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**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN  
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:  
RELIGION IN CHILE**

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# Religion in Chile

## Country Summary

Chile is a long, narrow country that extends along the southwestern edge of the South American continent. Chile is approximately 2,500 miles long, while the width varies between 185 and 100 miles. Ascent from the Pacific shore to the eastern mountain crests is therefore very abrupt, with the highest mountain peaks rising to over 22,000 feet in the Andes, which span the length of the country from north to south. Chile's northern region is desert and contains great mineral wealth, the middle regions is dominated by the fertile central Valley, and the southern region is rich in forests and grazing lands and features a string of volcanoes and lakes. The southern coast is a labyrinth of fjords, inlets, canals, twisting peninsulas and islands. The surface of the country, including its main islands, is calculated at about 290,000 square miles.

The nation's territory extends to the southern extremity of South America at Cape Horn, and includes part of Tierra del Fuego and the islands of Navarino, Hoste and smaller isles to the south, besides the islands of Chiloé, Wellington and their surroundings to the west. In addition, Chile's territory includes Isla de Pascua (Easter Island), Isla Sala y Gómez (uninhabited) and Isla Juan Fernández (known as "Robinson Crusoe's Island"), which are located far out in the Pacific Ocean.

The country has a population of 16.6 million (2009 estimate, compared to 11.2 million reported in 2002) that resides in 53 provinces, which are grouped in 15 regions. The country was considered 88 percent urban in 2008. Santiago de Chile, the nation's capital and its largest city, is located in the fertile central valley in the middle of the country at an elevation of 1,700 feet. Although Santiago is the capital, legislative bodies meet in nearby Valparaíso, the country's largest seaport.

The population of Santiago's urban agglomeration grew from 982,000 in 1940 to 2.8 million in 1970, and to 4.75 million in 1992. According to the 2002 census, the Greater Santiago Metro Area had 5.43 million inhabitants or nearly 36 percent of the nation's total population and 42 percent of its total urban population. Today, the Greater Santiago Metro Area has about 6.25



million people. The nation's other large cities are Concepcion-Talcahuano (840,000), Viña del Mar-Valparaiso (800,000), Antofagasta (245,000), and Temuco (230,000).

Ethnic groups were defined as follows: white (European) and mixed combined, 95.4 percent; indigenous Mapuche, 4 percent; other indigenous groups, 0.6 percent (total indigenous 4.6 percent, 2002 census). An estimated 52.7 percent are white European, with *mestizos* estimated at 44 percent.

Most Chileans have Spanish ancestry; however, a small but influential number of Irish and English immigrants came to Chile during the Spanish colonial period. German immigration began in 1848 and lasted for about 90 years; consequently, the southern provinces of Valdivia, Llanquihue and Osorno have a strong German influence. Other significant immigrant groups are Italian, Croatian, Basque and Palestinian. Minority languages spoken in Chile are: German, French, Italian, Croatian, Arabic, Japanese, Chinese, and other foreign languages in immigrant communities, primarily in Santiago and Southern Chile. About 800,000 Amerindians, mostly of the Mapuche tribe (known as *araucanos* by the Spaniards), reside in the south-central area. The small Aymara and Diaguita Amerindian groups are located mainly in Chile's northern desert valleys. Also, there are about 30,000 Polynesians on Easter Island.

The continental part of the Republic of Chile was, until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, two very different lands. The northern part, rich in minerals and largely desert, had earlier been incorporated into the Inca Empire and was later part of present-day Bolivia and Peru until the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), in which Chile defeated those nations in battle and won its present northern regions. Prior to the coming of the Spanish in the 16th century, the indigenous Mapuche inhabited central and southern regions, although part of the southern region was inhabited by the Yamana and Alakalufe as well as four small tribes in *Tierra del Fuego* (meaning "Land of Fire"): the Yaghan, Ono, Alacalufe and Aush. It was not until the 1880s that the Mapuche Indians were completely subjugated but they still thrive today, whereas most of the Amerindians of *Tierra del Fuego* were practically exterminated by 1930.

The country's main exports are minerals (chiefly copper), nitrate, fruits, vegetables and wood pulp. Negative factors that have affected economic growth are: a high rate of inflation, restrictive monetary policies, high rate of unemployment, dependence of local economy on international financial markets, sharp decline in real income, and high external debt. However, basic economic policies, maintained consistently since the 1980s, have contributed to steady growth, reduced poverty rates by over half, and have helped secure the country's commitment to democratic and representative government. Chile has increasingly assumed regional and international leadership roles befitting its status as a stable, democratic nation.

### **Current Religious Situation**

The Constitution provides for freedom of religion, and other laws and policies contributed to the generally free practice of religion. The law at all levels protects this right in full against abuse, either by governmental or private actors.

According to the 2002 National Census of Population and Housing, 70 percent of the population (over 14 years of age) identified as Roman Catholic and 15.14% as Evangelical. In the census, the term "Evangelical" referred to all non-Catholic Christian churches with the exception of the Orthodox Church (Greek, Persian, Serbian, Ukrainian and Armenian), the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Of those surveyed in the 2002 census, all those affiliated with “other religions” totaled 493,147 persons, or 4.4 percent of the total population; and atheists, those “indifferent” regarding religion and those classified as “none/no response” constituted approximately 8.3 percent (931,990).

Publicly-subsidized schools are required to offer “religious education” twice a week through high school (*colegio*), although participation is optional with a signed parental waiver. Local public school administrations decide how funds are spent on religious instruction. Although the Ministry of Education has approved curriculums for 15 denominations, 92 percent of public schools and 81 percent of private schools offered only Catholic religious instruction in 2007.

## **Overview of social, political and religious development**

The first Spanish expedition to Chile was commanded by Diego de Almagro during 1535 and 1536. It penetrated into northern Chile from Bolivia, across the Atacama region, and reached as far as the Rio Claro among the Purumaucas (a subtribe of the Araucanians or Mapuches). After an indecisive engagement with that tribe, Almagro retraced his steps via Bolivia to Cuzco in Peru, where he met his death.

It was not until 1540 that a permanent Spanish conquest began, led by Pedro de Valdivia, who was more successful than his predecessor. Santiago de Chile was founded by Valdivia on 12 February 1541 with the name *Santiago del Nuevo Extremo*, as homage to St. James and to the province of Extremadura, Valdivia's birth place in Spain. Valdivia and his men defended the small settlement of Santiago from an Indian uprising during 1542 that ultimately failed; consequently, the indigenous population moved south and the city remained relatively safe. Eventually, Valdivia and his forces occupied a large part of the country before coming in contact with the Araucanians (known today as Mapuches), who defeated him and his entire force on 1 January 1554. The Amerindians dwelling north of the Araucanians had been subjected by the Spanish previously, although not without much resistance and repeated uprisings against the foreign invaders.

Valdivia founded at least seven Spanish settlements, such as Santiago, Serena, Concepción, Angol and Imperial. However, a prolonged and fierce war followed between indigenous warriors and Spanish forces, which lasted with short interruptions for more than two centuries. It was finally brought to a close only after 1773 by a peace treaty in which the Araucanians negotiated with the Spanish as an independent and foreign power. According to the treaty, the Araucanians maintained the integrity of their territory, and were to be represented at Santiago de Chile by one of their chiefs as an official envoy. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these conditions were gradually changed, and the Araucanian (Mapuche) territory is now reduced to specific limits as an Indigenous Reservation.

The prolonged resistance of the Araucanians has no parallel in the history of the Americas. During that protracted warfare, the Spanish colonies in southern Chile were often in a critical position, because the Spanish forces occasionally suffered disastrous defeats. The old Spanish settlement of Imperial had to be definitively abandoned in 1600. That same year, the settlement of Angol (founded 1553) suffered the same fate; the settlement of Tucapel was even more short-lived. The Araucanians repeatedly destroyed the settlement of Concepción.

In 1563, Governor Pedro de Villagran and his forces were defeated and he was killed by the Araucanians. Some of the Spanish leaders, however, such as García Hurtado de Mendoza, obtained important victories on various occasions. Communication between the colonial

settlements in Chile and the Spanish authorities elsewhere was difficult and occasionally interrupted by the presence of English and Dutch filibusters in Chilean coastal waters. The Chilean settlements, which were dependent on the Vice-Royalty of Lima, were left mostly to their own resources, and the Chileans developed into a hardy and energetic people, who were proud of having maintained themselves for centuries despite great adversity.

Spain was unable to take care of its Chilean colonies in the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the struggle for Independence by rebellious *criollos* (Chilean-born of Spanish heritage). An independent provisional government was installed in Chile in 1810 but was soon attacked by Loyalist Spanish forces from Peru. The Chileans had to resort to arms, but its army, led by General Bernardo O'Higgins (a self-declared Freemason, as were many of the Liberators), was defeated at Rancagua in 1814, and Spanish authority was restored for a while. At the battle of Chacabuco, located to the north of Santiago, on 12 February 1817, the Argentine and Chilean independence armies, led by Generals José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins, decisively defeated the Spanish royalists. Although the Independence of Chile was formally declared on 12 February 1818, it was not formally recognized by Spain until 1846.

