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RELIGION, CULTURE,  
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MEDELLÍN AND ANTIOQUIA 1850–1930

PATRICIA LONDOÑO-VEGA

OXFORD HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS

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# Religion, Culture, and Society in Colombia

*Medellín and Antioquia, 1850–1930*

PATRICIA LONDOÑO-VEGA

CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
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Oxford New York

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Paris São Paulo Shanghai Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw

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Published in the United States  
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First published 2002

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Londoño-Vega, Patricia.

Religion, society, and culture in Columbia: Medellín and Antioquia,  
1850–1930/Patricia Londoño-Vega.

p. cm.—(Oxford historical monographs)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Antioquia (Columbia: Dept.)—Civilization—19th century. 2. Catholic  
Church—Clergy—Societies, etc. 3. Religious institutions—Colombia—Antioquia  
(Dept.)—History—19th century. 4. Religion and culture—Colombia—Antioquia  
(Dept.)—History—19th century. 5. Church and education—Colombia—Antioquia  
(Dept.)—History—19th century. I. Title. II. Series.

F2281.A6 L67 2002 986.1'2606—dc21 2001054563

ISBN 0-19-924953-9

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by Hope Services (Abingdon) Ltd

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

Biddles Ltd.,

Guildford and King's Lynn

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is based on my doctoral thesis submitted to the Faculty of Modern History, Oxford University, in 1997.

I want to express my gratitude to the people and institutions who made this research possible.

In the first place, to the *Universidad de Antioquia*, for granting me the time and financial aid to study in Oxford; to the British Council for the Simón Bolívar scholarship, awarded from October 1990 to October 1992, and for its helping with my final trip to Oxford, for which I also received help from *Icfes* in Colombia. The British Government's Overseas Student Award Scheme (ORS) helped to pay for the three years of matriculation at Oxford University, and Colombia's *Icetex* provided educational credit for the third year.

My deepest gratitude goes to Malcolm Deas, whom I had the luck to have as tutor and editor. I profited from his excellent library, from his careful reading and observations, and from the generosity with which he welcomes his pupils at Oxford.

I am also thankful to St Antony's College for its intellectual climate and the facilities it offers for research; to Ruth Hodges and Elvira Ryan for their help at the Latin American Centre; and to Efraín Sánchez and all my fellow students, who made my stay in Oxford an unforgettable experience.

The *Fundación para la Promoción de la Investigación y la Tecnología* of the *Banco de la República* financed for a year the revision of sources in Bogotá and Medellín. Nora Elena Jiménez and Marta Suárez helped with the maps; Patricia Castro, Juan Felipe Córdoba, and Andrés López collaborated in data processing at various stages.

Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Alan Knight made valuable comments on the original thesis. I am also indebted to Ann Twinam, who read the manuscript and made useful observations, to Víctor Álvarez, Gloria Mercedes Arango, Aída Gálvez, Rodrigo García, Roberto Luis Jaramillo, Marina Lamus, Juan Manguashca, Frédéric Martínez, Jorge Orlando Melo, Luis Javier Ortiz, Marco Palacios, Beatriz Patiño, Carlos José Restrepo, Cecilia Inés Restrepo, Catalina Reyes, and Claudia Steiner for sharing information and for discussing various aspects of research.

I should like to acknowledge the help of the staff of the Bodleian Library in Oxford; the *Archivo General de la Nación* and the *Biblioteca*

*Luis Ángel Arango* in Bogotá; the *Archivo Histórico de Antioquia*, the *Biblioteca Pública Piloto*, the *Fundación Antioqueña para los Estudios Sociales (FAES)* and the Central Library in the University of Antioquia, in Medellín.

I owe special thanks to my son, Nicolás, and to my parents and family for having always supported my studies. My sincere obligation goes to Darío Jaramillo Agudelo, who years ago initiated me in the vocation of historian. His company and assistance have been precious to me.

Oxford, Hilary 1997/Medellín, June 2000

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACER	Archivo de Carlos E. Restrepo (Biblioteca Central Universidad de Antioquia)
<i>ACHSC</i>	<i>Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura</i>
ACR	Archivo Clodomiro Ramírez
AF	Archivo Fotográfico
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación
AHA	Archivo Histórico de Antioquia
AMOR	Archivo Mariano Ospina Rodríguez
ARN y E	Archivo Rafael Navarro y Eusse
ASCJ	Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús
<i>BCB</i>	<i>Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico</i>
<i>BHA</i>	<i>Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades</i>
BPP	Biblioteca Pública Piloto
CMF	Cordis Marie Filius
CMV	Centro de Memoria Visual
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística
FAES	Fundación Antioqueña para los Estudios Sociales
FLACSO	Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales
FMA	Familia María Auxiliadora
FMR	Fondo Melitón Rodríguez
FSC	Frateres Scholarum Cristianarum
<i>HAHR</i>	<i>Hispanic American Historical Review</i>
Icetex	Instituto Colombiano de Especialización Técnica en el Exterior
Icfes	Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior
IDEA	Instituto para el Desarrollo de Antioquia
<i>JLAS</i>	<i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i>
OCD	Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum
ODN	Orden de Nuestra Señora
OP	Orden de la Presentación
SEDUCA	Secretaría de Educación de Antioquia
SMP	Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas
SSVP	Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl



## Introduction

‘. . . the “feel” of a city whose charm . . . is difficult to describe except by saying that it is one of the rare places of which one thinks, “This is a spot where I should like to live”.’ Thus Kathleen Romoli wrote about Medellín when recounting her trip to Colombia in 1940.<sup>1</sup> Medellín and Antioquia often inspired similar feelings in visitors.<sup>2</sup> Two years later, her compatriot the geographer Carl Sauer, who visited Medellín while on a tour surveying Latin American academic communities for the Rockefeller Foundation, wrote: ‘Antioquia is one of the poorest regions we have visited . . . at the same time, its living standards are higher than anywhere else, and the problems of adaptation and coexistence among the social classes are practically nil’.<sup>3</sup> In 1947 an article about Medellín’s ‘modern look’, published in the American weekly *Life*, portrayed it as a ‘capitalist paradise’, and included a photograph of Don Diego Echavarría sharing a meal of beans with the workers in his factory’s cafeteria. The article remarked on the eagerness of well-to-do Medellínenses ‘to present their city as an island of civilization and prosperity’.<sup>4</sup>

In 1950, Michael Scully, an American writer and journalist who specialized in Latin America, was sent to Medellín by *Reader’s Digest*. He commended its climate, its orchids, the culture and the friendliness of its people, the quiet traffic, the cleanest streets he had seen from Canada to the tip of Chile, and especially noted the prevalence of good manners, that ‘steadying factor of a happy life’ and of religion. He inquired what supported such an appealing civilization, and quoted industrialist Carlos Echavarría, who attributed it to ‘. . . a deep feeling of the common good. Stark class divisions have never appeared here. We have had to depend

<sup>1</sup> K. Romoli, *Colombia: Panorama de una gran democracia* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 142.

<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth-century travel accounts comment on the peculiarities of the Antioqueños: Charles Saffray observed their ability for conducting business; Ernest Rothlisberguer and Pierre D’Espagnat called them ‘Yankees’; and to Frederick von Schenck, they were the richest and most entrepreneurial people in Colombia. Several authors have attributed these characteristics to a supposed Jewish background. For an overview of their works, see: A. Twinam, ‘From Jew to Basque. Ethnic Myths and Antioqueño Entrepreneurship’, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 22/1 (February, 1980), 81–107.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Informe de Carl O. Sauer a la Fundación Rockefeller sobre su visita a Colombia en 1942’, *Estudios Sociales*, 3 (Medellín, September 1988), 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Life* (29 September 1947), quoted by A. Farnsworth, ‘Gender and the Limits of Industrial Discipline in Medellín, Colombia, 1905–1960’, Ph.D. thesis (Duke University, 1994), 15.



on each other, to allow each other equal opportunities to move forward.<sup>5</sup>

Visitors from Latin America also noted the peculiarities of Medellín. In 1965 the Argentine Luis Borovio Navarro in a talk to the *Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos* affirmed: 'Medellín—and I am not saying anything new—is a very pleasant city . . . as is deemed by universal consensus.' Complimenting a setting to which sunlight, mountain scenery, temperate climate, and well-kept gardens all contributed, the 'human ambience', that ethereal quality perceived in ' . . . most people we encounter in the streets, whose faces invite us to chat and contribute to create a familiarity that welcomes and envelops us warmly'.<sup>6</sup>

Antioqueño idiosyncrasy was by the late nineteenth century an established theme for local authors, among them Tulio Ospina, Estanislao Gómez Barrientos, and Manuel Uribe-Ángel. Since the 1940s it has received more academic attention from both Colombian and foreign scholars.

James J. Parsons in his classic work *Antioqueño Colonisation in Western Colombia*: the ' . . . rare case of a democratic society of small proprietors, in a continent dominated by traditional large estates, was made possible through an open colonial mining sector and the widespread availability of land in the frontier of the region'.<sup>7</sup> In the 1960s, Everett Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins*, included an essay on the causes of the Antioqueño leadership in economic innovation in Colombia. He related these to the character of Antioqueños, their Basque descent, and their reaction to the inferior status ascribed to them by their countrymen from Bogotá and Popayán.<sup>8</sup> In *La ética protestante de los Antioqueños*, Luis H. Fajardo wrote: 'Antioqueños had been noted not only for their economic abilities, but also for the psycho-cultural characteristics, which set them apart from other Colombians.' According to him they took advantage of socio-economic opportunities thanks to a work ethic disseminated by Catholicism, which considered material success as a key to salvation. This ethic flourished in a relatively egalitarian society, with no large landowners and no servile indigenou

<sup>5</sup> Published in *Selecciones*, 1950, reproduced in: 'Con ojo ajeno', *Revista La Hoja*, 17 (Medellín, December 1993), 19–22.

<sup>6</sup> L. B. Navarro, 'La arquitectura de Medellín', unpublished conference at the Colombian Society of Architects (Medellín, 1965), 1–3.

<sup>7</sup> First published in English in 1949 by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. Here I quote the fourth Spanish edition, *La colonización antioqueña del Occidente colombiano* (Bogotá, 1977), 159.

