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THE PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF CHILE

By DONALD D. BRAND

This article initiates a series in which the writer will attempt to summarize the scattered and commonly contradictory material on the present ethnic and linguistic constituency of a number of Latin American countries. It represents some personal investigations in the field and an examination of much of the pertinent literature.

Chile has been a sovereign state since the War of Independence 1810-26. This state was founded upon a nuclear area west of the Andean crest and essentially between 24° and 46° South Latitude. Through the War of the Pacific with Bolivia and Perú in 1879-1883 and peaceful agreements with Argentina, Chile acquired her present extention from Arica to Tierra del Fuego. These northern and southern acquisitions added little to her population but introduced numerous small ethnic and linguistic groups.

Chile has taken national censuses in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the most recent one in November of 1940. None of these censuses has been satisfactory in terms of an analysis of the population by race and language (the analyses of the 1940 census are not yet available). This is not surprising since exact race is exceedingly difficult to determine, and the indigenous and non-Spanish tongues are not important in the national life. Consequently, most of what has been written on race and language in Chile has been based on the guesses of a few individuals—many of whom were not qualified to give an opinion. The writer makes no claim to omniscience, but he has observed the people at scattered points from Arica to Angol, and he has examined the literature from the days of the conquest to the present.

GROSS POPULATION

The total population of Chile (as of preliminary returns from the November 28, 1940 census) is 5,023,539. The central portion (from the Río Choapa to the Gulf of Reloncaví) holds more than 85 per cent of the total population; only about 500,000 people live in northern Chile; and less than 170,000 dwell in the three southernmost provinces of Chiloé, Aysen, and Magallanes. Despite a high mortality rate, most of Chile's growth in population (from colonial times to the present) has been due to natural increase with little benefit from either annexations of new territory or from immigration. This Chilean population is probably the most homogeneous of any in South America, despite its origin in the blend of Araucanian Indian and Spanish Caucasian blood with a tincture from several other Indian and Caucasian strains. This homogeneity has been due primarily to three factors: the presence of the large block of Araucanian population which constituted the only large Indian population in Chile, the remote and isolated position of Chile (surrounded by sea, mountain, and desert, and on the "wrong" side of the American continent) which discouraged most immigration

excepting that of the Iberians during the Spanish colonial period, and the concentration of both Spanish and Araucanian populations in the great central Valley of Chile which forced contacts and facilitated intermixture.

A common statement in Chile is that the people are not white or Indian but Chilean. This Chilean people or "race" is admittedly a *mestizo* strain. Only a foreigner (e.g., John Gunther: *Inside Latin America*, pp. 237-242) would ever make the egregious mistake of terming Chile "largely white." Chile ranks with Nicaragua, Venezuela, México and Paraguay among the most predominantly *mestizo* nations of Latin America. However, these nations vary greatly as to the proportional importance of the Indian populations, and also they vary considerably in the proportions of white and Indian blood in the *mestizo* amalgam. The real question is not whether the white, *mestizo*, or Indian element predominates numerically, but rather is it the white or the Indian strain that is strongest in the dominantly *mestizo* population? The Chilean author Benjamín Subercaseaux (*Chile o Una Loca Geografía*, Santiago, 1940, p. 33) has stated clearly the basic assumption "Nuestro pueblo actual, que algunos, sin que yo sepa por qué, se empecinan en considerar casi limpio de toda sangre aborigen, está en realidad empapado en ella." A much-quoted statement (the writer is not acquainted with the original source) is that the Chilean population is 78 per cent *mestizo*, 18½ per cent white, and 3½ per cent Indian. However, the statement continues by analyzing the proportions of white and Indian blood among the *mestizos*, and concludes by assigning 65 per cent of the blood in Chile to a white origin and only 35 per cent to Indian. The writer never has seen any facts adduced to support this final analysis.

NORTH CHILE

The first step in investigating the racial and linguistic situation in Chile should be a brief historical review. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards (1535-36, 1540-41) what is modern Chile was occupied by a number of Indian groups differing in physical characteristics, language, culture, and nationality. The so-called Inca empire exercised a loose control over all Chile down to the Río Maule. This territory had been conquered during the period ca. 1315-1450. The Aymará (Colla), an Andean people subject to the Incas, occupied the Andean slopes, foothills, and river valleys as far west as the Pampa de Tamarugal in what is now the province of Tarapacá, and extended to the sea farther north in Arica, Tacna, Moquegua, and Arequipa. Along the coast of these provinces, in scattered locations, were a poor fisher-folk referred to as Changos (of the north) or Urus (Uros), presumably related to the Urus of the Desaguadero-Poopó basin on the Bolivian plateau. They probably represented either an Uru remnant cut off from the main highland group by an Aymará wedge, or else colonists (mitimaes) located on the coast by the Aymará or the Incas. Next to the south were the Atacameños (Kunzas) who centered in the Río

