, father of the recent President of that name, who said on presenting it to the nation: "The day for consolidating our liberty has arrived. It cannot exist without organic laws. Now we have them. They are not the product of force—but of reason. The times have gone by in which fortune condemned us to blind obedience to unlimited power. The laws among us are now compacts that rest on the free use of our prerogatives.

"This Constitution ensures to the holy religion you profess an efficient protection, placing it at the front of all our institutions; while it establishes the most formidable guarantees against the abuse of any authority, against all excess in the use of power. . . . The provinces will not longer fluctuate between dangerous tur-

bulence and unlimited dependence on the Government."

This Constitution did not, however, give peace; on the contrary a torrent of blood followed in civil war, and then it was rescinded. Its provisions, it was alleged, were ambiguous; the suffrage too widely extended, (1) too frequent elections also were complained of, and that officials in the provinces could too easily resist the Supreme Government. All may be summed up in a word: it was felt that a stronger central power must be had to control the nation, maintain justice in it, and develop its strength. Parties took up arms: on the 17th of April, 1830, the battle of Lircay was fought, after which, the victorious General Prieto was named provisional President of the Republic, and a new code immediately drafted, being still really "that of 1828 with reforms and additions." This is the Constitution, promulgated in 1833, under which, from that day till now, the country has made most gratifying progress: not however without conflicts, for two wasting though unsuccessful civil wars have occurred in the interval, one in '51, the other in '59, not to mention the attempt at revolution in 1837, when Don Diego Portales, the head of the Cabinet and moving spirit of the administration lost his life, treacherously assassinated by the soldiery in this city at the Baron.

The general sentiment now is, that much is due to this energetic, far-seeing, prompt and patriotic citizen. My own impression has been that his methods were arbitrary, but when we remember that he arranged to pay the debts owed by the nation in Europe, that he introduced order into the public offices and courts of law, and that he brought order out of chaos during those important years between 1830 and '37, which were the formative period of the Republic's life, we cannot go amiss in thinking that he well deserved the esteem in which thousands hold his memory, and the statue that has been erected to his memory, standing to-day in front of the palace of the Moneda in Santiago.

This brings us near to our own time, and now I think it may be fairly judged that an organic law, under which during 50 years a nation has doubled its population, aug-

(1) All who were born in the country being citizens and voters, provided they were 21 years of age, or before, if they were married, or had served in the militia, or "professed" any art, science or trade, or filled any employment, or possessed any capital or real estate on which to live.

mented eightfold its commerce with the world, widened the sphere of individual and associated freedom, maintained well the administration of justice, grown in the respect of the nations of the earth, waged successfully three foreign and put down two civil wars,—merits being considered a success, so that to-day it does honor to the forethought, justice and patriotism of those who in 1830 framed it.

II.

In looking back over the field we have now traversed, it seems,

There is abundant reason for admiring the unfaltering determination of the men, who 73 years ago strove to lift up and bring forward their country in a career of advancement, justice and freedom. They at one time had a thought of forming a union of all the Spanish colonies in America, like that of the English colonies. This matter was brought forward in 1811. If it was to be desired then, it remains to be desired still, for it has never yet been realized; probably never can be. For Chili I question whether it be desirable; any way it is impracticable.

On the other hand, from 1823 to '28 the attempt was made to confederate all the provinces at same time giving to each its separate local legislature, or assembly, in resemblance of the system in use in the United States. This too never proved a success. Since 1830, centralization has been the rule and unification the result.

It may well interest us who are mostly foreigners or of foreign descent to know that immediately on the rupture with Spain in 1810 the barriers that had been designed to keep out foreigners were removed, and free admission allowed to all who would to come and to remain if they chose.

Their assistance was welcomed at the time, and has since been acknowledged to have been valuable in the war of Independence, on sea and land; this you will perceive if I mention the names of Wilkinson, Miller, Charles, McKenna, Wooster, Délano, Tupper, Bynon, Simpson and, preeminently, Cochrane. Only in one respect were these men refused the fullest equality with their Chilian comrades: and that was in regard to religious freedom. They were Englishmen, Scotchmen, Americans, and for

the most part, Protestants,—but when Colonel Charles lost his life fighting for the Chilian flag at Pisco in 1819, and his remains were brought hither for interment, no interment could be had for them save under the pavement of the fort that stood then on the hill behind the Intendencia! Mr. Egaña in 1811, '12, '13, '14, '18, '23, while these brave men were risking and losing their lives for his country, argued continually that it was not for the interest of the country to admit men to reside in it who were not Catholics. All the Constitutions from 1810 even down to '33 sought to make the Roman religion the sole and exclusive type of Christianity to be permitted here. Of course, it can now be seen that these were two illogical and contrary projects, to welcome foreigners, but at the same time to refuse them liberty of worship. To say that the fathers of this country did not perceive these two things to be incongruous, would be speaking perhaps too hastily. But whether they did or no, the admission of foreigners to aid in the national cause necessarily led to toleration. For when a foreigner died, the religious question immediately presented itself: what should be done with his remains? As his presence had been tolerated during his life, there must be toleration shown in regard to the interment of his ashes; and if, as in the case of Colonel Charles, interment could not be given him in Christian precincts, and at the hands of Christian ministers, then must it be sought in military precincts and at the hands of more Christian soldiers. The inevitable necessity of burial led to the purchase of land and the establishment of a foreign cemetery, and that was the place in which those clauses of the successive constitutions that excluded all religious worship not Roman Catholic, were first disregarded and with consent of the authorities set aside. In the end those clauses were interpreted away, turned inside out, made nugatory, canceled and abrogated.