<sup>8</sup> (Illinois, 1962).

population.<sup>9</sup> James L. Payne in *Patterns of Conflict in Colombia* entitled his chapter on Antioquia 'The Deviant Case', alluding to the more equitable social relations prevalent in the region. He quotes Fernando Guillén Martínez:

I remember how my father, born in Antioquia, used to tell of his surprise when, having recently arrived in Bogotá as a law student, he noticed that those people not belonging to the lowest social classes shunned all manual labour: while he remembered that the Antioqueño blacksmiths used to leave hammer and forge in the afternoon and mingle with the most notable people in every town on equal social terms, a pattern unknown in the rest of the country.<sup>10</sup>

In 1970, Álvaro López Toro, in *Migración y cambio social en Antioquia en el siglo XIX*, provided an interpretation in which demographic, economic, social, and cultural factors combined to produce a democratic society that valued work and personal independence.<sup>11</sup> Roger Brew, in *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la independencia hasta 1920*, one of the more comprehensive contributions to the history of the region, wrote that 'Antioqueños, with or without reason, have been more studied as a social group than any other in Latin America, in a search for the origins of their modern entrepreneurial spirit.'<sup>12</sup> Part of his explanation rests on the way mining evolved, largely in the hands of *mazamoreros*, small placer miners; something unusual, in view of the '... widespread opinion that mining economies do not usually have long-term beneficial effects on the native population ...'.<sup>13</sup>

Foreigners and academics were not the only ones pleased with the progress of Antioquia. Through the first half of the twentieth century many of its inhabitants dubbed Medellín proudly 'the industrial capital of Colombia' and 'la tacita de plata', 'the little silver cup', referring to its relatively high standard of living. A series of carefully edited guide-books, some of them translated into other languages, listed what the city had to show to nationals and foreigners alike—its neat surroundings, its

<sup>9</sup> (Cali, 1966), 21.

<sup>10</sup> J. L. Payne, *Patterns of Conflict in Colombia* (London, 1968), 96.

<sup>11</sup> (Bogotá, 1970). See: J. Jaramillo Uribe, 'Visión sintética de la tarea investigativa desarrollada sobre la región antioqueña', *Memoria del simposio Los estudios regionales en Colombia: el caso de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1982), 12.

<sup>12</sup> (Bogotá, 1977), 20.

<sup>13</sup> Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia*, 20. For a discussion of successive explanations for Antioqueño development, see: C. Dávila Ladrón de Guevara, 'El empresariado Antioqueño (1760–1920): de las interpretaciones psicológicas a los estudios históricos', in *Siglo XIX*, 5/9 (Monterrey, México, January–June 1990), 11–74.

architectural landmarks, its prosperity and civic spirit.<sup>14</sup> Such guide-books included excellent photographs of modern factories, banks, stores, and educational, religious, and welfare institutions in Medellín; they showed clean uncrowded streets and wide thoroughfares; and reflect the confidence with which the old was being constantly torn down to make way for progress.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast, by the end of the 1980s, street graffiti equated the city's nickname, *Medallo*, with *Metrallo*—automatic gunfire. From 1985 to 1991 it had the highest proportion of violent deaths in a country notorious enough for violence. This killing was perpetrated mainly by hired youths from the slums, with an average age of around 16.<sup>16</sup> The epithets of 'drug capital of Colombia' or, to some less conscientious journalists, 'of the world', and of 'cuna de *sicarios*',<sup>17</sup> became known world-wide. As usual, attention concentrated on the more immediate and spectacular aspects of the problem.

What explains this dramatic change? Medellín's metropolitan area in 1998 accounts for most of the Department's population and naturally carries great weight in Antioqueño society as a whole.<sup>18</sup> The analyses conducted in the early 1990s suggest that despite the labels affixed to this city since the mid-1980s by the international press, drug trafficking alone did not create its predicament, but was in some ways merely a catalyst. The crisis cannot simply be blamed on poverty: Medellín is better-off than the country's other large cities. However, these analyses do confirm that it presents a more volatile social structure. Recent data on income distribution and the provision and quality of education suggest

<sup>14</sup> Three were albums published by the Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas: *Medellín el 20 de julio de 1910*, *Medellín, 1923* and *Album de Medellín 1956*. See also: J. Peyrat, *Guía de Medellín y sus alrededores* (New York, 1916); *Medellín, propaganda comercial* (New York, 1923); R. Olano, *Propaganda cívica* (Medellín, 1930); Librería Pérez, *Medellín en 1932* (Medellín, 1932); *Medellín, capital industrial de Colombia* (Medellín, 1947); *Guía comercial e industrial de Medellín* (Medellín, 1972); and F. Gómez Pérez, *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1956).

<sup>15</sup> See the pictures taken by Francisco Mejía in the 1930s and 1940s, Centro de Memoria Visual, FAES.

<sup>16</sup> In 1980, 431 homicides were recorded in Medellín; in 1985, 1,600; and in 1989, 1,768. See H. de los Ríos and J. Ruiz, 'La violencia urbana de Medellín en los años ochenta', *Revista Universidad de Antioquia*, 59/221 (Medellín, July–September 1990), 27. The annual rate of intentional homicide in Medellín between 1979 and 1983 was 15.5 per 100,000 inhabitants; by 1990 it had increased to 337.2. See *Coyuntura Social*, 5 (Bogotá, December 1991), a special issue on 'La situación social de Medellín', 47.

<sup>17</sup> 'Cradle of Hired Killers'.

<sup>18</sup> The census of 1985 reported 1,418,554 inhabitants for Medellín and 3,888,067 for the Department of Antioquia. J. O. Rueda, 'Historia de la población de Colombia, 1880–2000', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1989), 387–8.

that the gap between the social classes has been widening.<sup>19</sup> The huge economic and social disparities caused by the infusion of drug money probably exacerbated this situation. The topic still awaits research.

Until the 1950s Antioqueño society was a legend for precisely the opposite reasons: it was seen as more egalitarian and democratic; to have a higher degree of social mobility and a lower level of social conflict than elsewhere in Colombia. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Antioquia was considered socially and ethnically homogeneous by comparison with the rest of the country.

It is striking that a society should seemingly undergo such a transformation. Contemporary citizens, journalists, priests, politicians, scholars, legislators, and psychologists have tried with some urgency to account for what happened, or, to bowdlerize the Antioqueño phrase—also the title of a recent book that seeks to decipher the upheaval—to ask themselves ‘At what point did Medellín go wrong?’<sup>20</sup>

A number of studies which analyse the crisis focus on recent conflicts and possible causes: accelerated demographic growth, uncontrolled migration, poverty, unemployment, and, naturally, the rise of drug trafficking.<sup>21</sup> They quantify, describe, and try to explain the homicide rate and the types of crime, and even the ephemeral lives of the *sicarios*.<sup>22</sup> The city’s plight is largely attributed to the fast rate of population growth after the mid-twentieth century with its corresponding chaotic urbanization process, which supposedly overwhelmed the traditional mechanisms of social control and undermined two pillars of the Antioqueño way of life: the family and the work ethic.

Though Antioquia’s past has received more attention from scholars than that of the rest of Colombia, the recent crisis poses a series of questions about its history that have yet to be answered. The emphasis on present conflicts has distracted attention from the former relative social harmony and cohesion, and how it was achieved. Exploring in that direction, this study focuses on the relationships between social classes

<sup>19</sup> Presidencia de la República, *Medellín: Reencuentro con el futuro* (Bogotá, 1991), 7–23; C. M. Ortiz, ‘El sicariato en Medellín: entre la violencia política y el crimen organizado’, *Análisis Político*, 14 (September–December 1991), 6–73; ‘La situación social de Medellín’, *Coyuntura Social*, 5 (Bogotá, December 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Grupo Editorial 87, *¿En qué momento se jodió Medellín?* (Bogotá, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> See P. Londoño (comp.), ‘Bibliografía sobre Medellín producida en los últimos cinco años (1988–1993)’, *Estudios Sociales*, 7 (Medellín, June 1994), 175–92.

<sup>22</sup> The film ‘Rodrigo D: no futuro’ directed by Víctor Gaviria in 1989, portrays one of the youth gangs which emerged in the poor neighbourhoods located in the north-western slopes of Medellín.

in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930, a period roughly characterized by scholars as one of relative harmony, in which an 'Antioqueño model' or 'project', as it has been labelled, commanded the effective consent of all classes.<sup>23</sup>

The study of social classes, though it received some attention during the 1960s from Colombian Marxists, has ceased to sustain much interest. On the whole, historical, sociological, and political research has shown little concern for the interaction of classes, or for how the different classes regarded each other. How close or distant in daily life were people of different social origins? What united or estranged them? How were values transmitted among them? These have been questions seldom posed and more seldom answered.

This book illustrates for Antioquia to what extent men and women of varying social groups intermingled in their daily routines, as well as the ties, frictions, prejudices, hierarchies, and distinctions that stood between them. It analyses the factors that narrowed or widened social distances, and the customs, ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes that mediated between the rich and the poor.

The way chosen to explore these topics was to draw a picture of the entities, groups and voluntary associations—some more formal than others—that flourished in those years, congregating a growing number of Antioqueños of all conditions for devotional, philanthropic, educational, and cultural purposes.

The questions here addressed and their treatment have been in part inspired from the reading of Maurice Agulhon's *The Republic in the Village*.<sup>24</sup> The author, not satisfied with the traditional explanations of the sudden swerve to the left of the conservative people of the French region of the Var during the revolution of 1848, focused on the slow, subtle, and significant changes in their mental and cultural outlook that had occurred since the early years of the century.

<sup>23</sup> See: M. Roldán, 'The Genesis and Evolution of La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia, 1900–1953', Ph.D. thesis (Harvard University, 1992), 52–6; D. Wise de Gouzy, *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1990), 54–8. M. T. Uribe discerns a 'project of organic intellectuals' evident in Antioquia since the first half of the nineteenth century. See: Gobernación de Antioquia, 'La territorialidad de los conflictos y de la violencia en Antioquia', *Realidad Social*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1990), 51–114. J. O. Melo recognizes Antioquia during these years as the most 'vigorous nucleus in Colombian economy and society'. See: Unpublished Conference at the Twentieth Anniversary of Proantioquia (Medellín, 1995), 1.

<sup>24</sup> (Paris, 1970). I have used the English version: *The Republic in the Village* (Cambridge, 1982).

Agulhon examined sociabilities in order to understand the evolution of politics. He focused his attention on processes involved in the development of political consciousness. In the case of the people of the Var these included a widening of cultural horizons through rising rates of literacy, the expansion of the official French language, the spreading taste for literature and theatre, the growing importance of the press, changes in the terms of interaction between people and the local notables, and, a flourishing of a variety of associations.