Loa drainage and the Puna de Atacama, but who had expanded to occupy much of Tacna, Arica, Tarapacá, Antofagasta, and Atacama, and Los Andes, Salta and Jujuy in Argentina. At the time of the Spanish conquest the Atacameños had lost much ground to the Aymará in Tacna, Arica, and Tarapacá and to the Quechua-speaking peoples in what is now Argentina. South of the Atacameños were the "Diaguitas Chilenos," of Diaguita-Calchaquí culture and speech, in Atacama and Coquimbo—essentially between the Río Copiapó and the Río Choapa. In this area Inca influence and their Quechua speech were more important than elsewhere in Chile. Several factors explain this anomaly. Although a direct north-south road existed via Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna, Tarapacá, Pica, Calama and other oasis sites on the Andean foothill side of the desert, nevertheless the Incas marched their troops and maintained their chief lines of communication between Cuzco and the Valley of Chile by way of the Bolivian highlands, Jujuy, Salta, the Río Santa María, Paso de San Francisco, and Quebrada de Paipote, to the Copiapó and south. Also, from the Copiapó southward the Incas found an increasing number of irrigable valleys occupied by sedentary agricultural peoples among whom, seemingly, were settled some Quechua-speaking colonies. Along the coast, from the Río Loa to the Río Conchali, were another poor fisherfolk, the true Changos of unknown linguistic affiliation.

The Spaniards effected little change in northern Chile from Tacna to the Río Copiapó, since they found a small and poor population not worth exploiting, a forbidding climate and landscape, and no important mines. The Spaniards did penetrate north Chile by the various Inca roads, but the bulk of Spanish colonization in central Chile took place by sea via Panamá, Callao and Valparaíso. After the opening up of Bolivian mines and the establishing of settlements in what is now northwestern Argentina there was some traffic across north Chile to Pacific coastal ports, but this movement was never important and only affected a few Indian communities. The more inviting portion of north Chile, from the Copiapó southward, was within the area of effective Spanish settlement, and here the somewhat quechuized Chilean Diaguitas became acculturated anew. They also interbred somewhat with the Spaniards, which gave rise to a strongly Indian *mestizo* population—especially in the valleys of the Copiapó, Huasco, Coquimbo, and Limari rivers.

With the Wars of Independence came the division of the country from Tacna to Coquimbo among Perú, Bolivia, and Chile. The Bolivian strip lay between the Río Loa and approximately the parallel of 24° South Latitude. Now the area came into its own in terms of the discovery and exploitation of silver, copper, and nitrate. German, British, American, Spanish, Peruvian, and Chilean prospectors and entrepreneurs flocked into the area and opened up mines, transportation lines, water-supply systems and ports which attracted some Peruvians, Bolivians, and Argentinians, and large numbers of Chilean workmen

from central Chile. Friction developed between the Chilean workmen and entrepreneurs and the Peruvian and Bolivian officials in Tarapacá and Antofagasta. This culminated in the War of the Pacific, 1879-1883, which ended with Chile in possession of all the country north to Tacna. Ensuing arbitrations and agreements have returned Tacna to Perú (1929), and given much of the Puna de Atacama to Argentina (1899).

The net result of the past one hundred years in north Chile has been to decimate the aborigines with disease and drink, convert the bulk of the remainder into Spanish-speaking acculturated workmen in the many activities associated with the basic mining industry, and drive some of the Atacameños into Aymarará and Quechua areas where they are still Indians but have for the most part lost their native tongue. Due to the influx of workers from central Chile the majority of the population (especially in such port towns as Antofagasta, Iquique, Pisagua, Tocopilla, Mejillones del Sur, Taltal, Chañaral, and Caldera, and in the large mining centers such as Chuquicamata, Potrerillos, El Tofo, and the various nitrate *oficinas* in the Tarapacá, Tocopilla, Antofagasta, Aguas Blancas and Taltal fields) is composed of *mestizos* identical in physical type with the *rotos*, *inquilinos*, and *huasos* of central Chile.