At the time of Independence, Chile was a backwater Spanish colony with little more than 500,000 inhabitants, including about 100,000 unassimilated Amerindians in the southern region, about 150,000 creoles (native-born Chileans of Spanish heritage), 20,000 *peninsulares* (Chileans born in Spain), 250,000 *mestizos* (mixed Spanish and Amerindian), about 4,000 Negros, and a few British, French, Italian, German and other immigrant groups. Most of the good farm land was owned by a few wealthy and powerful families, among whom the Basques were notable, which formed the landed aristocracy or oligarchy. The class structure of Chilean society was feudal: the masters owned the land and the workers were hard-working peasants. Chileans were predominantly a rural people; the capital of Santiago was an unimpressive city of about 30,000 inhabitants, whereas the largest competing villages numbered less than 5,000 inhabitants. City streets were unlighted and unpaved, cultural life was dismal, there were few schools, no public libraries, and no printing presses. Chilean economic life was dependent on commerce with other Spanish colonies, largely subservient to distant Lima.

In February 1817, three days after the decisive victory at Chacabuco, Gen. Bernardo O'Higgins (age 41) was named Supreme Director of the newly-independent Chilean nation. During his stormy five-year rule, O'Higgins accomplishments included: the eviction of the remaining Spanish forces from Chile, except for one remaining Spanish garrison the southern island of Chiloé (which was not accomplished until 1826); the creation of a naval force to protect Chile's independence and to harass Spanish ships; and cooperation with Gen. San Martín in preparing an expeditionary force for the liberation of Peru in 1820. O'Higgins enlisted the services of Lord Cochrane, a Scotsman whose passion for liberty was linked to his greed for personal wealth, as commander of the Chilean navy in 1818. Lord Cochrane proceeded to raid Spanish shipping from southern Chile to Ecuador, and ferried Gen. San Martín's troops to Peru in 1820.

However, O'Higgins popularity declined as quickly as it had arisen, because the Conservative and Catholic leadership of Chile deplored his innovations in government and his abolishment of numerous titles of nobility, which the oligarchy cherished. O'Higgins ruled without a congress, named his own cabinet, and governed by decree; he promulgated new constitutions in 1818 and 1822. The Catholic clergy deplored his interference with ecclesiastical authority: his insistence upon the government's right of patronage over church appointments; his demand for tolerance of religious dissenters (non-Catholics); and his opening of a cemetery for foreigners and non-Catholics. The Conservatives feared his cultural innovations, which included

the establishment of the National Institute, the enlargement of the National Library, the founding of public primary schools, the invitation to teachers of the Lancastrian system of education in England to establish schools in Chile without the interference of Catholic authorities, the importation of books without Church censorship, the right of freedom of speech and of the press – he encouraged the establishment of uncensored newspapers.

After a disastrous drought and a severe earthquake in 1822, which brought produced a great deal of suffering, the general populace turned against O’Higgins. The landed aristocracy, fearing his Liberal innovations and dictatorial powers and allied with the military and the Catholic Church, forced O’Higgins to abdicate after a series of armed revolts in 1823 against his leadership. He resigned as head of the government and fled to exile in Peru where he died in 1836.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of great turmoil in Chilean society, due to confrontations between differing ideologies: the **Conservatives**, on the one hand, regarded themselves as the guardians of Monarchical order and authority; they enlisted the support of the landed aristocracy, high-ranking clergymen and military officers to help continue the social and political traditions of Spanish colonial times with a strongly centralized government under a president they could control. **The Liberals**, on the other hand, were inspired by the Enlightenment, the American and French Revolutions, British parliamentary ideals, the influence of international trade and travel, and the growing influence of diplomatic agents of the U.S. Government. Liberals wanted a government by constitution, talked of reform rather than authority, favored limitations upon the Church (while remaining good Catholics!), and dreamed of land reform and social progress for the majority of citizens.

Conflicts between Conservatives and Liberals gave rise to a series of civil wars in 1830, 1839, 1851, 1859 and 1891. These ideological conflicts were the underlying causes of tensions between the Church and State, and were the basic issues involved in Constitutional Reforms during the 1860s and 1870s. The Independence Movement of 1810-1826 was a violent reaction against the monopolistic and restrictive rule of Spain, and was inspired by aspirations for Chilean self-identity and self-rule as an independent nation.

Religious tolerance and freedom of worship were advocated by some of Chile’s founding fathers who represented Liberal ideas and aspirations in the new Republic. However, members of the Conservative Party succeeded in formulating Article V of the new Constitution, which states: “The Religion of the State is the Roman Catholic Apostolic [Church] to the exclusion of the public worship of all others.” Friar Henrique Camilo, a Liberal priest educated in the ideologies of Voltaire and Rousseau, denounced the monarchical system of government and advocated for a representative form of government, popular education and a free press. He recommended the Lancastrian system of public education. However, Friar Camilo, along with Supreme Director Bernardo O’Higgins, was exiled for his progressive ideas, open criticism of Church and State, and daring support of popular sovereignty and democratic rule.

However, after 1836, the public school system was introduced and the cultural life began to flourish. In 1843, the Universidad de Chile was founded, and a second university, *Universidad Pontificia Católica*, was founded in 1881 by a decree issued by the Archbishop of Santiago. By 1885 there were 189,322 people living in Santiago de Chile.

Between 1880 and 1910, Chile had its internal troubles, though not as many as in other South American republics. José Manuel Balmaceda, who was part of the Castilian-Basque aristocracy in Chile, became successively the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Colonization and the Minister of the Interior under the presidency of Domingo Santa María (1881-1886). In the latter capacity, he supported compulsory civil marriage and several other laws that were

extremely obnoxious to the **Conservatives** and their allies in the Catholic clergy. Balmaceda was also elected a Senator for Coquimbo (1882-1888), during which time he was proclaimed a candidate for the presidency with support from the National, Liberal and part of the Radical parties. On 25 June 1886, Balmaceda was elected president as the sole candidate. The essential tenets of his political program were freedom of religion, increased personal and political freedom, public education for all, increased sanitation and health services, construction of highways and railroads, elimination of governmental intervention in the electoral process, reform of the 1833 Constitution, and (ironically) restriction of presidential powers.

However, in 1891, the Conservatives reacted by leading an insurrection against President Balmaceda after accusing him of attempting to establish a Liberal dictatorship, which led to a series of bloody battles between Conservative and Liberal forces and resulted in the defeat of the latter. In August 1891, the conservative Constitutional Party took over the government.

The Chilean Civil War of 1891 was an armed conflict between forces supporting congressional authority and forces supporting the executive authority led by the sitting President, José Manuel Balmaceda. This conflict ended with the defeat of Balmaceda's Liberal forces, followed by his tragic suicide in the Presidential Palace.

The death of Balmaceda finished all cause of contention in Chile, and was the closing act of the most severe and bloodiest struggle that the country had ever witnessed. In the various armed struggles throughout the conflict, more than 10,000 lives were lost, and the joint expenditure of the two governments on military preparations and the purchase of war material exceeded £10,000,000 sterling.

The defeat of the Liberal forces opened a so-called "pseudo-parliamentary" period in Chilean history, which lasted from 1891 to 1925. As opposed to a "true parliamentary" system, the executive branch of government was subjected to legislative checks and balances, and executive influence over the legislature was weakened. The position of President remained as head of state but its powers and control of the government were reduced.

During the authoritarian era of the first "Republic of Chile" from 1826 to 1932, the Chilean government was led by Liberals (1827-1829), Conservatives (1830-1871), Liberals (1871-1891), Military Chiefs (1891-1896), Liberals (1896-1906), National and Conservative Party (1906-1910), Liberals (1910-1924), Military Chiefs (1924-1925), Liberals (1925-1927), Military Chiefs (1927-1931) and the Radical Party (1931-1932). Between June and September 1932, Chile was ruled by the Socialist Party as the "Socialist Republic of Chile."

The second "Republic of Chile" began in September 1932 and continues to the present. Between 1932 and 1946, there were nine Heads of State, after which greater stability was achieved under a more normal democratic transition of power until the coup of September 1973: Gabriel González Videla (1946-1952, Radical Party-Democratic Alliance), Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1952-1958, Popular Liberation Alliance), Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964, Independent), Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970, Christian Democratic Party), and Salvador Allende (November 1970-September 1973, Socialist Party-Popular Unity).

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the democratization of Chile developed slowly, through painful steps, and leftists gradually gained broad support in the face of the refusal of the older aristocratic ruling elite, both Conservatives and Liberals, to share power. In 1970, a coalition of Socialists, Communists, Radicals, and some dissident Christian Democrats backed the presidential candidacy of Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens (b.1908-d.1973). After barely winning the election, Allende took office in November 1970 and began to restructure Chilean society along socialist lines while retaining the democratic form of government and respecting civil liberties and the due process of law.



However, he expropriated, without compensation, the U.S.-owned copper companies that operated in northern Chile, an act that put him at odds with the U.S. Government and weakened the confidence of foreign investors in his leftist government. His administration also took steps to purchase several important privately-owned mining and manufacturing sectors, and to take over large agricultural estates for use by peasant cooperatives. In his attempt to redistribute wealth, he authorized large wage increases for the working class and froze prices. His administration also printed large amounts of unsupported currency to ease the fiscal deficit created by the government's purchase of basic industries.