Some British social historians have recently published works on social relations and the 'association culture' of various epochs. Ian R. Christie, in *Stress and Stability in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain*, studies voluntary associations in the light of social changes.<sup>25</sup> Despite the factors that put Britain under strain during this period, for him, a certain 'disorderly cohesion' prevailed:

The numerous narrow, often unpredictable gradations between the different elements in British society and the bridges established between them by association of various sorts were a significant element making for social stability. Also important were numbers of socio-economic interconnections which bound the upper ranks to those below them.<sup>26</sup>

He found that, notwithstanding the contrasts in rank and wealth, the lower classes had a standing at law. People from the various layers of society mingled closely and unrestrainedly in city cafés. Foreigners wondered at it. A vigorous freedom of discussion was sustained in clubs, societies, associations, and organizations in which people from various strata of society gathered. Christie found that their members consorted to procure some degree of security in life, and were often successful. Besides, a network of philanthropic entities mixed people from all conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Distant from the period scene of Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 as these researchers may be, they are nevertheless relevant and stimulating. R. J. Morris in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain* assembled evidence concerning 'Clubs, Societies, and Associations' to support his hypothesis that Britain's ideological, moral, and cultural continuity was maintained from 1750 to 1950—even during periods of accelerated changes. He shows how a network of increasingly numerous, varied, and influential voluntary associations prevented conflicts and reveal a more dense civil society than previously acknowledged. His analysis suggests that

<sup>25</sup> (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Christie, *Stress and Stability*, 61.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-93, 94-5.

theorists of urban and industrial society who discovered mainly anomie and alienation in the face of rapidly changing economic conditions may have exaggerated.<sup>28</sup> In yet another related analysis, Ross McKibbin, in *The Ideologies of Class, Social Relations in Britain, 1880–1950*, focuses on the extent to which the associational culture of the British working class accelerated or impeded the transmission of ‘rejectionist ideologies’. He emphasizes how the middle and working classes were brought together amicably through clubs and religious organizations.<sup>29</sup>

In the case of Antioquia, describing the activities developed by voluntary associations and religious communities required recourse to a great variety of sources. The photographic archives of the city, chiefly those of Benjamín de la Calle, Melitón Rodríguez, and Francisco Mejía, which are among the most complete in the country, were an important source, at least of inspiration. These and other illustrations such as newspaper cartoons throw a powerful light on some traits and aspects of Antioqueño society, some of which are sparsely documented in other sources.

The first chapter shows how the Catholic Church and religion increased their presence in the region, deeply permeating the lives of Antioqueños of all conditions. It describes the role played by religion and the Church during the years of their greatest influence by tracing the development of the parishes, devout associations, religious communities, and of private piety and public expressions of faith. Numerous philanthropic societies served as buttresses for social stability.

The second chapter analyses, against the background of increasing educational provision, the policies, character, and standards of the education imparted, and the increasing worth ascribed to it. It also covers the emergence and the activities of a wide and thriving gamut of cultural groups and entities. These new associations, among which literary societies, public libraries, social clubs, and associations for the promotion of science, learning, public instruction, pedagogy, manners, temperance, ‘cultivated’ music, and moral improvement are to be found, strove to achieve the longed-for civilization, according to its prevalent Western connotation. They also contributed to social integration and cohesion.

A dynamic society characterized by growing religiosity provides a picture which differs from easy and still current assumptions that in the Hispanic American context religion must be opposed to modernization in the social and cultural fields.

<sup>28</sup> See: *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, vol. 3: *Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. by F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge, 1990), 395–443.

<sup>29</sup> (Oxford, 1991), 2; McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class*, 13–41.

## *Prologue: Antioquia and its People*

### SETTING

Antioquia is located in the north-western corner of Colombia. It is a mountainous department with an area of 62,150 square kilometres, with a narrow strip along the Caribbean and relatively close to the Pacific coasts. The region's boundaries to the east and west are the Magdalena and Atrato rivers. The Cauca river runs south to north between the central and western mountain ranges that intersect its territory. In the former lie the Sonsón-Rionegro highlands, interrupted by the Aburrá valley, the site of Medellín, and extending further to the North into the Santa Rosa plateau. The western mountain range splits into three branches to the north-west. There are some flat lowlands and hilly terrains along the Magdalena, the Lower Cauca, the León, and the Atrato rivers. Its proximity to the equatorial zone accounts for stable temperatures all year round. The climate varies according to the altitude above sea level, from the cold peaks and plateaux to the hot lowlands, and from the very humid to the arid.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1851 and 1855 Antioquia was divided into three provinces, each subdivided in three cantones. From 1856 to 1885, years of a federal regime, it was a 'sovereign state' of the United States of Colombia, and which underwent various further internal divisions. In 1886 it became a department of the Republic of Colombia, in turn divided into *municipios*, and these into *corregimientos*, still the current administrative units.<sup>2</sup> With the creation of the department of Caldas in 1905 Antioquia lost some territory to the south, but regained the zone of Urabá which it had lost during the presidency of José Hilario López, 1849–53.

### THE PEOPLE

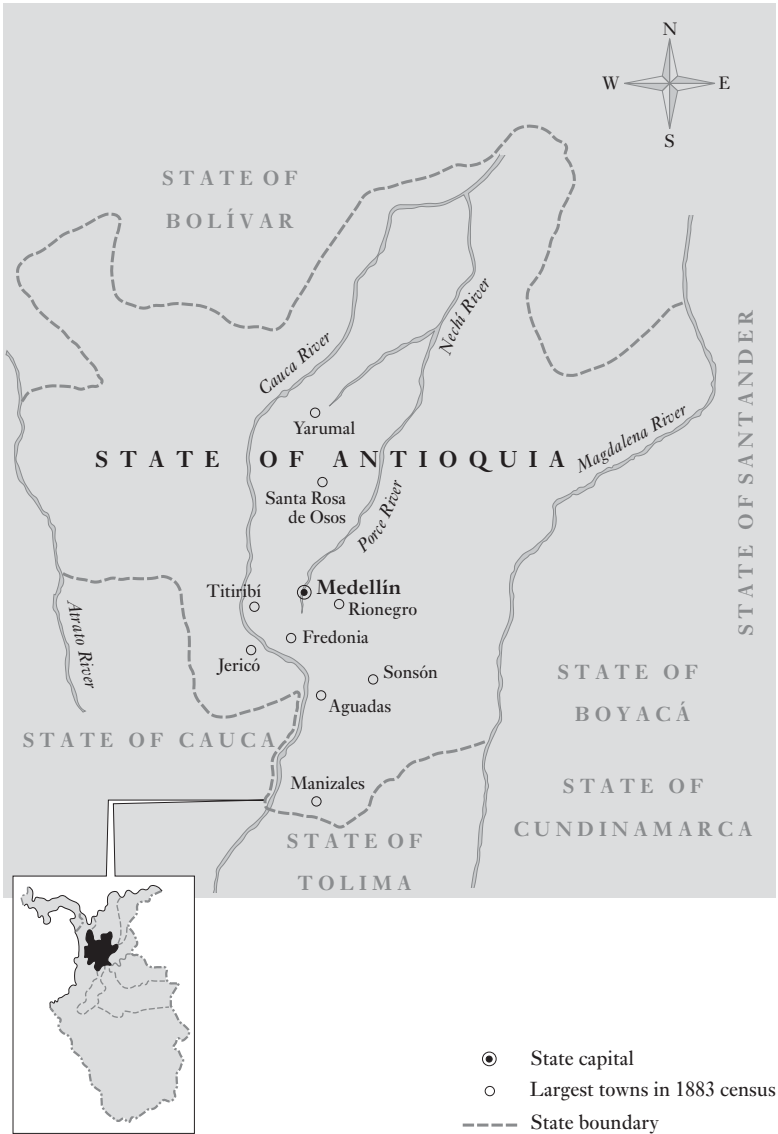
In the province of Antioquia, the Indian population experienced the common dramatic fall after the arrival of the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup> By the

<sup>1</sup> M. Hermelin, 'Geografía física de Antioquia', *Historia de Antioquia*, (Bogotá, 1988), 13–18.

<sup>2</sup> The province of Antioquia (1851–5) included roughly the same jurisdiction as the 'state of Antioquia, 1856–85', shown in Map 1. By 1928, the area of the department of Antioquia, depicted in Map 2, had undergone several changes.

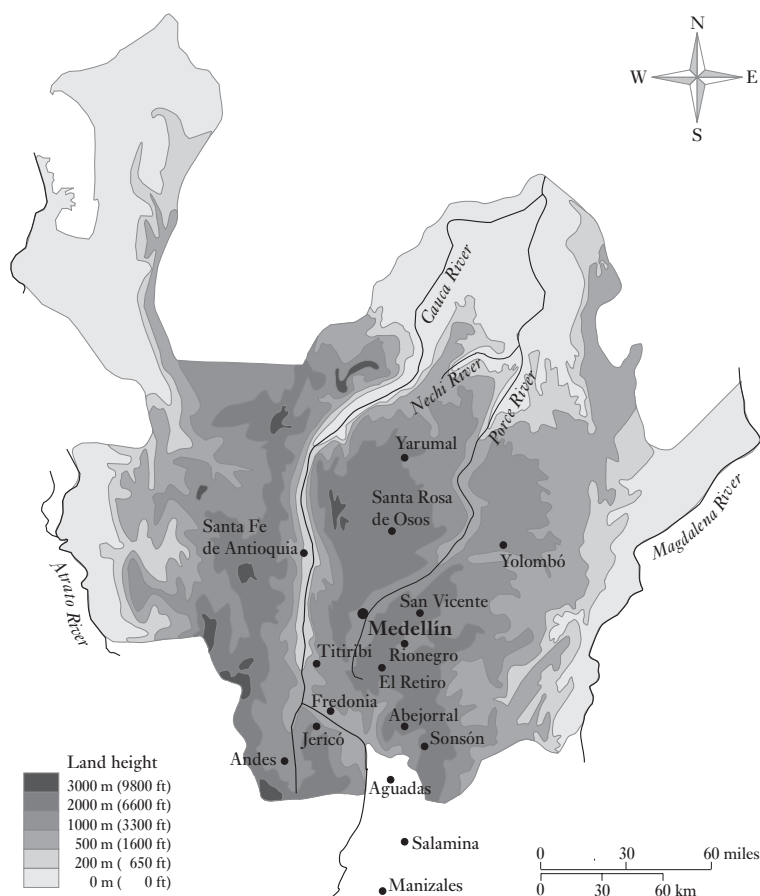
<sup>3</sup> J. O. Melo, 'La conquista, 1500–1580', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 41–2.