Next, in numbers, after the Chilean *mestizos* come the pure or nearly pure Indians. The Indians are distributed in two zones or strips, along the coast and in the northeastern highlands and adjacent valleys. The northern Changos (Urus) have been absorbed completely into the Spanish-speaking Peruvian and Chilean *mestizo* populations and the Aymarará groups of the far northern provinces. The true Changos (sometimes wrongly termed Urus) still persist in a few small scattered communities from the Río Loa to the Río Huasco. Their larger communities, such as near Guanillos del Sur, Cobija, Mejillones del Sur, El Cobre and Paposo, are concentrated along the coast between Tocopilla and Taltal. Although they still fish, they now practice a little farming, herd goats, and work in the copper mines and nitrate *oficinas*. The Changos seemingly have lost their language completely, and retain but a few elements of their original material culture. The southern Changos, from the Río Copiapó to the Río Conchali, have been absorbed into the Chilean *mestizo* complex almost completely. The Atacameños of Arica and Tarapacá have been absorbed into the Aymarará block of population which extends down from Peru and Bolivia. Here they continue as small farmers and herdsmen, chiefly east of the old Inca road extending south through Tacna, Codpa, Pachica, Tarapacá, Pica, and Mani. The remainder of the Atacameños, chiefly in the province of Antofagasta and in northern Atacama, have become hispanized mine workers excepting for a few hundred farmers in the upper basin of the Río Loa and an uncertain number of pastoral nomads in the *páramos* of Atacama. In many of the communities of the department of Calama (Loa), such as Conchi,

Chichiu, Aiquina, the *aillos* of San Pedro de Atacama, and Toconao, most of the inhabitants are Indian in physical type, retain a number of items of primitive material culture, and practice a religion that is an interesting combination of old rites and Roman Catholicism. However, only a few individuals still retain the old Kunza language. The Chilean Diaguitas, centering in the valleys of the Copiapó and Huasco, have lost their language and culture, but the physical type is still well represented, as in most of the rural inhabitants around Vallenar and Freirina.

CENTRAL CHILE

South of the Río Choapa the Incas encountered the northern bands of the Araucanians. These, of which seemingly the Picunche group was most important, were conquered as far south as the Río Maule. Inca rule did not greatly affect the native population, although some additions to and improvements in material culture were made, and a number of Quechua words were added to the Araucanian vocabulary. Also some workers (*yanaconas*) and colonists (*mitimaes*) were brought into central Chile by the Incas. The Spaniards had little difficulty in conquering and holding all of central Chile previously under the Incas and even past the Maule to the Río Bío-Bío. However, the wet forested refuge area of the Araucanians (chiefly Mapuche proper and Pehuenche), between the Río Bío-Bío and the Río Toltén did not succumb for more than 300 years. [For a more detailed discussion, see pp. 22-25 of this volume.] The southern Araucanians (Huilliche, Chilotes, et al.) were exposed to Spanish attack from the sea, and European settlements were maintained south of the Río Toltén as far as Chiloé island from the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Spanish conquerors of the sixteenth century brought few women but cohabitated in a polygynous manner with many Araucanian women. This gave rise to a basic *mestizo* population which eventually was termed Chilean creole.¹

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a trickle of Iberian and Peruvian immigration into Chile, but always the males far outnumbered the females. Probably there was an excess of European male immigrants over European female immigrants and captured Araucanian women added to the colonial communities of central Chile during these two centuries. If this commonly made assumption is true, it justifies another common assumption that in most Chilean *mestizos* there is more white than Indian blood.

There is at present no possible way to determine the exact proportions of white and Indian blood in the Chilean population. Population figures, migration statistics, and marriage and birth records are scanty, unreliable, or lacking for the colonial period. A somatic inves-

1. The term *criollo* in much of Latin America has been restricted to individuals of European descent born in the New World. However, especially in Chile and Argentina, mixed-bloods were often considered "white," and were referred to as *criollos*.

tigation would yield only raw material that cannot be interpreted properly until much more is known about inheritance and mutation in man. Latham and others have used cranial and cephalic indices, and Thayer Ojeda has analyzed the incidence of various types of surnames, but neither method yields any scientifically valid conclusions as to race. It must be remembered that the Araucanian peoples represented an amalgam of various physical strains (presumably a basic long-headed element, such as ancestral Alakaluf; a round-headed element from the north; and two or three waves of medium to long-heads from the Pampas or central South America). Thayer Ojeda's surname-analysis and an inspection of historical records do indicate certain trends so far as the Iberian immigration is concerned. Probably more than half of the Iberian immigration came from the Castilian provinces; the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa, Álava, Viscaya, and Navarra ranked second in sending men to Chile; and these were followed by Catalans, Andalucians, Aragonese, Asturians, Gallegans, Portuguese, etc. As for the more important non-Iberian strains, these are present in about the following order: German, Italian, French, British, and Slav.