By 1972, Chile was suffering from stagnant production, decreased exports and private-sector investment, exhausted financial reserves, widespread strikes, rising inflation, food shortages, and increased domestic unrest. International lines of credit from the U.S. and Western Europe to the Chilean Government dried up. In international affairs, his government established relations with China and Cuba, which were denounced by Chilean Conservatives. President Allende's inability to control his own radical leftwing supporters further angered Conservative sectors of the middle and upper class.

Although Allende's administration retained widespread support from workers and peasants, which allowed his electoral coalition to win 44 percent of the vote in the March 1973 congressional elections, Conservative business, political and military leaders began to plot against Allende. With active support from the U.S. Government's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), a group of military officers staged a *coup d'état* under the leadership of rightwing Gen. Augusto José Ramón Pinochet Ugarte (b.1915-d.2006) on 11 September 1973. President Allende and members of his Presidential Guard and staff were shot to death at the National Palace, as well as thousands of his supporters throughout the nation. A repressive military dictatorship under Gen. Pinochet as "Supreme Head of the Nation" was imposed on Chile that lasted until March 1990.

The new government implemented economic reforms, including the privatization of several state-controlled industries and the rollback of many state welfare institutions. These policies were initially very successful in helping achieve economic growth, and produced what has often been called Chile's "economic miracle" during Pinochet's military regime. However, it is not known to what extent ordinary Chileans benefited from this "miracle" because the government's policies dramatically increased social inequality. Some economists attribute the devastating effect of the 1982 monetary crisis in the Chilean economy precisely to these policies. However, Pinochet's economic reforms were continued and strengthened by successive governments after March 1990.

From the beginning, Pinochet's so-called "Fascist government" implemented harsh measures with devastating results. According to the 1993 Rettig Report, over 3,200 people were killed during the 1970s and 1980s; in addition, at least 80,000 were incarcerated without trials and 30,000 were subjected to torture, according to the 2004 Valech Report. Another 200,000 people went into exile as political refugees, particularly in Argentina and Peru.

However, many suspected dissidents were spied upon in exile by the Chilean Secret Police (DINA) and the secret services of other South American countries with military dictatorships. In the framework of Operation Condor (1975-1990), which linked South American governments together against their political opponents, an estimated 60,000 leftist dissidents were kidnapped, tortured and killed clandestinely: they literally were made to "disappear" (called, *los desaparecidos*). Operation Condor's key members were the secret services of the governments in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, with Ecuador and Peru joining later in more peripheral roles.

On 22 December 1992, a significant amount of information about Operation Condor came to light when a Paraguayan judge visited a local police station in a suburb of Asunción to look for files on a former political prisoner. What he actually found became known as the "terror archives," which detailed the fate of tens of thousands of Latin Americans who were "secretly kidnapped, tortured and killed" by the security services of the participating countries. Some of these countries have since used portions of this archive to prosecute former military officers for human rights abuses and "crimes against humanity." The archives contained the files on 50,000 persons who were murdered, 30,000 *desaparecidos* and 400,000 who were clandestinely incarcerated and later released – literally, thrown back on the streets with no legal recourse against their abusers because the victims had not "formally" been arrested and detained.

However, during the 1980s, the country was deep in the midst of an economic crisis and was becoming increasingly isolated by the international community due to Gen. Pinochet's dismal human rights policies. Pinochet was finally forced out of power in March 1990, and a new democratic government took charge under President Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) of the Christian Democratic Party, followed by President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000) of the same party.

However, it was not until the 1990s that a process began of making public the horrible crimes of the Pinochet era and of seeking to bring to justice those responsible, both the executioners and the intellectual authors for those crimes.

In Chile, a plebiscite in 1988 led to democratic elections for the Presidency and Parliament in 1989. After peacefully stepping down in 1990, Pinochet continued to serve as Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army until 10 March 1998, when he retired and became a senator-for-life in accordance with the 1980 Constitution. Later, due to threats against his life and fear of criminal prosecution, Gen. Pinochet and members of his family fled into exile along a crew of security guards.

Finally, after years of living in exile in England and hiding behind his lawyers' legal maneuvers, Pinochet was placed under house arrest and later deported from Britain; in 2004, a Chilean Judge ruled that Pinochet was medically fit to stand trial and again placed him under house arrest. At the time of Pinochet's death on 10 December 2006, more than 300 criminal charges were still pending against him in Chile for human rights, tax evasion and embezzlement violations that occurred during his dictatorship. However, Pinochet was never convicted of any crimes, even though he was also accused of having amassed a fortune of US\$28 million or more.

In March 2000, Dr. Ricardo Lagos Escobar of the Party for Democracy (PD), founded by Lagos and his supporters in 1987, was installed as President of the Republic of Chile and served until March 2006. During the 1980s, Lagos was an outspoken critic of the Pinochet, and he played a pivotal role in restoring democracy to Chile. Lagos was succeeded by Michelle Bachelet Jeria of the Socialist Party (2006 to date), who became the nation's first female president under the banner of the **Concert of Parties for Democracy** (*Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia*), a coalition of center-left parties founded in 1988. Presidential candidates under its banner have won every election in Chile since military rule ended in 1990.

Today, Chile is a rapidly-developing country with a large, educated middle-class and a robust free-market economy. The decline of Chilean economy for three decades was reversed during the 1990s and early 2000s. According to recent data on income distribution, 6.2 percent of the Chilean population composes the upper economic stratum; 15 percent the upper-middle stratum; 21 percent the lower-middle; 38 percent the upper-lower stratum; and 20 percent the lower-lower stratum.

## Roman Catholic Church

Catholicism arrived in 1541 and thereafter with the Spanish conquerors, colonists, and missionary priests. The Diocese of Chile was established in 1561 in Santiago de Chile, and was administered under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Lima (Peru). The first Catholic seminary was opened in 1584. In 1768, the Jesuits, who had begun missionary work among the Araucanians during the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, were expelled by an edict signed by King Charles III of Spain in 1767; and they were not allowed to return until 1843. After their departure, many of the Jesuit-administered Indian mission villages were turned over to other religious orders or to civil authorities.

The Conservative oligarchy that governed an independent Chile between 1830 and 1861 was Roman Catholic, which was named the official State religion. However, the newly-independent government decided to confiscate Church property, including most monasteries of religious orders; abolish the payment of tithes to the Church by the State; and fix a salary for the clergy.

Between 1861 and 1891, Chilean society suffered great confusion. In 1865, the Liberal government granted non-Catholics the freedom to worship as they pleased without public display (no church steeples or bells, for example), the freedom to operate their own schools, and a few cemeteries were established for non-Catholics. In 1878, growing criticism of the government by Catholic authorities led to a generation of strained relationships between Church and State. In 1883, ecclesiastical tribunals were placed under lay supervision, and in 1884 civil marriage was introduced, which is still the only form approved by law.

In 1910, the Archdiocese of Santiago administered the Chilean Catholic Church, which had jurisdiction over the dioceses of Concepción, San Carlos de Ancud (Chilóe), and Serena; and the Vicariates Apostolic of Tarapacá and Antofagasta. In Southern Chile the Indian missions were supervised by the Franciscan Recollects, the Capuchins, and the Salesians. The Church operated numerous private schools and colleges throughout the land, under the administration of religious congregations, but even in the public schools Catholic religious instruction was compulsory.

Following the military coup of 1925, former President **Arturo Fortunato Alessandri Palma** (b.1868-d.1950) was restored to the presidential office under the Liberal Alliance; his first term was 1920-1924, then between March and October of 1925, and again from 1932 to 1938. In 1925, the Liberal government decreed the separation of Church and State, which finally granted religious freedom to other religious communities – with an immediate benefit to Protestant groups. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church has continued to receive considerable subsidies for its educational and other charitable work.

Between 1925 and 1960, the relationship between Church and State was strong under Conservative administrations and tense under Liberal ones. During this period, the nation was plagued by authoritarian governments of the right and left that were often intolerant of opposing views and that resorted to strong-arm tactics to retain power.

Diverse tensions arose within the Chilean Catholic Church during the 1960s and following years, which resulted from challenges posed by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the Conference of Latin American Bishops held in Medellín (Colombia) in 1968, Latin American Liberation Theology, and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement. These powerful new currents polarized Catholic bishops, priests (diocesan and religious), lay brothers and sisters (members of religious orders), and the laity in general into various factions. *Traditionalists* wanted the Church to remain as it was prior to the reforms approved by the Second Vatican Council (mid-1960s). *Reformers* generally supported the Church's modern, post-Vatican II

stance. *Progressives*, inspired by reforms approved at the Vatican II and Medellín conferences, sought to implement the new vision for “a preferential option for the poor” through social and political action aimed at transforming Chilean society and establishing greater social justice through peaceful democratic means. *Radicals* adopted the Marxist-inspired Liberation Theology and advocated violent revolution by the people as a means of overthrowing the Pinochet dictatorship and creating a Socialist State that would serve the poor marginalized masses. *Charismatic agents* sought to transform the spiritual and communal life of Catholics by means of the power and gifts of the Holy Spirit (including the “baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues”), rather than by political and social activism.