MAP 1 State of Antioquia, 1856-1885

*Sources:* Censo de la República de Colombia, 1883; R. Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la Independencia hasta 1920* (Bogotá, 1977), 421; 'Atlas histórico de Colombia', *Credencial Historia*, 25 (Bogotá, January 1992), 12.



MAP 2 Antioquia: relief map and largest towns, 1851–1928

Sources: Table 4: ‘Ten largest towns in Antioquia, 1851–1833–1928’.

Note: In 1905, Aguadas, Salamina and Manizales ceased to belong to Antioquia to become part of the new department of Caldas.

nineteenth century, the few survivors were confined in *resguardos*, Indian reservations. From the sixteenth century onwards, the scarcity and unmanageability of native labour led to the import of African slaves. For nearly two hundred years blacks were central to the mining economy of the province. However, by 1851, the year of their final manumission, slaves amounted to only 0.7 per cent of the population, and extensive race mixture had occurred. The conventional accounts of the racial

composition of Antioquia at the close of the nineteenth century show less evidence of Negro presence than those of colonial times.<sup>4</sup>

Observing the primitive ways of the blacks living along the Magdalena river, or of the Indians of the south of the country and the highlands of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, nineteenth-century visitors often remarked that they were positively impressed by the comparative 'whiteness' of Antioqueños, although according to statistics mestizos and mulattos constituted a larger percentage of the population, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1. *Estimates of the ethnic composition of Antioquia, 1808-1918*

Race	Census 1808 %	Census 1918 %
Mestizo, mulatto	57.7	52.4
White	25.6	31.1
Negro	12.2	15.3
Indian	4.5	1.2
Total population	106,856	823,226

Source: J. Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley, 1968), 4.

Antioquia, despite its gold, never drew a high proportion of the small total of foreigners settled in Colombia,<sup>5</sup> a country that in marked contrast with Argentina or Brazil had a low rate of foreign immigration during the period under study.<sup>6</sup> Even though only a small number of foreigners settled in Antioquia, thanks to their relatively high educational and technical level they introduced important developments in mining, banking, and some industries, as well as a number of sports and educational advances. They influenced fashion, values, and manners, and fostered new tastes in theatre, music, cinema, gastronomy, and architecture.

<sup>4</sup> B. Patiño, 'La provincia en el siglo XVIII', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 79, 81-2; J. Parsons, *La colonización antioqueña en el Occidente de Colombia*, 4th Spanish edn. (Bogotá, 1977), 91-4.

<sup>5</sup> According to census data, in 1851 Antioquia had 62 of 1,527 foreigners in Colombia; in 1912, 428 of of around 10,000 in the country.

<sup>6</sup> See: M. Deas, 'La influencia inglesa—y otras influencias—en Colombia (1880-1930)', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 3 (Bogotá, 1989), 162; J. O. Rueda, 'Historia de la población en Colombia', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1989), 366; C. Dávila, 'Empresarios y aventureros británicos y la élite local en Colombia durante el siglo XIX', unpublished paper, 47 *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (New Orleans, 7-11 July 1991), 1-3.

The number of foreigners who settled in the region is hard to specify precisely, for careful records were not kept, and many of them stayed only briefly.<sup>7</sup> According to the censuses made between 1851 and 1928, they grew both in number and in proportion to Antioqueño population, as Table 2 shows. They can be calculated at around a thousand for the whole period under study. Those who stayed for good did not group into separate national colonies; some married natives, and many were assimilated into the élite. To begin with, there was a prevalence of single men among the foreigners, but towards the end of the nineteenth century the proportion of women had doubled.<sup>8</sup>

TABLE 2. *Number of foreigners in Antioquia, 1851-1928*

Census year	Total population	Foreigners	Foreigners per 10,000 inhabitants
1851	243,388	62	2.55
1884	461,946	116	2.51
1912	740,937	428	5.78
1918	823,226	378	4.59
1928	1,011,324	972	9.61

Source: Elaborated from: Dirección de Estadística Departamental, *Boletín Estadístico*, 27 (Medellín, 1930), 39; *Registro Oficial*, 1330 (Medellín, 18 June 1884), 5149-50; *Repertorio Histórico de Antioquia*, 38 (March 1937), 370-5.

Englishmen, North Americans, Germans, Spaniards, and Frenchmen were the most numerous—the order varies during the period. In 1851 the English predominated; in 1883, Germans; in 1928, North Americans and Spaniards, in almost equal numbers.

Most foreigners were engineers, managers, and technicians hired for the mines of Santa Rosa de Osos, Amalfi, Titiribí, Frontino, and the North-east. They introduced the 'Cornish mill', amalgamation, dredges, and other improvements into the region.<sup>9</sup> From 1864 to 1914, a series

<sup>7</sup> R. Brew in *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la Independencia hasta 1920* (Bogotá, 1977), 70, calculated at 50 the total number of foreigners who settled permanently in Antioquia during the nineteenth century; recent research has shown this to be an underestimate, but the total was certainly extremely low.

<sup>8</sup> In 1851 women represented 16% of local foreigners; by 1918, 30%. See: AHA, Fondo República, Serie Censos, vol. 2698, doc. 8; Dirección de Estadística Departamental, *Boletín de Estadística*, 17 (Medellín, 1920), 29.

<sup>9</sup> L. F. Molina Londoño, 'Extranjeros en busca de riqueza: en Antioquia muchos lo intentaron y pocos lo lograron', *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 28 (Medellín,

of foreign companies based in London, Bergerac, Bordeaux, Belgium, New York, and Chicago, extracted gold in Frontino, the Lower Nus, Nare, Zaragoza, Remedios, Segovia, Cáceres, and Amalfi.<sup>10</sup>

In the last quarter of the century some other immigrants settled in the south and south-east, in Puerto Berrío on the Magdalena river, terminus of the railroad began in 1874 by the Cuban Francisco Javier Cisneros, and from the 1910s onwards some Germans engaged in banana cultivation in Urabá. By 1928, foreigners were dispersed through forty-four Antioqueño municipalities. Although most of them were still employed in mining, some had entered the beer, textile, food, mechanical, chemical, and pharmaceutical industries located in the Aburrá valley, as well as in the potteries of nearby Rionegro and Caldas. Among those established in Medellín there were German teachers, French and Belgian architects, Spanish and Italian musicians and even actors, religious of many provenances, and from the beginning of the twentieth century, traders, bankers, carpenters, tailors, artists, and physicians of various nationalities.<sup>11</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Antioqueño population grew faster than that of the rest of Colombia, broadly due to its concentration in the cooler, healthier, uplands; to better habits of hygiene; and to the expanding economy and the relatively higher standard of living of the inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> In 1851, the province had a population of 240,000, a figure quadrupled by 1928, as can be observed in Table 3.

As in the rest of Colombia, Antioqueño society was predominantly rural. Nevertheless a third of its inhabitants lived in small towns. The order of the larger towns varied in terms of population during these years, as is shown in the census data of Table 4. Only Medellín, Sonsón,

January–April 1989), 60–8; R. García, ‘Los alemanes en la economía de Antioquia’, *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 39 (Medellín, September–December 1992), 52–5, 65.

<sup>10</sup> T. Fischer ‘Empresas extranjeras en el sector del oro y de la plata en Colombia, 1870–1914’: la *free-standing company* como modelo aplicado por inversionistas extranjeros’, *BCB*, 32/39 (Bogotá, 1995), 61–84; J. J. Patiño Suárez, *Compañías mineras y fiebre de oro en Zaragoza, 1880–1952* (Medellín, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> See articles by R. García and L. F. Molina Londoño quoted above, and R. García’s, ‘El Consorcio Albingia en los inicios de la explotación bananera en Urabá: una historia de preguerra, 1909–1915’, *Augura*, 18 (Medellín, 1995), 74–97; and also his ‘Extranjeros in Medellín’, *BCB*, 34/44 (1997), 103–20.

<sup>12</sup> Population grew at a rate near 2.5% annually, according to Patiño, ‘La provincia en el siglo XVIII’, 69; See also R. Brew, ‘Aspects of Politics in Antioquia, 1850–1865’, B. Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1971), iv. For the course of economy, his *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia*, cited above.

TABLE 3. *Population and annual rate of growth in Colombia and Antioquia, 1851-1928*

Year	Population		Annual rate of growth	
	Colombia	Antioquia	Colombia	Antioquia
1851	2,243,730	243,388	1.89	3.18
1864	2,662,812	303,325	1.33	1.71
1870	2,931,984	365,974	1.62	3.18
1905	4,143,622	651,497	0.99	1.66
1912	5,011,844	740,937	2.75	1.85
1918	5,855,050	823,226	2.63	1.77
1928	7,850,947	1,011,324	2.98	2.08

Source: M. Urrutia and M. Arrubla, *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970), tables 7-10.

TABLE 4. *Largest ten towns in Antioquia, 1851, 1883, 1928*

	1851		1883		1928	
	Towns	Population	Towns	Population	Towns	Population
1	Medellín	13,755	Medellín	37,237	Medellín	120,044
2	Sonsón	10,244	Manizales	14,603	Sonsón	32,699
3	Santa Fe de Antioquia	8,637	Sonsón	13,935	Abejorral	25,093
4	Rionegro	8,099	Rionegro	11,809	Andes	23,299
5	Salamina	7,559	Jericó	11,593	Fredonia	22,780
6	Abejorral	6,301	Aguadas	11,294	Yarumal	22,020
7	EP Retiro	6,115	Fredonia	10,376	Jericó	20,741
8	Fredonia	5,786	Santa Rosa	10,059	Yolombó	19,066
9	Aguadas	5,377	Yarumal	10,005	Santa Rosa	18,575
10	San Vicente	5,369	Titiribí	9,214	Rionegro	18,005

Sources: 'Cuadro general de la población de la República por Estados, Territorios, Distritos y Aldeas en 1870, comparados con el censo de 1851', *Anuario Estadístico de Colombia 1875* (Bogotá, n.d.), 28-9; *Colombia Dirección General de Censos de la República de Colombia* (n.p., 1883), n.p.n.; República de Colombia. Departamento de Contraloría. *Anuario de Estadística General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 66-7.

Rionegro, and Fredonia appear in all the three lists included in this table.