Before any further discussion, certain terms should be defined. A *mestizo* is any individual of Indian and white ancestry. In actual practice, the term is commonly applied only to individuals of patently mixed ancestry. The *mestizo* who speaks Spanish, owns property, and possesses most of the hispanic cultural earmarks probably will be classed as white. The *mestizo* who prefers to speak an Indian language and associates with Indians often will be considered an Indian. The great majority of *mestizos* are *rotos* (broken or ragged ones; actually, wandering laborers, petty criminals, and the like), *inquilinos* (farm tenants; originally the Indians resident on *haciendas*), and *huasos* (cowboys; small farmers). These three groups constitute the bulk of Chile's population, and they likewise comprise the great lower class. In Chile there is, practically speaking, no middle class—only the lower class "have nots" and the upper class "haves." A middle class has been developing during the past generation, due in great part to the growth of large urban centers and of industries, and the immigration of middle class Europeans. Although Indian blood is present in all classes it is most marked in the lower classes. However, practically all individuals who speak Spanish as their mother tongue refer to themselves as "Chilenos," even though they may seem purely Indian in physical type. Outside of Araucanía, the greatest number of Indian types in central Chile are to be encountered in communities still referred to as "asientos de Indios" (in part aboriginal communities dating back to the early Spanish period; in part settlements made in the late eighteenth century when the *encomienda* system was abolished), such as Pomaire, Talagante, Conchali, Llopeu, Chalinga, San Isidro, Valle Hermoso, Malloa, Pichidegua, Nancagua, Tiltit, etc., in Aconcagua, Valparaíso, Santiago, and Colchagua provinces.

It is evident that neither language nor culture can differentiate Indian from white, and, since physical characteristics are often misleading, only a very tentative guess can be made on the basis of physical anthropology. The writer has set up the arbitrary superficial criterion that any individual seeming to be more than three-quarters white is white, more than three-quarters Indian is Indian, and all in between are *mestizos*. To the Indian group have been added all who call themselves Indians, or live as accepted members of an Indian community, or speak an Indian language as the mother tongue. On the above basis the population of central Chile can be apportioned as 10 per cent Indian, 25 per cent white, and 65 per cent *mestizo*. The *mestizo* population apparently has more white than Indian blood, possibly enough to justify the claim that 65 per cent of the total aggregate blood is of white origin.

SOUTH CHILE

Southern Chile, south of Chiloé, was settled by whites only during the last one hundred years. Throughout the Spanish colonial period the only white contacts were from occasional exploring, military, and scientific expeditions, and from a few missions. About 1840 the present provinces of Magallanes, Aysen, and southern Chiloé were occupied by a small population (possibly 10,000 to 15,000, if Argentine Tierra del Fuego is included) distributed among the Ona, Yahgan, Alakaluf, Caucahues, Poyas, and Chonos. Already, at that date, contacts with whalers, and other mariners frequenting the Magellanic area had introduced new diseases and alcoholism. Between 1840 and 1890 stockmen (Chiefly British, Iberian, and German) developed sheep ranches, gold was discovered, permanent settlements (such as Puerto Aysen, Puerto Natale, and Punta Arenas) were established, and the Indian population had been reduced to perhaps 4,000. Incidental to this reduction was the apparent annihilation of the little known northern groups—Chonos, Poyas, and Caucahues. These either were absorbed by the Chilotes and Alakaluf, or they died off. Concerning the Poyas and Caucahues nothing much was ever known. There may be a few Chonos left, either as individual families, or mixed with the Alakaluf. The original extent of the Chonos seemingly was from the Islas Guaitecas to the Peninsula of Taitao. One family of Chonos was reported some sixty years ago on the Guaitecas. The Alakaluf, living between the Golfo de Peñas and Sarmiento Peninsula (Brecknock) in southwestern Tierra del Fuego, have been least exposed to white contacts and are now the most numerous of the Fuegian peoples. They have decreased from a possible 4,000 one hundred years ago to a number variously estimated as 80, 100, 150, 200, 250, 300, and 400. Apparently around 260 is the best estimate. The Yahgan, in southern Tierra del Fuego and adjacent islands (mainly on Navarino Island in Chilean territory) have been reduced from possibly 3,000 one hundred years ago to an estimated 1,000 in 1884 (Bridges), 100 in 1913 (Law-

rence), about 50 in 1924 (Gusinde, Lothrop), and 20 to 30 in 1937. This rapid reduction has been accomplished mainly by the rifle of the sheepherder and gold prospector, alcoholism, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and measles. The Ona and related Haush of northern and interior Tierra del Fuego (chiefly Argentine territory) have decreased from an estimated 4,000 one hundred years ago to about 2,000 in 1891, 279 in 1919, about 70 in 1924, and possibly none at all now due to attacks of pulmonary diseases and measles during the past sixteen years. At the most there are not more than three or four hundred aborigines left in southern Chile. The majority of the population is composed of Chileans, Britishers and other Europeans, and a small number of Fuegian-white *mestizos*.