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) in Chile began in Santiago in 1972, during a spiritual retreat that took place at the *Casa de Ejercicios de las Rosas* between 1-5 February. The leadership team at the retreat was composed of three Dominican priests – Fathers Francis McNutt, James Burke and Patrick Rearden – and a Dominican nun, Sister Ana Félix, accompanied by a Methodist pastor from the USA. The CCR currently exists in more than 700 communities, from Arica in the north to Punta Arenas in the south.

During the 1970s, the Catholic Church risked its position by attempting to negotiate an end to the despotic Pinochet dictatorship; and, although its efforts failed, it emerged as a vocal critic of the government’s dismal human rights record. However, some of the diocesan and religious priests who had been sympathetic to President Allende’s Socialist agenda were more vocal and prophetic in their denunciations of human rights abuses and in their calls for greater social justice in Chilean society. These progressive priests, along with groups of their supporters in the “popular church,” assumed an activist role in defying the civil authorities under a dictatorial regime, and many of them suffered the cruel consequences of being detained, beaten, tortured and “disappeared” by the secret police that operated under the guidelines of Operation Condor.

In 2004, the Chilean Catholic Church reported 27 dioceses with 951 parishes, which were served by a total of 2,201 priests (1,113 diocesan and 1,088 religious priests), who were assisted by 568 permanent deacons, 1,735 male religious and 5,735 female religious workers. The Church was divided administratively into five archdioceses (Antofagasta, La Serena, Puerto Montt and Santiago de Chile), 18 dioceses, two Territorial Prelatures (Calama and Illapel), one Vicariate Apostolic (Aysén), and one Military Ordinariate. The current archbishop, Cardinal Francisco Javier Errázuriz Ossa, was appointed in 1998 as archbishop and in 2001 as cardinal.

The great majority of Chileans still consider themselves Roman Catholics, but the number of Catholic adherents declined from 76.7 percent of the national population in 1992 to 70 percent in 2002, according to census data. However, research conducted by the daily *La Tercera* in 2003 revealed that in 48 Chilean cities with the largest proportion of people living in poverty, Catholic adherents declined from 74.8 percent in 1992 to 67.7 percent in 2002. This indicates that the lower-classes have lost faith in traditional religion and have opted to look elsewhere for answers to their multifaceted needs; some have opted to attend and become members of Evangelical churches, while others have been attracted to the Christian sects or to new religious movement, or to no religion at all, which helps explain the growth of these alternative religious movements and of the population segment that now declares itself to have no religion at all.

## **The Protestant Movement**

In June 1821, the Scotsman James Thompson (b.1778-d.1854), a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and of the Lancastrian School Society, came to Chile at the request of the Supreme Director Bernardo O’Higgins (ruled 1818-1823), who asked

Thompson to promote popular education in Chile independently of the Roman Catholic Church, based on the Lancastrian system of mutual instruction. Thompson urged the government to invite foreign traders and agriculturalists to come to Chile to promote the economic development of the new Republic.

However, Catholic authorities and their Conservative allies in government strongly objected to Thompson's activities. The clerical party was opposed to the establishment of schools by non-Roman Catholics, arguing that such innovations would "destroy the cultural unity of the nation." Furthermore, the ecclesiastic commission that investigated Thompson's activities stated: "It would not be prudent to receive *these devouring vipers* who are not Roman Catholics into the bosom of the State, which desires to conserve pure, clean and inviolable the religion which it confesses" (Paul 1973:53).

Also, Thompson brought with him sixty copies of the New Testament in Spanish, which he began to freely distribute. However, the Catholic authorities immediately challenged his right to import and distribute Protestant Bibles in the country, which were subject to clerical control at that time.

Discouraged, Thompson left Chile after being resident for less than a year and travelled north to Peru and Colombia, where he was warmly welcomed by Liberal government leaders and where he achieved greater success in establishing the Lancastrian system of education and distributing the Scriptures. Although Thompson achieved some success in establishing the Lancastrian system of education in Chile, after a few years hardly a trace of these schools could be found.

O'Higgins was influenced by his American friend Henry Hill (b.1795-d.1892), born in New York State, who represented several agencies and owners of U.S. shipping vessels (including the frigate *Macedonia* that protected commercial routes along the west coast of South America during the War of Liberation from Spain) and who made a fortune selling supplies and weapons to the Chilean revolutionaries during the War of Independence (1810-1826). During this period, Hill served as Consul of the United States for Santiago and Valparaiso, where he mingled freely with revolutionary leaders and leading citizens of the country. In March 1821, Hill returned to his homeland and soon became a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregationalist), where he served as a board member for over 40 years, as well as a board member of the American Tract Society founded in New York City in 1825.

The Anglicans first held chapel services in English among foreign immigrants in the hilly port city of Valparaiso<sup>1</sup> in 1825, led by Anglican laymen and chaplains from visiting British vessels. That year, the English and German immigrants in Valparaiso received permission from the civil authorities to build the first Protestant cemetery in Chile. In 1837, Anglican chaplain John Rowlandson arrived in Valparaiso as a private tutor and began English-speaking worship services in his own house. These services were continued, but it was not until 1858 that the Anglicans received permission to build the small St. Peter's Church in Valparaiso, financed by the British Government, which is still in existence.

In 1860, Allen W. Gardiner, Jr. – son of the famous Captain Allen Gardiner of the Royal British Navy who died in Tierra del Fuego in 1851 while serving as a pioneer Anglican missionary in the evangelization of the Amerindians under the sponsorship of the Patagonian Mission Society – arrived in Chile in 1860, with the intention of evangelizing the Araucanian Indians in the southern region. Due to hostilities between the Indians and the Chilean Army, he was unable to accomplish his goal, so he accepted a chaplaincy in Lota (Concepción Province) for a small English colony in this coal mining district. His example encouraged the South American Missionary Society (SAMS) of the Anglican Church to establish chaplaincies in other

South American locations. Later, SAMS sponsored missionary work among the Araucanian (Mapuche) Indians near Temuco, under Canadian clergyman Charles A. Sadleir, beginning in 1895.

It was not until December 1845 that New England Congregationalist missionary David Trumbull (b.1819-d.1889), after his graduation from Princeton Seminary, took up permanent residence in Valparaiso, under the joint sponsorship of the nondenominational American Bible Society (established in 1816), the Foreign Evangelical Society (founded in 1839, later renamed the American and Foreign Christian Union), and the American Seaman's Friend Society (founded in 1826).<sup>ii</sup> At first, David served as a Protestant chaplain, charged with the task of ministering to the spiritual and material needs of English-speaking seaman aboard ships docked in the harbor of Valparaiso, located about 120 km from Santiago. Following Independence from Spain in 1818, Valparaíso (founded in 1536) became the main harbor for the nascent Chilean Navy and was opened to international trade, which had been limited to commerce with Spain and its other colonies. Many foreign shipping companies quickly established commercial houses in Valparaiso, which were staffed by agents from their respective countries.

In the beginning of his ministry in Valparaiso, Trumbull was restricted to holding religious services on board vessels in the harbor but later, after having won the confidence and support of the local community and obtaining permission from the civil authorities, he built the Sailor's Home and Bethel Chapel on shore. Soon he became engaged in encouraging the sick and the lonely in the American and British hospitals, and in visiting the foreign delinquents in the city's prison. However, Trumbull's goal was the establishment of the Reformed Church (in the tradition of the New England Reformed-Presbyterian-Congregationalist tradition), first in Valparaiso, then in strategic locations throughout Chile. After celebrating English-speaking worship services in private homes in Valparaiso for several years, Trumbull, along with an Anglican chaplain, helped organized Union Church in 1847, which was not permitted to build its own chapel until 1855. Until his death in 1889, Trumbull remained as pastor of Union Church in Valparaiso.

However, it was not until 1862 that another Congregational missionary, Nathaniel P. Gilbert, arrived in Santiago and organized another Union Church for all English-speaking residents in the capital. Gilbert was sponsored by the Foreign Evangelical Society, as was Trumbull. Finally, Trumbull, Gilbert and their Chilean colleagues received permission from the civil authorities in 1865 to build the first Protestant church building in Santiago. To this end, Trumbull appealed to the American and Foreign Christian Union (previously known as the Foreign Evangelical Society) for reinforcements in the development of the Spanish-speaking work. Alexander M. Merwin and Sylvanus Sayre arrived in 1866, which facilitated the completion and dedication of the first Protestant church building in Santiago on 20 September 1868.

In November 1871, Mr. José Manuel Ibañez was ordained as the first Chilean Protestant pastor; in fact, he was the only native Spanish-speaking Protestant minister in all of South America (Paul 1973:63). During this period mission stations were established at San Felipe, a village located 90 miles north of Valparaiso; and in 1869 at Talca, located south of Santiago in the central valley, in the fertile vineyard district.

The first Lutherans to work in Chile arrived in 1846 and founded a German-speaking organization largely limited to the expatriate community. After the German Revolution of 1848, the Chilean Government offered Liberal German immigrants the opportunity to settle in southern region, where large-scale immigration began after 1850. Many of the German immigrants were educated and had financial resources, which facilitated their settlement in Valdivia, Puerto Montt

and Santiago, while German farmers settled in what is now the Province of Llanquihue. The second wave of German immigrants arrived after 1870 and occupied frontier areas in southern Chile in the proximity of the territories of the Araucanos and Temucos near the Río Bió-Bío. This is where the most important colonies of German Lutherans were established.