In 1851, Medellín, with 13,755 inhabitants, occupied the fourth place in the country after Bogotá, Socorro, and Piedecuesta. Medellín was slightly ahead of Sonsón, which held the second place in Antioquia with 10,244 people, while Fredonia, Aguadas, and San Vicente, placed in eighth, ninth, and tenth places respectively, had between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants.

By the late 1920s, the above ranking had varied. In the 1928 census Medellín was a city of nearly 120,000 people, nine times bigger than in 1851. It was undergoing, together with other towns in the Aburrá valley, a relatively early and dynamic industrialization, both by Colombian and by Latin American standards. It was also receiving its first major wave of small-town and rural immigrants, rich and poor alike.<sup>13</sup> Sonsón, still holding the second place, tripled its population during the period, but only reached 30,000 inhabitants. Rionegro, with 18,000, had gone down to tenth place.<sup>14</sup> The contrast between Medellín and other larger towns in Antioquia was not only a matter of size. More and more people in Medellín and the main towns were significant consumers of imported goods, first mainly from England, and, at the period's close from the United States, in sharp contrast with the way of life in the poorer and rural areas of the Department.<sup>15</sup>

#### OCCUPATIONS AND WAY OF LIFE

How did Antioqueños earn their living? The 1851 census used 384 different terms to describe the occupations of Antioqueños.<sup>16</sup> The categories, rather dependent on the census taker or on the surveyed

<sup>13</sup> J. F. Echavarría Uribe, 'El paso de los habitantes por el siglo XX', *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 30 (Medellín, September–December 1989), 73–5.

<sup>14</sup> 'Cuadro general de la población de la República por Estados, Territorios, Distritos y Aldeas en 1870, comparados con el censo de 1851', *Anuario Estadístico de Colombia, 1875* (Bogotá, n.d.); *Anuario de Estadística General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 66–7.

<sup>15</sup> Most people bought imported textiles. See P. Bell, *Colombia, A Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, 1921).

<sup>16</sup> The following data were elaborated from the results of the 1851 census: AHA, Fondo República, serie Censos, vols. 2608, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702. According to R. Brew, the census of 1864 was the first to report occupations. See: *El desarrollo económico*, 224. L. J. Ortiz and J. O. Melo both consider that the census of 1870 was the earliest to provide occupational information in Antioquia. See respectively: 'La regeneración en Antioquia, Colombia, 1880–1903', Master's thesis, Flacso, vol. 1 (Quito, 1986), 34; and 'Las vicisitudes del modelo liberal, 1850–1899', *Historia económica de Colombia*, ed. by J. A. Ocampo (Bogotá, 1987), 123.

themselves, sometimes designated the same employment by different words, or used general terms such as 'propietario', without mentioning of what, or 'agricultor', without specifying if the person was a landowner or a peon. There are other conspicuous ambiguities. Regarding women's occupations, many were described as 'cook', '*oficiosa*', or '*hacendosa*' (hard-working woman), with no indication whether she worked at home or for others. Other descriptions, such as old man, handicapped, disabled, madman, *mentecato* (idiot), and valetudinarian, apply less to the occupation itself than to the physical or mental condition of the person.

Although lack of system in the census hinders any exact numerical calculations, this way of recording does give a valuable '*costumbrista*' account, a range of typical occupations. The list of categories portrays a non-specialized society where, among hundreds of trades, a person could be *aguadora* (water carrier), *alarifé* (mason), *baquiano* (guide), *cargaleña* (firewood carrier), *comadrona* (midwife), *criznejera* (hatter), *despensero* (pantryman), *emboñigador* (mud-wall builder), *empedrador* (cobbler), *garitero* (publican), *jiquerera* (pouch maker), *molecacao* (cacao grinder), *ordeñador* (dairyman), *pajarrera* (bird trader), *petaquera* (basket maker), *pulpero* (chicha seller), *tamalera* (tamale maker), *tinterillo* (petty lawyer), or *yerbatera* (herb doctor).<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 5. *Occupations in Antioquia, 1851*

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	51,907	46.09
Domestic work	27,909	24.78
Arts and crafts	18,796	16.69
Mining	6,238	5.54
Students	2,601	2.31
Merchants and businessmen	2,050	1.82
Various	1,835	1.63
Professionals and employees	435	0.39
No occupation	394	0.35
Transport	359	0.32
Religious	96	0.09
Total	112,620	100.00

Source: Elaborated from: AHA, Fondo 'República', Serie 'Censos', tomos 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702.

<sup>17</sup> In order to compare the answers with those of later censuses, these were summarized in Table 5.



Table 5 shows that 88 per cent of Antioqueños laboured as farmers, domestic workers, and artisans. They were followed by miners, not so numerous as might be expected, since this was usually a seasonal line of work, to be combined with agriculture. Next there appear, in decreasing order, students, traders, professionals, religious, and other miscellaneous occupations.

By the time of the 1912 census, agriculture had dwindled as an employment, in percentage terms, to half of what it was in 1851, as may be observed in Table 6. The ratio of artisans decreased, too. There was, by contrast, a rise in the number of traders and religious. Mining was no longer classified as a separate occupation, and three new categories related to industrialization and urban life emerged: salaried workers, liberal professions, and fine arts.

TABLE 6. *Occupations in Antioquia, 1912*

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Domestic work	202,850	47.89
Agriculture	117,375	27.71
Arts, crafts, apprentices	42,883	10.13
Wage-earners	38,733	9.15
Commerce	9,687	2.29
Transportation	3,650	0.86
Cattle owners	2,201	0.52
Liberal profession	2,280	0.54
Employees	1,888	0.45
Religious cult	612	0.14
Fine arts	463	0.11
Military and policemen	910	0.21
Total	423,532	100.00

Source: *Censo General de la República de Colombia, 1912* (Bogotá, 1912), 60-3.

The lines that divided classes in Antioquia are not easy to draw. The upper classes, the local entrepreneurs who have been portrayed as Jews, Protestants, and Yankees for their business acumen and thriftiness, 'nearly all put their eggs into many baskets'. Diversified investment was in part a response to the economic instability of the times, when fortunes could be made and lost with equal spread. In general, '. . . the

level of wealth required to be “rich” was low compared to other Latin American countries<sup>18</sup>

The opportunities of independent earning offered by petty gold mining, commerce, and the colonization of virgin lands gave rise to a scarcity of labour that discouraged servile relationships, and opened channels of upward mobility.<sup>19</sup> Geographical dispersion, plus the variety of labour contracts and agreements, explain the absence of a collective sense of ‘sameness’, let alone of class, among the workers.

Social distances were comparatively modest, and the small scale of society imbued it with an atmosphere of intimacy. Medium and small coffee plots, *arriería* (the world of mule-train driving), *fondas de camino* (roadside inns that catered to that world), general stores, and even the paternalism of early industrialization, among other factors, favoured a certain closeness among the different classes. In addition to the flexibility of class boundaries, there were no radical contrasts in consumption or in ideology. In biographical accounts it is common to find peons, servants, and landowners all living in close proximity and sharing many traditions and beliefs.

Antioqueño society seems to have been relatively peaceful, without being paradisaical. In the absence of more systematic research, it is still difficult to draw any hard conclusions. In spite of a low crime rate, which suggests effective mechanisms of social control, contemporary genre writers pointed out some blemishes of the Antioqueño temperament. Emiro Kastos wrote at mid-century that Antioqueños knew no half-hearted passions: ‘. . . when someone tumbles down the wrongful slope of vice, he does not stop before reaching the precipice’.<sup>20</sup> Of the offences considered by the Superior Court and by the judges of the

<sup>18</sup> J. J. Echavarría, ‘En la industrialización se ha sobreestimado el aporte antioqueño’, *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 30 (Medellín, September–December 1989), 84.

<sup>19</sup> On the economic development of Antioquia from 1850 to 1930, see: L. Ospina Vásquez, *Industria y protección en Colombia, 1810–1930* (Bogotá, 1955); F. Safford, ‘La significación de los antioqueños en el desarrollo económico colombiano’, *ACHSC*, 2 (Bogotá, 1965); A. López Toro, *Migración y cambio social en Antioquia durante el siglo XIX* (Bogotá, 1979); R. Brew, *El desarrollo económico de Antioquia desde la Independencia hasta 1920* (Bogotá, 1977); M. Arango, *Café e industria, 1850–1930* (Bogotá, 1977); M. Palacios, *El café en Colombia, 1850–1970: una historia económica, social y política* (Bogotá, 1979); G. Poveda Ramos, *Dos siglos de historia económica de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1979); F. Botero Herrera, *Industrialización en Antioquia: génesis y consolidación, 1900–1930* (Medellín, 1985); M. Samper K., ‘Labores agrícolas y fuerza de trabajo en el suroeste antioqueño, 1850–1912’, *Estudios Sociales*, 2 (Medellín, March 1988); M. M. Botero, ‘Comercio y bancos, 1850–1923’, *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1991), 243–8.

<sup>20</sup> E. Kastos, *Artículos escogidos* (Bogotá, 1972), 150 (first published in Bogotá, 1859).

circuit of Antioquia between May 1871 and April 1873, nearly 43 per cent fell under the heading 'injuries, fights, and maltreatment'.<sup>21</sup> The statistics on homicides by judicial districts in Colombia from 1888 to 1897 show that Antioquia had 1,308 of the 5,681 homicides committed in the country, amounting to 23 per cent of the total, a high percentage considering that the Antioqueño population was below 15 per cent of the national total.<sup>22</sup> Yet the impression given by foreign observers is one of a pacific region. Frederick von Schenck after his visit in 1880 commented that, 'In Antioquia justice is well administered, but has not much to do.'<sup>23</sup>

A study on homicides conducted in Colombia in 1891 shows that of the 177 violent deaths that occurred in Antioquia, more than half took place in the south and north provinces, 72 and 35 respectively.<sup>24</sup> A few years later, a thesis on criminality in Antioquia presented by Miguel Martínez to the Law School at the University of Antioquia and published in 1895, found that it was the region with the highest incidence of personal injuries and homicide in the country. However, he confirmed that these crimes were concentrated in mining districts and in newly founded towns on the frontier, located to the south, south-east, and north-east. According to Martínez, Antioquia had the lowest number of offences against 'morals'—elopement, seduction, free unions, corruption of minors, rape—in the country.<sup>25</sup>

Of the 110 homicides recorded in Antioquia in 1913, classified by the district where they took place, Medellín presented the largest number of cases, 10, followed by Barbosa with 5, Venecia, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and Anzá with 4 each, and Andes with 3.<sup>26</sup>

Leaving aside personal injuries and homicide, a high degree of trust seems to have prevailed among Antioqueños. When the American Kathleen Romoli visited the Medellín mint in 1940 she was surprised to

<sup>21</sup> *Anuario Estadístico Nacional* (Bogotá, 1875), 87.