IMMIGRATION

Many erroneous statements have been circulated concerning immigration into Chile, especially as to the number of Germans. During the Spanish colonial period there was no authorized colonization by non-Iberians excepting in a few individual cases. With the coming of Independence, a small amount of immigration commenced in 1824, but this was without governmental backing and the records are defective. Migration statistics were kept as such from 1850 to 1910, during which period a total of 60,970 immigrants are listed in official Chilean sources. These statistics have been replaced by the mere listing of passengers (not identified as to race or nationality) entering and leaving Chile by the various means of transportation. An official Chilean colonizing agency was established in Europe in 1845, and a few Germans arrived in Chile in 1846. In 1848 Bernardo E. Philippi, a German who had recently settled in Chile, was sent by the government to obtain German Catholic colonists and another agent was sent to Ireland. These official parties were not successful, but another German Chilean, Kindermann, stimulated considerable interest in southwestern Germany which culminated in 1850 with the arrival of 227 German colonists. This was the actual beginning of large scale German colonization which was most active, 1850-1900, in Valdivia, Llanquihue, and Chiloé provinces. This German immigration virtually has ceased during the past forty years. No complete figures on net German immigration are available but, from official and unofficial Chilean and German sources, the following figures are obtained: German immigrants into Chile, 1845-1870, ca. 5,000 (more than 3,000 of which came 1850-1859); 1871-1926, 6,147 (ca. 4,800 of which immigrated 1881-1901). Probably the total of German immigration (non-Jewish) would not exceed 15,000, and many of these immigrants have returned to Germany or settled in Argentina.

Not all of the Germans who settled in Chile remained in the Valdivia-Llanquihue-Chiloé area. Although most of the immigrants were of southwestern German peasant stock (especially from Swabia, Württemberg, Baden, Palatinate, Hesse, Rhineland, Westphalia, and Thuringia), many were tradesmen and artisans who found small

opportunity for earning a living in the humid forested frontier country that was being opened. A large number of these Germans moved to the urban centers farther north in central Chile. At present there are possibly between 35,000 and 60,000 Germans and individuals of German descent in Chile. [Many American writers say 200,000.] These are concentrated in such large centers as Santiago, Valparaíso, and Concepción, and in the provinces of Llanquihue, Valdivia, Cautín, and Chiloé. The movement into Cautín commenced with the opening up of the Araucanian country in the 1880s. The more important German communities in Chile are in and around Baja Imperial, Valdivia, La Unión, Río Bueno, San Pablo, Osorno, Puerto Montt, Ancud, and around Lake Llanquihue. Despite the cultural influence exerted, and the south German stamp upon the landscape of many of the communities, there is no town or district in Chile where the Germans are not greatly outnumbered by Chileans. Further, fully one third of the German Chileans speak only Spanish. The Germans who settled in the larger cities of central Chile belong to the middle and upper classes, and habitually speak Spanish. According to the census of 1930, there were 10,861 individuals who still retained their German citizenship, thus ranking third among aliens in Chile (Spaniards 23,439; Italians, 11,070; Germans, 10,861; Bolivians, 10,366; Argentinians, 7,048; Peruvians, 6,223; British, 5,282; French, 5,007).

Although exact figures cannot be produced, the evidence of newspaper accounts, the fragmentary immigration statistics by nationalities, the various census returns of aliens, and local impressions in various parts of Chile indicate that during the past one hundred years Spaniards have led among the European immigrant nationalities, followed by Germans, Italians, French, British, Swiss, and Yugoslavs—in approximately that order. There has been very little recent immigration, but the figures for the period 1883 to 1901 (in round numbers—11,000 Spaniards, 8,500 French, 8,500 Italians, 6,000 Germans and Swiss, 2,000 British, etc.) indicate that the bulk of German, Swiss, and British immigration took place between 1844 and 1883. This period coincides with the great era of northwestern European emigration to the New World—conditioned by the progressive subdivision of rural holdings in peasant areas, crop failures, and political discontent, all of which operated strongly in Ireland, and southwestern Germany.