After the arrival of German Lutheran pastor Oscar Fiedler, a congregation was organized in Valparaiso in 1867 but later ceased to exist. In 1886, a German Lutheran congregation was organized in Santiago under the leadership of R. A. Philippi, who later helped to reestablish the Lutheran congregation in Valparaiso, in 1889. After several failed attempts, the German Lutherans were able to organize the *Deutsche Evangelische Chile-Synode* in 1906.

The earlier work by Congregational missionaries became the foundation upon which missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (now a constituent part of the Presbyterian Church [U.S.A.]) built their ministries. After the U.S. Civil War (1861-1864), the American and Foreign Christian Union ran into financial difficulties because many of its supporters began channeling their contributions through denominational mission agencies. Trumbull and his colleagues heartedly agreed with the proposal that their work in Chile be handed over to the Presbyterian Board of Missions, which took place officially in early 1873 when Trumbull himself became affiliated with the Presbyterian Board. His identification with the Chileans reached its logical conclusion in 1886 when he became a naturalized Chilean citizen. When he died in 1889, the Chilean Congress suspended its session out of respect for this respected Christian worker.

In 1873, the Rev. and Mrs. Robert McLean arrived from the USA and were assigned to the Presbyterian mission station in San Felipe. At the request of Trumbull, the Presbyterian Board, in 1878, sent Eneas McLean, Robert's brother to Chile as well, and he was assigned to work in Concepción, the third-largest city in the nation at that time, where a Presbyterian church was organized in 1880. These established churches later formed the *Iglesia Presbiteriana de Chile (IPC)*, which was under the jurisdiction of the Synod of New York of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The IPC became an independent and completely self-supporting denomination in 1964. In 1944, a group of young Fundamentalist Chilean pastors deserted the IPC and established the *Iglesia Presbiteriana Nacional (IPN)*, which later experienced its own division with the formation of the *Iglesia Presbiteriana Nacional Fundamentalista (IPNF)* in 1960. The IPNF aligned itself with Carl McIntire's fundamentalist International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC), while the IPN became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA). In the 1980s, the PCA decided to establish its own church body in Chile under the name *Iglesia Presbiteriana en América en Chile (IPAC)*.

The beginning of the Methodist Episcopal Church (now a constituent part of the United Methodist Church) can be traced to the schools started by lay missionary William Taylor (1821-1902) in Bolivia and Chile during 1877-1878 as part of a self-supporting missionary enterprise not officially indorsed or supported by his denomination. Between 1883 and 1888, Taylor and his colleagues began to develop church work among the Spanish-speaking population, despite great resistance from clerical authorities. The establishment and development of Methodist churches in Chile experienced slow growth between 1886 and 1893, but good progress was made in recruiting and training national pastors and workers. Between 1893 and 1897, Methodist work in Chile more than doubled in size, and this trend continued during the period 1897-1903, as well as from 1903 to 1907. Methodist growth in Chile between 1883 and 1907 was much more rapid than the Presbyterian work, which can be explained in part by the fact that the Methodist methods of self-support tended to minimize the danger of nationalism and encouraged the development of a lay ministry.

However, in 1910, the Methodist Church of Chile experienced a schism that both stopped its growth and gave a unique cast to Chilean Protestantism. Chile became one of the first places in South America where news of the Pentecostal revival at the Apostolic Faith Mission on Azusa Street in Los Angeles, California, in 1906 found a response. That response was among the Methodists, led by the Rev. Willis C. Hoover in Valparaiso. By 1910, the majority of Methodists in Chile had opened themselves to the Pentecostal experience and that year left the Methodist Episcopal Church to establish the Methodist Pentecostal Church of Chile, which maintained many of the ecclesiastical forms of Methodism.

From this beginning, Pentecostalism gained a relatively early position of strength in the country due to its rapid membership growth and its geographical expansion, led by the Methodist Pentecostal Church of Chile that became the parent body of a dozen or more other Pentecostal denominations between 1913 and 1950: The Church of the Lord (1913), the Evangelical Church of the Brethren (1925), the Pentecostal Evangelical Church (1933), the Evangelical Corporation of Vitacura (1933), the Pentecostal Church of Southern Chile (1933), the Christian Evangelical Church (1936), the Evangelical Army of Chile (1937), the Apostolic Pentecostal Church (1938), the Pentecostal Christian Church (1938), the Humble Manger of Christ Evangelical Church (1943), the Pentecostal Church of Chile (1946), the National Evangelical Church of Christ (1946), and the Pentecostal Evangelical Methodist Church that Meets in the Name of Jesus (1950). In turn, many of these daughter church bodies experienced their own divisions, which led to the formation of more Pentecostal denominations, especially between 1934 and 1956. For example, the Evangelical Pentecostal Church gave birth to the following new denominations: the Christian Church of the Apostolic Faith (1934), the Christian Church Won with His Blood (1941), the Pentecostal Church of God (1951), the Pentecostal Mission Church (1952), and the Pentecostal Evangelical Corporation (1956).

The favorable climate for Pentecostalism in Chile, mainly among the oppressed lower-classes as a “refuge for the masses” in an authoritarian society according to Swiss sociologist Christian Lalive d'Epinay (1969), also led various European and American Pentecostal groups to later begin work in Chile. These include the Swedish Pentecostals (1938), the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (1940), the Assemblies of God Foreign Missions (1941), the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) in 1954, the United Pentecostal Church International (1964), and the Church of God of Prophecy (1975). However, serious disagreements over doctrine and church polity prevented cooperation between the later groups and most of the national Pentecostal denominations. Consequently, the later Pentecostal denominations (foreign-based) have not experienced as much church growth as the national church bodies that are more in tune with Chilean cultural idiosyncrasies.

Before Pentecostalism came to dominate the Protestant and Free Church community in Chile, the first Baptist missionaries had arrived and began work among German immigrants in Victoria, near Temuco. The first Baptist church in Chile was founded among German immigrants in 1892. Between 1894 and 1897, a religious revival occurred with the German settlement, with worship services held in German and Spanish. The Chilean Baptist Convention was formed in 1908; this denomination aligned itself with the Southern Baptist Convention in 1917, but has not been as successful as have Baptists elsewhere in South America.

Historically, prior to 1900, fourteen Protestant denominations and service agencies began work in Chile. Between 1900 and 1940, another 18 denominations and service agencies entered the country, or arose independently under national leaders, some by division from other church bodies. During the 1950s, nine new organizations were established; during the 1960s, only four; during the 1970s, four more; during the 1980s, eight; and during the 1990s, ten. In summary,



during the period 1950 to 2000, a total of 35 new denominations and service agencies were established.

Noteworthy among the new groups established since 1945, in addition to those previously mentioned, were: the Independent Board for Presbyterian Missions (1945), the independent Christian Church and Churches of Christ (1949), the Association of Baptist for World Evangelism (1953), the Baptist Bible Fellowship (1954), the Church of the Nazarene (1962), Campus Crusade for Christ (1963), Maranatha Baptist Church (1963), Mennonite Board of Missions (1970), Spanish World Gospel Mission (1973), the Christian Church of North America (1981), Open Bible Standard Churches (1982), WorldTeam (1982), the Korean Presbyterian Church of Chile (1982), The Navigators (1985), SIM-USA (1986), CMF International (1988), Gospel Outreach (1989), Operation Blessing International (1990), International Gospel Outreach (1990), International Partnership Ministries (1991), Evangelical Lutheran Synod (1992), Baptist Mid-Missions (1992), the Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists (1994), the Christian Presbyterian Church of Chile (1994), Baptist International Missions (1996), and Macedonian World Baptist Missions (1996).

In 1989, the largest Protestant denominations and independent church associations were the following (Lausanne Chile Country Committee, 1989), based on the estimated number of adherents: the Pentecostal Methodist Church (700,000), the Pentecostal Church of Chile (400,000), the Baptist Convention of Chile (100,000), the Pentecostal Church of God (100,000), the Pentecostal Evangelical Church (50,000), the Pentecostal Apostolic Church (30,000), the Methodist Church of Chile (25,000), the Christian & Missionary Alliance (20,000), Corporation Church of the Lord (18,000), the Assemblies of God in Chile (15,000), the Evangelical Army of Chile (15,000), the Trinity Pentecostal Church (15,000), the Presbyterian Church of Chile (15,000), the Corporation Vitacura (12,000), the Church of God (Cleveland, TN – 10,000), the Autonomous Assembly of God (10,000), International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (10,000), the Anglican Church of Chile (7,000), and the Church of the Nazarene (4,000).