<sup>22</sup> *Diario Oficial*, Bogotá, 1 May 1900, 378.

<sup>23</sup> Schenck, F. von, *Viajes por Antioquia en el año de 1880* (Bogotá, 1953), 20.

<sup>24</sup> Ministerio de Fomento, *Boletín Trimestral de Estadística Nacional de Colombia*, 4 (Bogotá, 1893), 20–4.

<sup>25</sup> *La criminalidad en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1895), 8–9, gathers statistics from government memoirs, statistical reviews, reports issued by medical doctors and prison directors, periodical publications, travellers accounts, and local chronicles. See also: L. J. Ortiz Mesa, 'Violencia y criminalidad en Antioquia, sobre la tesis de doctorado de Miguel Martínez (1895)', *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 27–8, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, June 1991), 62–7.

<sup>26</sup> Elaborated from: A. López and J. Rodríguez, *Estadística de Antioquia*, 1 (Medellín, 1915), 169–72.

find there was not even a doorman to check her. In spite of a propensity to 'petty theft', practised as a 'dark form of sport . . . , the refinements of our banditry and gangsterism are unknown'. She commented that gold travelled without special protection from the mines to the bank in postal parcels, ordinary letters, or in boxes transported in mule or horse-drawn carriages. There were no armed guards or armoured vehicles.<sup>27</sup>

The way the police worked in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930 has hardly been studied. Before an embryonic National Police was established in Bogotá on 5 November 1891, Antioquia had passed various laws to organize its own police force.<sup>28</sup> The first was the 'General Police Law', issued on 14 December 1856, which established that the state capital would have an inspector in charge of 16–50 gendarmes, the number to be fixed by the president of the state.<sup>29</sup> A review of the reports of the visits made by the prefects to Antioqueño districts shows that this law only applied in an inconsistent manner: while it was observed in Don Matías, San Pedro, Entreríos, Yarumal, and Angostura, it was ineffective in Carolina, Amalfi, Zea, and Campamento. In the 1850s and early 1860s, the proliferation of lists of *reos prófugos*, fugitives, and the number of tried in absentia published in *El Constitucional de Antioquia* shows the system to have been haphazard.

Law 213 of 1871 approved a new police code that better defined the functions and procedures of the agents, and ruled in detail the norms, classified in various chapters, regarding the protection of persons and their properties, the cleanliness, ornament, and healthiness of the towns, and the morality expected of the citizenry.<sup>30</sup> Law 94 of 1879 regulated the municipal police in districts with more than 10,000 inhabitants.

The reports sent by the director of the prison to the secretary of state, published in the official newspaper in the 1870s, concerning the work on trails and bridges in Antioquia to be carried out by prisoners, shows a rather unconflictive society. The twenty prisoners, supervised by a

<sup>27</sup> K. Romoli, *Colombia. Panorama de una gran democracia* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 143–4.

<sup>28</sup> See: F. Martínez, 'Las desilusiones del orden público: los comienzos de la Policía Nacional en Colombia, 1891–1898', *In Search of a New Order: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, ed. by E. Posada-Carbó (London, 1998).

<sup>29</sup> For the 'Ley sobre policía general, 1856', see: *Constitución, leyes y decretos expedidos por la Asamblea Constituyente del Estado de Antioquia en 1856* (Medellín, 1856), 227–8. This law was slightly modified in 28 November 1857 and again by law 120 of 1867.

<sup>30</sup> Law 272 of 1875 organized the state gendarmerie, law 280 of 1875 reformed several articles of the law of 14 December 1856 and of the law 213 of 1871. Law IV of 1877 added and reformed the Police Code.

foreman and five guards, who laboured on the Nare trail between El Peñol and Canoas, for example, stated that they were well treated, received appropriate food and clothing, medical treatment, and medicines. In their free time they made hemp sandals, cut hemp, and made ropes in order to earn some income. On Sundays and holidays they attended Mass, went frequently to Confession, and received from El Peñol's priest 'religious exhortations and lectures on morality'.<sup>31</sup>

When Camilo Botero Guerra prepared the 1888 *Anuario Estadístico*, he could find so few figures concerning prisoners in Antioqueño gaols that he decided to omit this part of his report. He found a notable exception in the Medellín circuit gaol, 'one of the largest and most perfect buildings designed for this purpose in the Republic'; its statistics were kept with painstaking care by the mayor, Carlos Arango. In 1888 the prison of the department of Antioquia housed a total of 252 accused, the *Casa de Reclusión*—for women—109, and the Medellín circuit gaol, 34.<sup>32</sup>

Although Botero Guerra boasted of 'the activity and the almost proverbial zeal with which here [in Antioquia] the letter of the law is followed by the officials and employees of the judicial power',<sup>33</sup> ten years later, Miguel Martínez in his study entitled *Criminalidad en Antioquia*, concluded that this was only the case with the higher ranks of the judicial hierarchy.<sup>34</sup> Martínez complained about the sluggishness of the judicial processes, the 'lack of police to investigate and keep criminals under arrest', the escapes of prisoners, the bad state of the prisons, the demoralization of the prisoners from inactivity, and their illnesses from deficient food. Moreover, he criticized the abuse of the right to reduce penalties or to change them, an evil that beset the entire republic, and Antioquia in particular.<sup>35</sup> During the Liberal regimes of 1875–85 in Antioquia, the executive had opposed the frequent appeals for mercy and pardons made by the legislature, which the state president saw as unlawful meddling in judicial decisions.<sup>36</sup> A report from the

<sup>31</sup> *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 29 January 1870), 22.

<sup>32</sup> C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico: Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 371, 373–7.

<sup>33</sup> Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico, 1888*, 369.

<sup>34</sup> M. Martínez, *La criminalidad en Antioquia*, thesis, Law School, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1895), 29.

<sup>35</sup> Martínez, *La criminalidad en Antioquia*, 30, 37–44.

<sup>36</sup> M. V. Gaviria Gil, 'Poder y sociedad en Antioquia. Los gobiernos liberales en el Estado Soberano de Antioquia, 1877–1885', Master's thesis, Department of History, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Medellín, 2000), 246.

Ministry of Justice showed that in the year 1892–3 Antioquia was the department that granted the greatest number of sentence reductions: 1,059, followed by Santander with 438, and Boyacá with 298.<sup>37</sup>

Around 1880, the state gendarmerie in Medellín consisted of a commandant and four captains appointed by the executive, and 200 gendarmes.<sup>38</sup> At the turn of the century, José V. Restrepo wrote a study, *La acción preventiva de la Policía y la investigación criminal*:

Among us, it has been believed that anybody can serve in the post of police agent, and there are a number of cases in which labourers or the unemployed have taken refuge in the police as a last recourse to earn their livelihood.<sup>39</sup>

In 1907, through agreement Number 16 of the Medellín City Council, the members of the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas* were enrolled as ‘. . . municipal police agents, with the same attributes as the Municipal Gendarmerie, and they shall use as a distinguishing characteristic the usual badge and a whistle, and make sure that all the decrees currently in force concerning streets, eaves, sidewalks, windows, etc. are properly complied with’.<sup>40</sup>

In the national census of 1912, Antioquia had 347 policemen: 232 in Medellín, 10 in Sonsón, 7 in Yarumal, 5 in Santa Rosa, and 5 in Puerto Berrío. A third of the *cabeceras municipales* had no police at all, and the remainder had less than 4, most of them only 1.<sup>41</sup>

From 1850 to 1865 the region had few professional soldiers and a precarious military organization that rested mostly on the municipal guard. According to census data, 1883 was the year with the highest number of military enrolled locally—794. Small both in absolute numbers and in proportion to the inhabitants, they did not even reach 2 per cent of the population.<sup>42</sup>

Several contemporary witnesses observe how difficult it was to recruit Antioqueños to fight in the country’s civil wars, which took place mainly in Cundinamarca, Cauca, Santander, Tolima, the Magdalena basin, the Atlantic coast, and Panama. One of the explanations of Antioquia’s

<sup>37</sup> Martínez, *La criminalidad en Antioquia*, 48–9.

<sup>38</sup> M. Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia*, critical edition by R. L. Jaramillo (Medellín, 1985), 419.

<sup>39</sup> (Medellín, 1900), IV.

<sup>40</sup> AHM, Concejo de Medellín, Acuerdos 1907, f.53, acuerdo No. 16 de 1907.

<sup>41</sup> *Censo general de la República de Colombia, levantado el 5 de marzo de 1912* (Bogotá, 1912), 60–6.

<sup>42</sup> C. Botero Guerra, *Ansayo de estadística general del departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 125; *Censo General de la República de Colombia, 1912* (Bogotá, 1912), 60–3.

capitulation in the civil war of 1862 was the extensive desertion of the local troops.<sup>43</sup> Twenty years later, when the number of soldiers locally was much larger, Manuel Uribe-Ángel commented: 'They are accused, indeed, of being prone to desert and of avoiding long campaigns.'<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> J. O. Melo, 'Progreso y guerras civiles entre 1829-1852', *Historia de Antioquia*, (Bogotá, 1988), 102; Brew, 'Aspects of Politics in Antioquia', 44.

<sup>44</sup> M. Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia*, critical edition by R. L. Jaramillo (Medellín, 1985), 469. Originally published in 1885.

**Part I**

**The Catholic Church**





To affirm that religion pervaded the daily life of Antioqueños is nothing new. What this chapter describes is how, where, and when this religiosity and the ecclesiastical institutions that expressed and supported it became so firmly established in the region. The Church, with strong political support, expanded its institutional framework through a large number of religious communities and devotional associations, and provided coherence and stability to Antioqueño society. Religion became a common cultural reference which united social differences, and acted as a bond between classes, unifying expectations and beliefs.