Iberians (chiefly from northern and northwestern Spain) consistently have led among immigrant nationals. From the 1880s on an increasingly strong current of migration developed from southern and central Europe to the New World. This represented, for the most part, a reaction to the same factors that had operated earlier in northwestern Europe. A peak for Spanish immigration obtained in 1889 and 1890 when nearly 5,000 Spaniards came to Chile, and again, 1909-1913, when about 4,500 immigrated. Some immigration from northern Italy took place 1840-1860, and in the 1860s central and south Italians began to arrive; but it was not until the 1880s that comparatively

large numbers of Italians (chiefly from south Italy and the islands) commenced to migrate. Peaks for Italian immigration into Chile were 1904-07 and 1911-13. French immigrants (mainly from the Pyreneean and Auvergne-Cevennes regions) numbered about 4,000 for the period 1850-1880, nearly 9,500 between 1881 and 1900, and comparatively few in recent years. Slavs, chiefly from what is now Jugo-Slavia, and Russia have come to Chile mainly during the twentieth century.

Immigration from the Near East and the Orient has been small. Semites, Armenians, and Turks (listed as Palestinian, Arabian, Syrian, Turk, etc.) probably have not totalled more than 8,000 or 10,000. It is impossible to obtain an adequate picture concerning the "Jewish" immigrants.² Since the term "Jewish" refers to a religious faith which has become disseminated widely throughout the world (especially in Russia, central Europe, Germany, the Low Countries, the British Isles, and Anglo-America), one can conjecture only as to how many of the German, British, Swiss, Slav and other immigrants were Jewish in faith. Little, of course, can be determined from physical anthropology, since the Children of Israel cannot be differentiated from their congeners in the Near East nor (in the case of those who come from long-established communities in Europe) can many of the "Jews" of Germany, France, England, etc., be distinguished from their fellow nationals. An immigrant from Palestine may be Arab, Israelite, Turk, Syrian, Armenian and the like. Furthermore, a strain of Oriental Mediterranean blood (terminology of Fischer, von Luschan, and von Eickstedt) of the Sephardim Jewish type entered Chile with the first Spanish colonists. There has been very little Oriental immigration, and the total of Chinese, Japanese and other Orientals probably would not exceed 2,000.

Immigration from the other New World countries has been slight. The some 25,000 non-Chilean Latin Americans now living in Chile represent in large part transients from the neighboring republics of Bolivia, Argentina, and Perú, and nationals of these countries who did not withdraw from regions which became a part of Chile between 1883 and 1902. A small number represent Latin Americans who, for political or educational reasons, have taken up what is usually only a temporary residence. Ever since the Wars of Independence Chile has been a haven for political refugees, especially from Argentina, Bolivia, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. The Chilean educational system owes much to the Argentinian Sarmiento and the Venezuelan Bello; and for more than a century students from all of Spanish America have gone to the Universidad de Chile in Santiago.

Anglo-Americans number slightly more than 2,000. Although

2. A recent estimate (Cohen, 1941) places the number of Jews in Chile at 20,000, with 18,000 of these in Santiago and the remainder almost entirely in the larger cities such as Valparaíso, Concepción, Temuco, and Valdivia. This number includes many individuals listed as Russians, Poles, Roumanians, Turks, Jugoslavs, and Germans. The bulk of this immigration took place 1910-1939, especially 1919-1929, 1933-1939, and was from Europe to Argentina and thence to Chile.

citizens of the United States have settled in Chile from the time of the Wars of Independence on, their number (drawn largely from mariners between 1824 and 1884) was very small until the opening of large American-capitalized mining, power, and transportation enterprises during the past sixty years. These enterprises have attracted a number of American technicians, officials, and the like, but their number is small and most of them are only temporary residents. Canadians are included with the other British nationals.

One may conclude that immigration of the past one hundred years has not affected the Chilean population importantly other than along cultural lines. Chile ranks far behind such Latin American nations as Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Cuba, in gross immigration. Chile does not rank among the first four New World nations in the number of immigrants from any Old World country.