Brierly (1997) gave the following estimates for the size of Protestant denominations in Chile in 1995, based on the *Operation World Database*: the Methodist Pentecostal Church (3,830 churches with 614,000 members), the Evangelical Pentecostal Church of Chile (1,880 churches with 385,000 members), the Pentecostal Church of Chile (318 churches with 100,000 members), the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (340 churches with 75,400 members), the Evangelical Army (470 churches with 65,600 members), the United Pentecostal Church (310 churches with 63,600 members), the Evangelical Congregation of Apostolic Faith of Seventh-Day (74 churches with 29,500 members), the Baptist Evangelical Convention (Southern Baptist-related, 240 churches with 26,400 members), the Pentecostal Mission Church (110 churches with 25,600 members), the Christian Apostolic Church (130 churches with 20,400 members), the Church of the Lord Corporation (250 churches with 20,300 members), the New Pentecostal Church (230 churches with 19,200 members), the Pentecostal Apostolic Church (36 churches with 18,500 members), the National Convention of Baptist Churches (560 churches with 17,000 members), the Christian Evangelical Church (190 churches with 15,400 members), the Evangelical Church of Vitacura (190 churches with 14,800 members), the Temple Union Pentecostal Church (180 churches with 14,800 members), the Assemblies of God-USA (550 churches with 14,200 members), the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (67 churches with 13,900 members), the Union of Apostolic Churches (170 churches with 13,600 members), the Pentecostal Evangelical Mission Church (130 churches with 13,000 members), the Christian & Missionary Alliance (140 churches with 12,800 members), the Church of God (Cleveland, TN – 200 churches with 12,700 members), the Autonomous Assemblies of God (Sweden, 58

churches with 11,700 members), the Pentecostal Christian Mission Church (92 churches with 10,900 members), Pentecostal Church of God (30 churches with 10,700 members), Evangelical Pentecostal Union Church (120 churches with 10,000 members). All other denominations had less than 10,000 members each.

According to the 2002 census, the geographical distribution of the Protestant population (national = 15.14 percent) was as follows by census zones:

- Zona Norte Grande, 11.4 percent (area #1, Región de Tarapacá, 11.84 percent; area #2, Región de Antofagasta, 11.0 percent).
- Zona Norte Chico, 9.0 percent (area #3, Región de Atacama, 10.7 percent; area #4, Región de Coquimbo, 7.4 percent).
- Zona Centro, 12.1 percent (area #5, Región de Valparaíso, 9.56 percent; area #6, Región de O'Higgins, 11.4 percent).
- Zona Metropolitana, 13.9 percent (Región de Santiago, 13.1 percent; area #7, Región del Maule, 14.67 percent).
- Zona Sur, 23.2 percent (area #8, Región del Bío Bío, 28.0 percent; area #9, Región de Araucanía, 24.0 percent; area #10, Región de Los Lagos, 17.8 percent).
- Zona Extreme Sur, 11.2 percent (area #11, Región de Aysén, 14.6 percent; area #12, Región de Magallanes, 7.8 percent).

Asked to explain the reasons for the high concentration of Protestant population in the **Southern Zone** (23.2 percent, the highest in the nation), Protestant leaders stated that the *Region of Bío-Bío* has a strong presence of Pentecostal churches that have grown among the lower-classes, especially in the Comunas of Galvarino and Lota; whereas in the *Region of Araucanía*, the Evangelical non-Pentecostal churches had a strong appeal to the middle-class in this region, known as the “capital of Latin American Evangelicalism,” due largely on the establishment of Swiss and German colonies there during the 1900s. The Protestant presence in the **Metropolitan Zone** is slightly lower than the average for the nation (13.9 percent compared to 15.1 percent nationally), but the Protestant presence is weakest in the **Northern Zones** (Norte Grande and Norte Chico) and the **Extreme Southern Zone** (11.2 percent), which are the most remote regions of the nation and have the fewest inhabitants.

**Based on national census data (1920-2002) and a series of public opinion polls on religious affiliation in Chile, conducted between 1990 and 2006, the following picture emerges about the growth of the Protestant population (adherents) in this nation:** 1920, 1.44 percent; 1930, 1.45 percent; 1940, 2.34 percent; 1950, 4.06 percent; 1960, 5.58 percent; 1970, 6.18 percent; 1992, 12.4 percent; 2002, 15.1 percent; and 2006, 17.0 percent. This information reveals that the greatest increase among Protestants in Chile occurred between 1940 and 1950 (an increase of 170 percent over 10 years), and between 1970 and 1992 (an increase of 201 percent over 22 years), and between 1992 and 2006 (an increase of 137 percent over 14 years). According to the 2002 national census, about 90 percent of Evangelicals identified themselves as Pentecostal, while the remaining 10 percent were affiliated with Wesleyan, Lutheran, Reformed-Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist and independent Free Churches.

In the 1960s, Sociologist Emilio Willems (1967) found that Chilean Pentecostals tended to shy away from politics unless their denominational leaders encouraged them to become involved “in the name of defending religious freedom.” However, during the controversial administration of President Salvador Allende (1970-1973), the Pentecostal churches (as well as Protestants in

general) were divided over his attempt to move the nation toward Socialism. Some of the Pentecostals responded to their own socioeconomic class-interests and supported Allende's revolutionary program, which was aimed at improving the working and living conditions of the poor. However, many Pentecostal leaders feared that their members were being "seduced away from the church" by Marxist propaganda.

During 1973, many Evangelical leaders organized secret prayer meetings to pray for the "deliverance of the nation" from Godless Socialism. After the 1973 military coup that overthrew the Allende government, which resulted in the assassination of the president and the death of thousands of his supporters, many of these same Evangelical leaders hailed the coup as "an act of God." They enthusiastically endorsed the authority of the new military junta under Gen. Augusto Pinochet who "freed us from Marxism," which they called "an expression of the satanic power of darkness" (Stoll 1990:111-112).

During and after the Pinochet dictatorship, many Evangelical leaders began to express their misgivings regarding "endorsing" any political leader, while at the same time realizing that the growing Evangelical movement had more political clout in the ballot box than previously. Some Chilean Evangelical leaders were inspired by the holistic message of the *Lausanne Covenant* while attending international conferences sponsored by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization during the 1970s and 1980s. After the founding of the Latin American Confraternity of Evangelicals (CONELA) in Panama in April 1982, this interdenominational fellowship of conservative leaders offered similar inspiration and motivation for the pursuit of common endeavors among Evangelicals in Chile and throughout Latin America.

Although the Evangelical Council of Chile (CEC) was established in 1941, it was not until 1988 that the Corporation of Interdenominational Pastors (CIP) was formed, followed by the Council of Pastoral Entities of the Metropolitan Region (CUPREM); and the Committee of Evangelical Organizations (COE), which was led by Bishop Francisco Anabalón in 2003.

At the same time, there was a growing consciousness among leaders of mainline Protestant denominations and some Free Church bodies regarding the need to take a stronger stand in behalf of human rights and social justice issues, which had been trampled on during the Pinochet dictatorship. Therefore, some Chilean denominational leader and local pastors have become affiliated in activities sponsored by the **Latin American Council of Churches (CLAI)**, which is affiliated with the World Council of Churches (WCC). In 2008, CLAI reported the following member organizations in Chile: Iglesia Evangélica Presbiteriana, Iglesia Hermanos en Cristo, Corporación Misión Unión Cristiana, Iglesia Pentecostal Eben-Ezer, Iglesia Templo La Hermosa, Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile, Misión Wesleyana Nacional de Chile, Iglesia Misionera Pentecostal, Iglesia Evangélica Luterana en Chile, Iglesia Metodista de Chile, Misión Comunión de Los Hermanos, Misión Iglesia Pentecostal, and Misiones Pentecostales Libres.

## **Other Religions**

The Ecumenical Fellowship of Chile (CEC), founded in 1973, includes the following members: Iglesia Evangélica Luterana en Chile, Iglesia Metodista de Chile, Misión Iglesia Pentecostal, Anglican Church, Baptist Union, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile, Methodist Church of Chile, Orthodox Church of the Patriarchate of Antioch (through which are also represented the Russian Orthodox Church and the Greek Orthodox Church), Pentecostal Mission Church, Reformed Church, Roman Catholic Church, Universal Apostolic Mission Church and the Wesleyan Church. The CEC is also associated with the WCC.

The CEC is an association of Christian churches and institutions of different traditions, which aim to contribute to the promotion of Christian unity. Its purpose is to witness to the unity expressed in the gospel of Jesus Christ: "That they may all be one, even as you, Father, are in me, and I in you, that they also may be one in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me" (John 17:21), to the glory of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

In 2002, the national census recorded 6,959 "Orthodox Christians" (Greeks, Persians, Serbians, Ukrainians and Armenians) in Chile. Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions include: the Armenian Orthodox Church; the Greek Orthodox Church; the Orthodox Church, Patriarchate of Antioch, led by Archbishop Sergio Abad; the Holy Orthodox Catholic Church, Eastern & Apostolic (note: this parish may no longer exist); the Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Moscow); and the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA), Diocese of South America and Buenos Aires, led by Archimandrite Benjamin Wasniuk in Chile. This denomination was formerly under Bishop Vladyka Alexander, now deceased, who resided in Los Angeles, CA; now, the First Hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia is Metropolitan Vladyka Laurus, who resides in New York City. There is a Russian cemetery on the southern outskirts of Santiago. The four Chilean parishes are: Mission of St. Silouan of Mt. Athos, Concepcion; Church of the Holy Trinity and Icon of Virgin of Kazan, Santiago; Parroquia de San Nectario de Pentapolis, Santiago; and Church of the Holy Trinity and Icon of Virgin of Kazan, Santiago.