As in the rest of Colombia, and indeed in vast parts of Latin America in the years under study, religion amounts almost exclusively to Catholicism. There are no reliable statistics on Church affiliations for the nineteenth century, but the census of 1928 is revealing: 99 per cent of the Antioqueño population was registered as Catholic. Only 1,477 persons declared themselves members of other denominations.<sup>1</sup>

During the colonial period the Catholic Church in Antioquia was neither as prosperous nor as powerful as it had traditionally been in large parts of the Spanish Empire. Some cities such as Mexico, Lima, or Quito, and, in the New Kingdom of Granada, Santafé de Bogotá, Tunja, Pasto, Pamplona, and Cartagena, are famous for the grand conventual architecture that the religious orders left behind. In contrast, in the province of Antioquia, instead of convents or regulars, the Church consisted largely of an active secular clergy scattered in small rural towns and in parishes, living off a profusion of *capellanías* (endowed benefices).<sup>2</sup>

Only a few members of the regular orders had established themselves in the province of Antioquia. The Jesuits had conducted missionary *correrías* or visits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They maintained a school in Santa Fe de Antioquia from 1726 until 1767, when the order was banished by Charles III from Spanish territories. Franciscan friars sporadically visited the area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reappeared from 1803 to 1821, but returned to stay permanently only in 1895. The Brothers Hospitallers of St John of God settled in 1796 in Santa Fe de Antioquia, but by the mid-nineteenth century they had gone. The relatively late arrival, the instability and the

<sup>1</sup> Sección Estadística Departamental, *Boletín de Estadística*, 27 (Medellín, 1930), 39.

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, 'La Iglesia', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 385-6; and his *La Iglesia y Antioquia* (Medellín, 1983), 46-7; J. Piedrahíta, Pbro., *Historia eclesiástica de Antioquia. Colonia e Independencia, 1545-1828* (Medellín, 1973), 303-13; J. Serna Gómez, 'Antioquia, creación espiritual del clero diocesano', *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Historia Eclesiástica*, 21-2 (Bogotá, January-July 1971), 135-58.

low numbers of regular clergy that came to the province of Antioquia help to explain why the Church in Antioquia did not accumulate land and wealth.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the colonial era, the presence of the institutional Church in the province was not particularly strong. It did not become an episcopal see until 1804, and it received few pastoral visits from the bishops of the dioceses of Popayán, Cartagena, and the archdiocese of Santafé de Bogotá to which its territory previously belonged. To a great extent this neglect can be accounted for by Antioquia's difficult and rugged geography, which isolated the region from the rest of the viceroyalty. In addition, the scattered inhabitants of the rural areas were relatively immune to the socializing and controlling mechanisms employed by the local authorities. Most Antioqueños during the Colonial years engaged in both a shifting agriculture and small-scale placer mining, and were frequently on the move. Independent placer miners were constantly seeking gold, while many others made a living as itinerant merchants.<sup>4</sup> To control, much less catechize, such a disperse and mobile population was not an easy task.

In his visit to the province of Antioquia in 1615 the *Oidor* Herrera Campuzano commented that the Indians were ignorant of religious doctrines and reluctant to accept evangelization. A closer look, however, reveals that complete neglect in religious matters was not entirely the rule, especially after the Jesuits settled in the area in the 1720s. Antioqueños were noted for the generous way in which they sponsored the educational work of the Company of Jesus, donating gold, houses, and slaves. Soon the region began to generate abundant religious vocations, many from well-to-do families. Most candidates travelled to Bogotá to study in the schools of Santo Tomás, El Rosario, or San Bartolomé, while others went to the San Francisco de Asís seminary in Popayán, and a few even attended the universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca in Spain. Some researchers consider that this early influence of the Jesuits planted the seeds for the intense religiosity that was to flourish from the mid-nineteenth century onwards in the region.<sup>5</sup> It

<sup>3</sup> J. Piedrahíta, Pbro., *Documentos y estudios para la historia de Medellín* (Medellín, n.d.), 399.

<sup>4</sup> P. Rodríguez, 'Promesas, seducción y matrimonio en Antioquia colonial', *Seducción, amancebamiento y abandono en la Colonia* (Bogotá, 1991), 60.

<sup>5</sup> R. Silva, *Saber, cultura y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Bogotá, 1984), 171; Mesa, *La Iglesia y Antioquia*, 82-4; F. González, 'La Iglesia, organización en la Colonia, acción misional y educativa', *Historia de Colombia*, Ed. Salvat, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1988), 543.

seems there were also a great number of female religious vocations. The lack of local convents forced applicants to travel to Santafé de Bogotá, Cartagena, Popayán, or other cities with convents. According to a communication sent by several members of the Cabildo of Medellín to the Crown on 9 September 1720, ‘. . . due to a unique favour from heaven, the vast majority of women here boast an innate inclination towards a religious calling . . . and so it is that there are currently 30 nuns in convents in the city of Santafé [de Bogotá], and that two natives from this Province set out from the Convento del Carmen in Cartagena to found the house in Havana . . .’.<sup>6</sup>

In 1776 Governor Francisco Silvestre wrote in his *Relación* that religious vocations in the province of Antioquia abounded, ‘. . . because it was almost a “reason of state” [*razón de estado*] in families of tradition that there had to be a priest and a nun in every one . . .’.<sup>7</sup>

An 1802 report reveals that, in contrast with information concerning Socorro or Sogamoso, not all Antioqueños lived away from towns as *montaraces* (people in the wild), or lacked ‘civil morals or education’. In the main urban centres of Medellín, Rionegro, and Marinilla, as well as in the new towns founded by Mon y Velarde in 1788, San Luis de Góngora (today Yarumal), San Antonio del Infante (today Don Matías), and in Carolina del Príncipe, ‘. . . the Rules and Precepts of Our Holy Mother Church are invariably obeyed . . .’. The report attributed this to ‘. . . the constant abundance of many great men in the ecclesiastical career . . .’, who had not limited their work to collecting fees, but had also conducted visits and organized missions in the area.<sup>8</sup>

Between independence and the middle of the nineteenth century the presence of the Church seems to have declined in Antioquia. Manuel Pombo, on his trip to Medellín in 1852, noted that, ‘In Antioquia there are barely enough ecclesiastics for the essential services, and it is the only part that I know in the Republic where, apart from the small nunnery in Medellín, there is neither a convent nor a barracks.’<sup>9</sup>

From mid-century onwards, both the Church’s organization and its spiritual influence increased. Religious values became an important

<sup>6</sup> P. Bernardo G., OCD, *Monasterio de San José de Carmelitas Descalzas, de Medellín, 1791–1991* (Medellín, 1989), 8.

<sup>7</sup> F. Silvestre, *Relación de la Provincia de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1988), 240.

<sup>8</sup> R. Silva, *Universidad y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1992), 303–9. The report, written by Francisco Josef Bohórquez, is reproduced in: ‘Aspectos de la situación social del Nuevo Reino de Granada a comienzos del siglo XIX’, *ACHSC*, 2/2 (Bogotá, 1964), 531–60.

<sup>9</sup> M. Pombo, ‘De Medellín a Bogotá’, *Obras inéditas* (Bogotá, 1914), 32.

element in Antioqueño culture, at least in the more populated central zone, limited to the north by Yarumal, to the south by Sonsón, to the east by Marinilla and Santuario, and to the west by Santa Fe de Antioquia and San Jerónimo.<sup>10</sup>

References to the significance of religion in the life of Antioqueños appear constantly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in travellers' accounts, literature, and newspapers. In 1950 the region was still regarded as the 'most fanatically Catholic in Colombia', a country which in turn was considered one of the most Catholic in America.<sup>11</sup> In 1960 Antioquia had the largest number of parishes, the highest proportion of priests per head of population, the highest number of religious vocations for both sexes, and the largest number of devotional associations in Colombia.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> B. Restrepo G., 'Religiosidad y moralidad en Antioquia', *Memoria de gobierno*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1990), 170.

<sup>11</sup> L. H. Fajardo, *La moralidad protestante de los antioqueños* (Cali, n.d.), 63; F. Aguilar, *Colombia en presencia de las Repúblicas hispanoamericanas* (Bogotá, 1884), 225.

<sup>12</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia* (Medellín, 3rd edn. 1994), 373-402.

## I

# ‘Una República de Curas’: *Church and Politics*

In Spanish America, the wealth accumulated in real estate and income from annuities by the colonial Church sustained its political power. After independence, Liberal parties viewed ecclesiastical influence, wealth, and privileges as rival to the state, and adopted a series of measures to diminish them.<sup>1</sup> The Church–state issue became a source of dispute, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century. Liberals, and sometimes Conservatives too, saw Church property—both of the dioceses and of the regular religious orders—as a source of revenue for the state. Conflicts arose mainly over the prerogative to appoint bishops, over property rights, and the control of education.

How does the case of Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 fit in the wider Colombian and Latin American context in the way Church and state conflicts were resolved?

This section first considers local reactions to the return of the Jesuits in 1844, an episode that defined some of the interests and positions that would emerge recurrently during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Next, it examines the effect on the Antioqueño Church of two rounds of Liberal reforms introduced on a national scale: first under the government of the Caucano General José Hilario López, 1849–53; and later under the presidency of another Caucano, General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, 1861–4. It comments on the local suspension of discord between Church and state achieved in Antioquia by Pedro Justo Berrio’s Conservative administration, brought to an end by the national civil war of 1876–7. With the occupation of Antioquia by Liberal forces, the region’s clergy experienced another difficult period. This lapse was followed by the renewal of harmonious relations between state and Church, thanks to the policies of the *Regeneración*, 1878–98; the 1886 Constitution; and the 1887 Concordat. These years mark the beginning of a ‘golden age’ for the Colombian Church, particularly evident in

<sup>1</sup> J. Lynch, ‘The Catholic Church’, *Latin America: Economy and Society, 1870–1930*, ed. by L. Bethell (Cambridge, 1989), 301–5.

Antioquia. Finally, this section will discuss the ideological ascendancy of the Church with the compliance of civil authorities, and the questioning to its authority posed by the new realities of the early twentieth century.