RACES AND NATIONALITIES

The best statement as to the racial constituency of Chile would be that Chile is a predominantly *mestizo* country, but with the white element dominating among the *mestizos*. In terms of the tri-part racial classification Chile is Caucasian-Mongoloid *mestizo*, Caucasian, and Mongoloid—in that order. Although a few Negro slaves were brought to Chile during the colonial period, the Negro element never has been notable. The estimates of 65 per cent *mestizo*, 25 per cent Caucasian, and 10 per cent Mongoloid probably hold as true for the total population of Chile as for that of central Chile. The Caucasian of white blood is essentially of Mediterranean type, with a strong infusion of Alpine, and weak strains of Nordic and other Caucasian sub-races. The Mongoloid or Indian blood derives mainly from the mixed strains present in the Araucanian population. These strains include Andean, Pampean, and Lagoan. The Andean strain is strongest in northern and north central Chile; the Pampean is best represented in south central and southern Chile; and the Lagoan strain is strongest in south Chile. The round-headed Andean strain predominates among the Quechua, Aymará, Diaguita-Calchaquí, and most of the Araucanian peoples. The Urus, Changos, Atacameños and Chonos cannot be identified exactly from information in hand, but they seem to be a blend of two early long and round-headed strains. The Araucanians also contain a strong element of the longer-headed and taller Pampean blood, which is dominant among the Onas and somewhat present among the other Fuegians. The comparatively long-headed, short-statured Lagoan or Paleo-American strain is present, mixed with Pampean and possibly Andean blood, among the Alakaluf and Yahgans, and appears as an early constituent in some of the coastal populations farther north. In terms of absolute population Chile probably contains approximately 400,000-500,000 Indians (as defined on p. 78), 1,250,000 whites, and 3,300,000 to 3,400,000 *mestizos*. Accepting the reliability of the assumption of preponderance of white blood in the

mixed population (see pp. 76, 78), these estimates can be converted into the equivalent of 1,758,400 Indians and 3,265,600 whites. In this connection it is interesting to cite Kuczynski³ who classifies a Chilean population of 4,506,000 as 1,299,000 Indians, 3,177,000 whites, and 30,000 Negroes and others.

In terms of national origin, the present Chilean population is approximately 97.4 per cent Spanish-Chilean (lumping under this heading all of Spanish or Indian origin, including other Latin Americans), less than 1 per cent German (including Swiss and Austrians), .5 per cent Italian, .4 per cent French, .3 per cent British, and less than .4 per cent other nationalities. The popular misconception among Americans and other foreign visitors and travelers in Chile that Germans and Britishers form higher percentages of the Chilean population is due primarily to the concentration of the Germans and British in the larger urban centers and in the overt and articulate landowning and professional classes. Such surnames as Walker, Edwards, Lynch, Moore, Mackenna, Thayer, Prat, Page, Williams, Clark, Cox, Hubertson, Grove, Latcham, Leighton, Marshall, MacClure, Porter, Ross, Stewart, Wilson, Becker, Bunster, Cohen, Decker, Ehrenfeld, Finsterbusch, Fonck, Gunckel, Hanisch, Hoffmann, Keller, Lorenzen, Monckeburg, Mayer, Müller, Schmidt, Scheibe, Schnake, Schneider, Schüller, Wiese, and the like are to be found among ranking politicians, large landowners, merchants, lawyers, professors, and physicians, but not among the *rotos*, *inquilinos*, and *huasos*.

Easter Island, now a national park, contains between 300 and 450 individuals of Polynesian blood. The Juan Fernández Islands have a transient Chilean population that numbers around 200.

INDIANS

Because of their interest for anthropologists, the Indians of Chile merit some additional consideration. Although the Indians of southern and northern Chile are few in numbers, the Araucanians constitute a large block of population (perhaps 300,000) which is increasing in size and national importance. This estimated number includes the many Chileans of Araucanía who are more than three-quarters Indian in blood, although they may not live as Araucanians or speak the language. Although there no longer is an "Indian problem" in terms of warlike activities, there is a definite problem pertaining to the Araucanian lands. The lands south of the Bío-Bío are referred to as the Propiedad Austral. In 1868 the government set aside *reducciones* (reservations) in order to preserve some lands for the Indians and yet free large areas for Chilean and foreign colonists. The Araucanians, between the Malleco and Toltén rivers, did not accept the reservation system until after the final war of 1879-83, and the great cholera epidemic of 1886-87. On these *reducciones* the Indians owned the land in common, although title was vested in one of