In addition, there are several Roman Catholic-derived churches in Chile that are independent of the Holy See in Rome and that have established some type of relationship with Eastern Orthodox jurisdictions that can claim "apostolic succession." Juan Ignacio Cariaga y Cariaga (b.1949 and still living) was ordained a priest in 1980 in Italy by Giulio Pierino Giuliano Gennaro, a bishop of the *Alt Römisch Katholische Kirche*, and was consecrated a bishop in 1989 by Luís Fernando Castillo-Méndez of the *Igreja Católica Apostólica Brasileira*. He had already been consecrated a bishop in 1983 at Palermo, Sicily, Italy, by Viktor Ivan Busá, a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church in Diaspora, and was named to be that church's chief authority (exarch) in Chile for the *Iglesia Katholicado Orthodoxo* de Chile. In the 1980s, Bishop Cariaga founded the *Santa Iglesia Católica Apostólica de Chile*.

Msgr. Carlos Duarte Costa was Roman Catholic Bishop of Botucatu, Brazil (1924-1937) and Titular Bishop of Maura (1937-1945), at which time he left the Roman Catholic Church to found the *Igreja Católica Apostólica Brasileira*. From Bishop Duarte Costa have descended scores of independent bishops who have helped establish in Latin America several other "National Apostolic Catholic Churches." Ultimately, such churches were established throughout the Western Hemisphere, from Chile to Canada, and even in The Philippines and Australia.

Msgr. Duarte Costa acted as principal or co-consecrator for several independent bishops, the first in 1945 and the last, shortly before his death, in 1961. René Parra Somorrostro was ordained a priest by bishops who were consecrated by Duarte Costa, and he was later consecrated a bishop in 1984 at Coronel, Chile, and named to be Titular Bishop of Concepción and Araucanía, Chile, by Juan Ignacio Cariaga y Cariaga, a bishop of the *Santa Iglesia Católica Apostólica de Chile*. From 1984 to 1989, Somorrostro was a bishop in Chile of the *Apostolic Episcopal Church*. Since early 1989 he has been a bishop of the *Iglesia Katholicado Orthodoxo de Chile*, an affiliate of the *Igreja Católica Apostólica Brasileira*.

Celso Mario Rosales y Fernes was ordained a priest and later consecrated a bishop in 1984, and named to be Titular Bishop of Valparaiso de Chile, by Juan Ignacio Cariaga y Cariaga, a bishop of the *Iglesia Katholicado Orthodoxo de Chile*, assisted by René Parra Somorrostro, a bishop of the *Santa Iglesia Católica Apostólica de Chile*. In 1989, Bishop Rosales y Fernes

allied his *Santa Iglesia Católica Apostólica de Chile* with the *Igreja Católica Apostólica Brasileira*.

There are several non-Protestant marginal Christian groups that have been established in Chile: the Jehovah's Witnesses (810 churches with 71,715 members in 2008; the 2002 census reported 119,455 adherents); the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (one temple, 74 stakes and 24 districts with 103,735 adherents in 2002); the Philadelphia Church of God; the Church of Christ, Scientist; Israelites of the New Universal Covenant (Andean region); the Light of the World Church (from Mexico); the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Brazil); the God is Love Pentecostal Church (Brazil); and Unity School of Christianity.

There are a wide variety of non-Christian religious groups in Chile. The small Jewish community in Chile is centered in Santiago and includes Hungarian, German and Sephardic elements. Though suffering losses from the emigration to Israel in recent years, it still includes an estimated 15,000 Jewish residents. The community has its focus in the *Comité Representativo de las Entidades Juías de Chile*, headquartered in Santiago. There is a program of Jewish Studies at the University of Chile in Santiago. Jewish communities are located in Santiago, Valparaíso, Viña del Mar, Valdivia, Temuco, Concepción, La Serena and Iquique (although there is no synagogue in Iquique).

The 2002 census reported a total Muslim population of 2,894. Many of those are Chileans who, as a result of their conversion to Islam, have even changed their names. The first known Islamic institution was the Society of Muslim Union of Chile (*Sociedad Unión Musulmana*), founded in 1926, which was followed by the Society of Mutual Aids and Islamic Charity in 1927. Today, mosques are located in Santiago, Iquique and Coquimbo. Also, the Subud Association is present.

The Baha'i Faith community was founded in 1940 after the arrival of Baha'i pioneers from the USA, who made converts among Chileans and established an independent national spiritual community in 1963. In 2002, this community was picked for the establishment of the first Baha'i Temple of South America, which the community is still seeking to establish. Although Baha'i adherents were not mentioned in the 2002 Census, Baha'i officials estimated that their community numbered about 6,000.

Buddhism not only exists among Chinese immigrants, but also among Chileans who are affiliated with one of the following organizations: the International Zen Association, Sokka Gakkai International; Drikung Kagyu Ling Meditation Center; and the Valparaíso Buddhist Meditation Center.

The following Hindu-derived organizations exist in Chile: the Swami Shivapremananda Foundation (*Centros Sivananda Yoga Vedanta*), the Supreme Master Ching Hai Meditation Association (Sant Mat tradition), the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKON), and the Vaisnava Mission.

The Western Esoteric tradition appeared early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century among adherents of Spiritualism, Freemasonry (including Bernardo O'Higgins and other Liberals of his day; the Grand Lodge of Chile was formally established in 1862; Chilean Masons follow the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite), and the Martinista Order of Master Cedaïor. Others that appeared later were the Ancient and Mystical Order of the Rosae Crucis (AMORC), Applied Metaphysical Studies Group, the Hermetic Philosophical Institute (founded in Santiago by Darío Salas Sommer, a.k.a. "John Baines"), and Wicca-Chile.

Freemasonry in Chile has a long history, beginning with the arrival of European immigrants who brought their respective national lodges with them. Chile's first Supreme Director, Gen.

Bernardo O'Higgins (whose father was Irish) was a Freemason, along with many of his military associates during the Wars of Liberation in South America during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The VII World Conference of Masonic Grand Lodges was held at Santiago, from 5- 9 May 2004. This conference, which is held every 18 months and serves as a useful forum for all the Regular Grand Lodges of the world to exchange views and information of mutual interest. The Grand Masters or their representatives from more than 70 Grand Lodges from all over the world, representing all the continents, attended this conference. This was considered an all-time record. The conference was hosted by Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Chile, M.W. Brother Jorge Carvajal Muñoz. The following is a brief description of that event:

The entire proceedings began 5 May 2004 with the offering of a tribute to Bro. Bernardo O'Higgins, the Founding Father of Chile and an ardent Freemason of his time. This solemn al fresco function was arranged in front of the presidential palace, La Moneda, near an equestrian statue of the Founding Father. This was followed by the formal inauguration of the conference at the Diego Portales Convention Centre by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Chile, Don Ricardo Lagos Escobar. Besides all the foreign delegates and their Chilean hosts, a large number of non-Masons, including college and school students were also present. We were pleasantly surprised to note that the Boy & Girl Scouts Movement in Chile is attached to the Grand Lodge - because Lord Baden Powell, the founder of the World Scout Movement was himself a Mason, maybe!

All the delegates were invited to attend a Regular Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Chile, which was held at the imposing Grand Lodge Building, comprising seven floors and accommodating 9 temples, numerous offices, banquet areas, lecture halls, and a very well-equipped library. In general, the Chilean Masons follow the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. All the delegates were thus able to witness this ritual, which was conducted in Spanish but with simultaneous translation in English. It was an extremely interesting and educative experience to see this different ceremony. The Grand Master of Chile also presented a concise history of Freemasonry in Chile, and, more specifically, that of the *Grand Lodge of Chile, which was founded on 24th May 1862*. This exposition of the contributions of Masons and Masonry was truly astounding. It made one proud to be part of such an exemplary society, even if by association.

It was also obvious that Freemasonry in Chile had the patronage of the Ruling Class and thus the status and encouragements given to Freemasonry in that country was impressive, to say the least.

(Source: <http://www.masonindia.org/WorldConference.htm>)

Also, here is an important comment by in 2004 by Thomas Jackson, the Executive Secretary of the World Conference of Grand Lodges:

... in South American and Central American countries there is a great emphasis placed upon education. In Chile there is actually a university for the purpose of education, all created by the Grand Lodge of Chile. But Freemasonry in Chile is a major influence in the operation of the country. I found out when I was there that, whenever there is a major decision to be made, two entities in the country are consulted: the Catholic Church and the Masonic Fraternity.

(Source: <http://www.masonicforum.ro/en/nr19/jackson.html>)

In 1997, a New Zealand Mason, G.H. Brauer, wrote a brief description of Freemasonry in Chile:

[The Chilean lodges are organized] under the Grand Orient of Chile (we would call it the New Zealand Constitution here); there are some six German lodges, about four British, two American and one or two French ones. They are always permitted to form additional ones, and work in their own languages, with their own rituals, as practiced in their home countries. But territory wise they all come under the control of the Grand Lodge of Chile, an arrangement that seems to work extremely well.

(Published by United Masters Lodge, No. 167, Auckland, New Zealand, June 1997. Source: <http://www.district19.ca/education/CHILEAN%20FREEMASONRY.doc>)

Additional information about Freemasonry in Chile is found in the following documents:

*Revista Masonica de Chile*, Official publication of the Grand Lodge of Chile.

*The Apparent Origin of Freemasonry in Chile and Lodge Filantropia Chilena*, by Dr. Rene Garcia Valenzuela, PGM Chile.