This was one of the defects of the Constitutions which the people of Chili have gone on eliminating prudently, wisely, justly, and successfully, up to the present time.

One other practical item yet remains calling for their attention. Rather than offend some men's consciences oppressive social or domestic burdens have been laid on other men's consciences.

If foreigners, Protestants, became compromised in

their affections and desired, as naturally they might, to form a family, wedding the fair, bright and winning daughters of this country, it could only be done in the sacrifice of personal convictions and in the avowal of repugnant opinions. This has led to untold measures of shame, sorrow and pain. . . . but, to say nothing more now regarding it, I merely express a hope that the reign of just and true freedom for forming a family is now about beginning. On Tuesday of this very week the bill, to allow Civil Marriage for all persons, came up for its first reading in the House of Deputies, and was passed by a majority, almost unanimous, of 53 to 3. Let us trust it will soon pass both Houses, and receiving the assent of the Executive become shortly a law of the land.

In conclusion allow me to add that as a rule I have found the Chilians disposed to respect the rights of Foreigners and Dissenters, even more than might have been anticipated considering the views under which they had originally been trained. An enlightened public sentiment protected dissenters for many years in spite of the 5th Article of the Constitution. That was "interpreted" in 1865, contrary to its original intent, so as to permit us to have our churches, while we had had them in public use for years before, the Anglican church seven, and the Union church eleven years: showing that the sentiments of the Government and the public opinion of the people were far in advance of the letter of the Law. When in 1855 the Union Church was erected behind the Intendencia, complaint was made by a dignitary high in office that the Constitution was on the point of being violated by *Culto público* different from the Roman Catholic: he called on the Government officially to put a stop to it. For two weeks it did stop the work, but then allowed it to proceed suggesting simply the prudence of placing a fence or wall in front that should prevent it being too easily discerned from the street, lest opponents might be able to allege it was "public."

And three years later when the Anglican Church, in whose neat lecture room we are now assembled, was built, and some zealous birds of the night in Santiago, giving vent to a series of discordant cries and hootings, petitioned Government to interfere and raze an edifice so insulting to the national sovereignty and faith from the soil of the Republic which "it dishonored," their remon-

strances fell like the rays of a candle on the surface of an iceberg, made no impression, produced no melting, and in fact rather prepared the way for the *lei interpretativa* that came in a few years later to legalize our worship: so that now our congregations are chartered societies, we have standing through incorporation in the courts of law, and are so under the egis of public protection that it is just as much a crime to interrupt Protestant worship or to desecrate a Protestant Church as any other in the land!

There may still be some in Chili who regard these things as regrettable, who mourn over them and feel that the Republic is going backward and losing ground. But this is the reverse of, true. Life was never more safe in Chili than it is to-day: justice was never better administered: the daily press was never conducted with more of fairness and sound public spirit: the prowess of the nation abroad and its strength at home surpass anything ever known before in its history: the common people are better instructed, the higher education is more complete: the press teems with works in history, philosophy, science, medicine, language, jurisprudence and theology more than in any earlier period: the names of Amunátegui, Barros Arana, Vicuña Mackenna, Z. Rodríguez, Latorria, the Revs. Crescente Errázuriz and Prebend Saavedra, and Prof. Huneus are those of only some of the more prominent authors, who have published works that are instructive, thoughtful and interesting:—where then are the predicted symptoms of disintegration, where is the loosening of the bonds of society, where the ruin of Church and State, of family and individual life! These are phantasms that only exist in the visions of dreamers and placemen. The course of the nation has been onward and upward. As soon as the first blow was struck for freedom, the cry of the patriots rose for a National University in order to the development of the minds of the youth of the nation; even as early as 1813 that work was taken in hand, and it has gone forward improving till instruction is now given in every branch of the higher courses of studies scientific and professional.

The commerce of the country has augmented incredibly. A gentleman, Mr. William Wheelwright, whose statue is near the almacenes, told me that when he came into this bay, in command of a vessel, in 1818, there were

only four vessels anchored here; look now at the harbor! He put the first steamer on the coast 20 years later, in 1839, and to-day a fleet of almost a hundred steamers finds occupation in the foreign trade and the commerce of the coast. This is what freedom has done. It has had a reflex action and, beside changing the condition and sentiments of the people, it has reacted and wrought alterations of highest significance not only in the legislation, but in the organic law of the Land.

As foreign residents here, it is permitted us to rejoice in the issues already obtained in the past, by the people among whom we live, while hopefully we may look forward wishing them God-speed in the future. Wishing *them* did I say? And are not own interests and peace under the shelter of the same organic law that protects them?

The majority of you may never dwell in any other land than this. The children of many of you will probably remain here. The children of numbers of our countrymen surely will: while of our countrymen not fewer but more are coming and will come, to whom and to their descendants this country must be their country. While therefore we applaud the people of Chili because in 12 years after their declaration of independence they succeeded in framing a Constitution which during 50 years has needed no radical alteration, save in the one Article of religious freedom, we may likewise rejoice that in that Article they have already introduced changes, and are still to-day planning to introduce other changes that shall do full justice to our rights and all men's rights, as God's creatures, to worship him according to his Word and as our fathers did.

"With malice toward none, and charity toward all," we ask not that any one be wronged, but only that to us and our brethren, and our countrymen, be granted the enjoyment of those rights which God has made inherent in man, of thought, of expression, of association and of action.