3. Robert R. Kuczynski: *Population Movements*, Oxford, 1936, p. 110.

the family heads or chiefs. Protectors of the Indians were established at a few of the larger towns to safeguard the interests of the Araucanians against trespass, squatters, illegal purchase, and the like. As early as 1866, but especially 1927-1930, provision was made for partitioning the Indian communal lands by allotting adequate lands in severalty to each individual of the kinship group. Formerly the Indian lands were under the Ministerio de Fomento, but in 1929-31 a short-lived Ministerio de la Propiedad Austral was established which was succeeded by the Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización. At the present time, within the Ministry of Lands and Colonization there is an undersecretariat which comprises National Lands, the Southern Properties, an Indian office, etc. Local courts or government offices for Indians (Juzgados de Indios) have been established in five towns (Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia). These offices are concerned primarily with the allotting of the Indian lands and adjusting disputes over lands. The Araucanians formerly bitterly opposed the break-up of their communal system, but now the tendency is to own land individually and to enter more fully into the national life. However, there still are large areas of land and important groups of Araucanian population in eastern Araucanía which have been affected but little by Chilean laws and customs. The Araucanian Indian now is,⁴ in theory, a full Chilean citizen, and not a ward of the government. There exist a number of Araucanian organizations, such as La Corporación Araucana, El Frente Técnico Araucano, and La Unión Araucana. At the First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life, held at Patzcuaro, Mexico, in April of 1940, there was present a Mapuche delegation. How an educated Araucanian feels about the role of the Araucanians in the national economy may be seen on pp. 41-44 of this volume.

The remaining 100,000 to 200,000 Indians in Chile are widely scattered and nowhere constitute numerically or politically important groups. The great majority are disseminated within the Spanish speaking *mestizo* population of Chile and differ from the *mestizos* not in language or customs but only in having a preponderant (more than three-fourths) amount of Indian blood. Among the Indians who have retained a certain amount of ethnic identity are the Aymará, Quechua, Atacameño, and Chango groups of the north, and the Alakaluf and Yahgan of the south.

The estimated Indian population of Chile, by ethnic groups, is given below in tabular form:

4. The Indian has been a citizen ever since 1819.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number</i>
Araucanians	S. Central Chile	300,000
Scattered Spanish-speaking Indians		100,000 to 150,000
Aymará	N. Chile	ca. 40,000 (Including absorbed Urus)
Urus	N. Coastal Chile	(absorbed by Aymará and Chileans)
Atacameños	N. Chile	4,000 (including those absorbed by Aymará and Quechua groups)
Quechua	N. E. Chile	?
Changos	N. Coastal Chile	?
Chilean Diaguita	N. Central Chile	(absorbed by Chileans)
Alakaluf-Chono	S. Chile	260
Yahgan	S. Chile	25
Ona	S. Chile	(probably extinct)

Should the lower estimate (400,000) of Indian population in Chile be taken for comparative purposes, Chile falls in ninth place, just ahead of the United States (1. Mexico, 2. Peru, 3. Guatemala, 4. Bolivia, 5. Ecuador, 6. Brazil, 7. El Salvador, 8. Honduras, 9. Chile, 10. United States), among the nations having an Indian population. Parenthetically, it might be mentioned that there is no justification for claims of a New World total Indian population of 30,000,000 (as have been made recently by several writers). In later articles the writer will support his estimate of between 17,000,000 and 19,000,000.

LANGUAGES

Spanish is the language of about 94 per cent of the Chilean population. All of the other Indo-European languages probably are spoken as mother tongues by fewer than 90,000 individuals. The probable order and estimated number of speakers of these languages or groups of languages is: German 25,000, Italian ?, French ?, English 12,000, Slavic languages 10,000, etc. Perhaps 10,000 may speak Semitic languages, Chinese, and other Old World languages. Between 200,000 and 250,000 speak Indian tongues of the Araucanian, Aymará, Quechua, Atacameña, Alakaluf and Yahgan families or groups. The great majority, probably more than 200,000, speak Araucanian dialects. Possibly 40,000 may speak Aymará and Quechua, and only a few hundreds remain who use the Atacameña (Kunza), Alakaluf, and Yahgan. The languages of the Urus, Changos, Chilean Diaguitas, Chonos, Onas, et al., are extinct. Among the speakers of European languages, other than Spanish dialects, only the Germans and English tend to preserve their tongues into the second and third generations. Such peoples as Catalans, Gallegans, Portuguese, French, and Italians rapidly acquire Chilean Spanish in the first (immigrant) generation, and their children commonly speak Spanish more fluently than

the theoretical mother tongue. The Basque immigrants either already spoke Spanish or soon gave up the Euskarian for Chilean Spanish. Spanish as it is spoken and written in Chile departs more widely, perhaps, from the language of the Spanish Academy than does that of any other Spanish American people, with the exception of certain Río de la Plata areas. Furthermore, it not only has the legacy of Carib, Arawak, Nahuatl, Chibcha, Quechua, and Aymará words introduced by the Spanish *conquistadores*, but also through Araucanian contacts there were introduced more than 1,300 Mapuche words and some additional Quechua terms.

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