*La Francmasonería y Sus Obras en Chile*, by Veritas (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de San José, 1920.

Also present in Chile are groups associated with the Psychic-Spiritualist-New Age movements: the Theosophical Society, the Unification Church (Rev. Moon), Universal Life-The Inner Religion, Ishaya Techniques, and the Silvan Method.

Popular Catholic religiosity (syncretistic) is practiced by a majority of the Hispanic white and *mestizo* population. Among practitioners of Amerindian religions (animist) and “popular Catholic religiosity” there are “specialists” who practice witchcraft (*brujería*), shamanism (*chamanismo*) and folk healing (*curanderismo*). The traditional Amerindian religions that have survived in Chile are the Mapuche religion, a polytheistic faith, with Nenechen at the head of a pantheon of gods and goddesses. Among the prominent deities is Pilan, who has power over thunder and volcanoes. This religion involves a strong relationship to the ancestors who are part of the surrounding natural and spiritual world. In the north, the Quechua and Aymara peoples (who make up a substantial portion of the population of Bolivia) also have a polytheistic belief system with a hierarchy of spirits that must be honored, worship and appeased through the mediation of shamans and sorcerers.

In August 2009, Hugo Zepeda Coll (a Chilean lawyer and theologian), published an article in the Chilean daily *La Cuarta* in which he claimed that there are at least 70 locations in the country where satanic rituals have or are being conducted by as many as 250 secret satanic societies.<sup>iii</sup>

Also, there is the strange case of Colonia Dignidad, a secretive religious commune (called an occult group) in southern Chile that functioned between 1961 and 2005. Villa Baviera, formerly known as Colonia Dignidad, is a Chilean hamlet in Parral Commune, Linares Province. It was founded by a group of German immigrants led by a former Nazi medic, Paul Schäfer, in 1961. The full name of the colony was *Sociedad Benefactora y Educativa Dignidad* (Dignity Charitable and Educational Society).<sup>iv</sup>

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Note: additional articles in Spanish are available on the PROLADES-RITA website.<sup>v</sup>

(12,496 words)

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<sup>i</sup> After 1818, Valparaíso became the seat of the National Congress and an important stop-over port for international shipping between Pacific Rim and Atlantic ports via the Cape of Good Hope or the Strait of Magellan. Always a magnet for European shipping and immigrants, Valparaíso mushroomed during its golden age (1848-1914), when the city received immigrants from many European countries, mainly from Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy. German, French, Italian and English were commonly spoken among its citizens, who also had newspapers in these same languages.

The immigrant communities left a unique imprint on the city's architecture as each community built its own churches and schools, while many also founded other noteworthy cultural and economic institutions. The largest immigrant communities came from England, Germany, and Italy, each developing their own hillside neighborhood, which are preserved today as National Historic Districts. From a mere 5,000 inhabitants in 1818, Valparaíso became a thriving city of 30,000 inhabitants by 1822, including about 6,000 English-speaking persons. By 1850, at the time of the California Gold Rush, Valparaíso had a population of over 55,000.

<sup>ii</sup> The American Seaman's Friend Society [was] established as charitable organization to assist seamen financially and morally. The Society raised money among several different religious denominations to support evangelical activity among seamen, and to clothe, feed and house destitute, shipwrecked or unemployed sailors. The Society also supported homes for aged and indigent sailors, both in the United States and for American sailors abroad. Source: <http://www.clements.umich.edu/Webguides/NP/PennSea.html>

<sup>iii</sup> The complete text is as follows: In August 2009, **Hugo Zepeda Coll** (a Chilean lawyer and theologian), published an article in the Chilean daily *La Cuarta* in which he claimed that there are at least 70 locations in the country where satanic rituals have or are being conducted, especially in the Valle de Azapa, the Ruins of Huanchaca de Antofagasta, and areas of Illapel, capital of the Province of Choapa in the Región de Coquimbo; and in Iquique, capital of the Province of Iquique, in the Region of Tarapacá. Also, the Región de Valparaíso, he found evidence of satanic ceremonies conducted in Cerro Esperanza, Laguna Verde and Las Torpederas. In southern Chile, he found similar evidence on Isla de Chiloé and in caves at Quicaví. In the Región de Santiago, evidence was found in Maipú, Puente Alto and El Cajón del Maipo.

According to Zepeda, there are about 250 satanic sects in the entire territory of Chile, which are characterized by having an organizational structure under an absolute leader, who is solely responsible for choosing a small group of members; magical rites conducted in absolute secrecy in cemeteries, remote valleys, woods and beaches; animals are an important part of the ritual sacrifices; and drugs and alcohol are often consumed. Also, some of their secret ceremonies and ritual sacrifices have been conducted clandestinely in Catholic churches at the midnight hour, and it is believed by Chilean experts that, occasionally, humans (typically naked women or small children) have been slain in ritual sacrifices.

<sup>iv</sup> Below is a more complete description of Colonia Dignidad:

There is the strange case of **Colonia Dignidad**, a secretive religious commune (called an occult group) in southern Chile that functioned between 1961 and 2005. Villa Baviera, formerly known as Colonia Dignidad, is a Chilean hamlet in Parral Commune, Linares Province. It was founded by a group of German immigrants led by a former Nazi, Paul Schäfer, in 1961. The full name of the colony is *Sociedad*

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*Benefactora y Educacional Dignidad* (Dignity Charitable and Educational Society). However, the population of Villa Baviera was only 198 in the 2002 census.

At the height of its operation, **Colonia Dignidad** was home to an estimated 300 German and Chilean residents and covered an area of 53 square miles. The main economic activity of the colony was agriculture, but it also contained a chapel, a school, a hospital, two airstrips, a restaurant, and even a power station. The colony was secretive, surrounded by barbed wire fences, searchlights and a watchtower, and contained secret weapon caches. In recent years, however, some facts have emerged about the disturbing history of the colony.

In March 2005, Chilean authorities took over control of Colonia Dignidad and its assets as part of an investigation into the conduct of its former leaders. Paul Schaefer (age 83 in 2005) was accused of aiding the nation's secret police (DINA) under Chile's 1973-1990 military rule and of sexually abusing 26 children. The farming and religious colony, which Schaefer (a former corporal in the German Army during World War II) founded, was cut off from the outside world. It is believed to have served as an interrogation and torture centre for political prisoners during Gen. Augusto Pinochet's military regime.

Investigations by Amnesty International and the Chilean National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report have verified that Colonia Dignidad was used by DINA, the Chilean secret police, as a concentration camp for the detention of political prisoners during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorial rule of Chile. Most accounts have this happening between 1973 and 1977 but precise dates are not known.

In June and July 2005, Chilean police found two arms caches in or around the colony. The first, within the colony itself, consisted of three containers with machine guns, automatic rifles, rocket launchers and large quantities of ammunition, some as much as 40 years old. Even an armored military tank was found under the ground. It was described as the largest arsenal ever found in private hands in Chile. The second arsenal, found outside a restaurant operated by the colony, consisted of rocket launchers and grenades.

Paul Schaefer, a former Luftwaffe paramedic, was the founder and first leader ("Permanent Uncle") of Colonia Dignidad. He left Germany in 1961 after being accused of sexually abusing two boys. On May 20, 1997, he fled Chile, pursued by authorities investigating charges that he had molested 26 children of the colony. In March 2005, he was arrested in Argentina and extradited to Chile, where he was also wanted for questioning about the disappearance of Boris Weisfeiler in 1985, an American Jewish mathematics professor of Russian origin. Twenty-two other members of Colonia Dignidad were also charged of aiding the molestation, including Dr. Hartmut Hopp, the second-in-command.

In April 2006, some of the former members of the colony issued a public apology and asked for forgiveness for 40 years of child sex and human rights abuses. In a full-page letter published in *El Mercurio*, a leading Chilean newspaper, they said their charismatic former leader dominated them in mind and body while he molested children.

Some defectors from the colony have portrayed Colonia Dignidad as a cult group where leader Paul Schäfer held ultimate power. They claim that the residents were never allowed to leave the colony, and that they were strictly segregated by gender. Television and telephones were banned. Residents worked wearing Bavarian peasant garb and sang German folk songs. Sex was banned, with some residents were forced to take drugs to reduce their desires. Severe discipline in the form of beatings and torture was commonplace; Schäfer preached that physical discipline was spiritually enriching.

<sup>v</sup> The following articles are available on the PROLADES-RITA website: [El Protestantismo en Chile](#) (.pdf); [Aproximaciones al origen y naturaleza del pentecostalismo en Chile](#) (.pdf) by Hilario Wynarczyk (October 2008); [Un ensayo sobre sociología del pentecostalismo en clave política a partir de Christian Lalive d'Epinay y El Refugio](#) (.pdf) by Claudio Colombo; [Chile, cien años del pentecostalismo](#) (.pdf) by Hilario Wynarczyk (2008), [Del refugio a la protesta: El Refugio de las Masas 1968-2008](#), por Miguel Angel Mansilla (2008); [En dialogo con el libro de Lalive d'Epinay](#) by Jean-Pierre Bastian (2008); [Del refugio de las masas al neopentecostalismo empresarial](#) by Carmelo Alvarez (2008); [Retrato del](#)

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