#### LOCAL REACTIONS TO THE RETURN OF THE JESUITS

In parts of New Granada, particularly in the capital Bogotá, the return of the Company of Jesus in 1844, after its 1767 banishment, met with strong opposition from Liberal groups. In contrast, the governor of Antioquia, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, welcomed the Jesuits in the belief that they would counter what he considered to be the 'immoral' education imparted by the laicising *Colegio Académico* since the 1830s, and that they would also become a source of scientific and technical education, highly needed in this mining region. Local opposition was headed by *El Amigo del País*, a small Liberal newspaper published by a club of the same name from December 1845 to October 1847. Among its members were young intellectuals, including the writers Gregorio Gutiérrez González, Juan de Dios Restrepo (Emiro Kastos), and Camilo Antonio (*El Tuerto*) Echeverri.<sup>2</sup> It also numbered among its members lawyers, merchants, and miners, J. M. Facio Lince, Nicolás F. Villa, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, and Tomás and Elías Santamaria; and two Englishmen, Tyrell Moore and William Jervis. Although the club members were neither atheists nor even strongly anticlerical, they stood against the Conservative government of Ospina and the fanaticism they attributed to the Company of Jesus. Some of them taught in the official *Colegio Académico* and saw the Jesuits as competition, but what they basically disliked was the idea that the education of the young should fall into the hands of 'ultramontane' foreigners.<sup>3</sup> In their newspaper these Antioqueño Liberals insisted that it was an error to expect moral education from an order which France and other European nations '... being able to understand and judge it better than us, cast off as

<sup>2</sup> In his youth Echeverri was a fierce critic of the Jesuits and clerics in general. In the 1870s, after spending some time in the San Juan de Dios Hospital in Bogotá, he repented his 'excesses' against the Pope and the clergy, and asked forgiveness for his sins. See: M. T. Uribe de H., 'Camilo Antonio Echeverri: el niño terrible de la Antioquia decimonónica', *Figuras políticas de Antioquia, siglos XIX y XX* (Medellín, 1987), 86.

<sup>3</sup> R. Brew, 'Aspects of Politics in Antioquia, 1850-1865', M. Phil. thesis (Oxford University, 1971), 52-8; *El Amigo del País*, 2 (Medellín, 1 January 1846), n.p.n.; J. A. Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño. Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815-1899* (Medellín, 1992), 60-6.

immoral and dangerous . . . [the Jesuits] always leave tears, discord and anarchy behind wherever their ill-fated destiny takes them'.<sup>4</sup>

When the Jesuits were again expelled in 1850, *El Espía*, another local Liberal newspaper issued in Medellín between September 1851 and December 1851, again criticized the Company of Jesus and its alliance with the Conservative party.

#### THE FIRST PERIOD OF LIBERAL REFORMS

In New Granada the systematic attacks of Liberal central governments against Church privileges began under the presidency of General López. His reforms—universal male suffrage, abolition of slavery, and partition of communal Indian lands, among others—have been considered more radical than similar steps taken in other Latin American countries at the time.<sup>5</sup> As to religion, the reforms began with the expulsion once again of the Jesuits on 18 May 1850. In May 1851 he decreed the abolition of the ecclesiastical *fueros*. Civil and criminal offences involving the clergy would henceforth be judged by the secular courts. He ordered the redemption of *censos*, the major item of church income, exempting from these obligations those owners who paid to the government half the capital they represented. López also abolished tithes and decreed the election of parish priests by the local secular Cabildos, which were to assign them a fixed salary. Civil marriage became compulsory. López and his successor, General José María Obando, also sponsored the National Constitution of 1853, which guaranteed freedom of worship and education to all citizens. Though this Constitution omitted any explicit reference to Church–state relations, a law passed later that year separated the two.<sup>6</sup>

López's reforms met with strong opposition. In 1851 a Conservative revolt broke out in the province of Cauca and spread to Antioquia. The Antioqueño Conservatives, led by the Caucaño General Eusebio Borrero, took up arms under the slogan of '*Dios y la Federación*'. Besides their discontent with centralism, the rebels disapproved of Liberal reforms against the Church, portrayed as threats to moral education and

<sup>4</sup> *El Amigo del País*, 2 (Medellín, 1 January 1846), n.p.n.

<sup>5</sup> D. Bushnell and N. Macaulay, *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988), 209–15; Lynch, 'Catholic Church', 336–58.

<sup>6</sup> F. Díaz Díaz, 'Estado, Iglesia y desamortización', *Manual de Historia de Colombia*, vol. 2, 3rd edn. (Bogotá, 1984), 435–42; J. I. Cadavid, Pbro., *Los fueros de la Iglesia ante el liberalismo y el conservatismo en Colombia* (Medellín, 1955), 43–50.



to the family. The reactions of the local clergy were divided. Those close to Santa Fe de Antioquia and the so-called 'Jacobin' bishop Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, sympathized with the Liberals and their belief that the civil authorities should be placed above the Church. But most clerics, especially in the east of Antioquia, openly backed the Conservatives and urged their flocks to join the 'holy cause'. A few, like José María Hoyos, priest of El Peñol, a town east of Medellín, assembled small militias; his troops fought in the battles of Abejorral and Rionegro. But the insurrection did not last long, and the Antioqueños, lacking military experience, were easily defeated by the national army.<sup>7</sup>

From the 1830s to the 1870s the position of the Church in Antioquia, especially on issues concerning education and moral values, was best expressed by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, a prominent national figure and one of the founders of the Conservative party. Though he was a native of Guasca, Cundinamarca, he represented a group of Antioqueño entrepreneurs, intellectuals, and political leaders, including the wealthy miners and merchants Julián and Pedro Vásquez, the ex-governor Juan de Dios Aranzazu, and the large Barrientos and Gómez Londoño families, members of the region's upper class. Mariano Ospina's thinking was closely linked with the Jesuits; as Secretary of Interior and External Relations, he had helped to bring them back to the country in 1844. Ospina argued for peace, social stability, thrift, and pragmatism, and believed that an intellectual and ethical reform, accomplished through better education and the teaching of the Catholic religion, would bring about the order required for the prosperity and civilization. From the 1840s onwards, in part due to his influence, most of the Antioqueño clergy sided with the Conservative party. A small nucleus of Liberal supporters remained, mainly around Rionegro, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and a few minor towns in the lowlands.<sup>8</sup> As governor of the province of Antioquia, 1845–7, and of the province of Medellín, 1854, and later as president of New Granada, 1857–61, Ospina helped to ease tensions between Church and state, encouraging the former to recover some of its original sway. In 1856 the Constitution of Antioquia declared the Catholic religion to be the sole religion in the state, banned the assign-

<sup>7</sup> L. J. Ortiz M., *El Federalismo en Antioquia, 1850–1880, Aspectos políticos* (Bogotá, 1985), 25–7; Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 60–1.

<sup>8</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos's *Don Mariano Ospina y su época*, 2 vols. (Medellín, 1913–15) is still a very useful biography. See also D. Wise de G. (comp.), *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina Rodríguez*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1990), 3–10, 55; and J. O. Melo, 'Progreso y guerras civiles entre 1829 y 1852', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 101, 107, 111.

ment to alternative uses of places of worship, and protected ecclesiastical properties.<sup>9</sup>

In 1859 Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera rebelled against the legitimate government of Ospina Rodríguez. Mosquera, victorious in the civil war that followed, assumed the presidency of the Confederación Granadina. Ospina fled from Bogotá, but in July 1861 was captured and sent to prison in Cartagena, although he managed to escape into exile. He and his family lived in Guatemala until 1871. They were received there by Telésforo Paúl SJ, the future archbishop of Bogotá, 1884–9, and one of the designers of the Concordat adopted in 1887, described below. In 1872 Ospina was back in Medellín, actively involved in the creation of the *Sociedad Católica* and its newspaper *La Sociedad*, where he wrote regularly against the Radical Liberal reform of education.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE SECOND WAVE OF LIBERAL ATTACKS ON THE CHURCH

As provisional head of state, Mosquera in 1861 revived the Liberal attack. One of his targets was again the Church, which still maintained some of its privileges. On 20 July he decreed the *tuición de cultos*, the state's right of 'tuition' over the Church;<sup>11</sup> on 26 July he expelled the Jesuits for a third time; on 9 September he decreed the disentailment of property in 'dead hands' and enforced its sale by public auction. On 5 November he suppressed all religious orders.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, the new Constitution for the United States of Colombia issued in Rionegro, Antioquia, and adopted in May 1863, did not begin with the usual words, 'In the name of God'.<sup>13</sup> It established freedom of religion, banned the clergy from federal offices, warned the Church against interfering in politics, and prohibited ecclesiastical bodies from the acquisition and possession of real property. This Constitution was in force for twenty years, and is often cited as an example of the most drastic Liberalism in nineteenth-century Latin America. It has been blamed for the political instability and the frequent local, regional, and even national civil wars of these years, fuelled by the exacerbation of conflict

<sup>9</sup> Ortiz, *El Federalismo en Antioquia*, 110.

<sup>10</sup> Wise de G., *Antología del pensamiento de Mariano Ospina*, L–LXII.

<sup>11</sup> Explained a few pages ahead.

<sup>12</sup> Cadavid, *Los fueros de la Iglesia*, 51–7; Díaz Díaz, 'Estado, Iglesia', 444–8.

<sup>13</sup> For the full text of the Constitution of the United States of Colombia of 8 May 1863, see: D. Uribe Vargas (ed.), *Las Constituciones de Colombia*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1985), 1037–68.

with the Church.<sup>14</sup> The Colombian Church hierarchy, with the example and support of Rome where the Pope was facing Victor Emmanuel II and Garibaldi, responded by condemning Liberalism. Pope Pius IX excommunicated Mosquera. The intransigent position of the Vatican, product of the radical anticlerical movements then current in Europe and the sufferings of the Papacy in the process of Italian reunification, helped to deepen the conflict.<sup>15</sup>

Antioquia surrendered to Mosquera's forces in October 1862, and until January 1864, when the Conservatives recaptured local power, the state presidency was in the hands of the Liberals backed by national troops. Initially Mosquera himself governed Antioquia: in April 1863 he was succeeded by the Antioqueño Pascual Bravo, who ruled until 1864. The young politician Bravo had a hard time, for he represented a minority imposed from outside. Besides his political and military opponents, he had to face an economic crisis and religious conflict.

It is at first somewhat surprising, given the religiosity of Antioqueños, that the proceeds of Church property sold off locally seem to have been surprisingly low. No doubt this was partially due to the fact that the local Church had not inherited or accumulated wealth on the same scale as in other parts of the country. To cite an example, about 20 per cent of the real property in Bogotá belonged to the Church; and some convents like Santo Domingo or Concepción were certainly rich. Entailment, however, covered all types of corporate property owned by religious communities, lay brotherhoods, or by *capellanías*. In Antioquia the bulk of the property held in mortmain was in the form of *censos*, but after Mosquera's decree only a few of these were redeemed in the national treasury. Antioqueño landowners felt confused, and feared the disapproval of the Church, which would come down on them when they needed the sacraments. In addition to the pressure of public opinion, the restraint of the local authorities, especially after Pascual Bravo was overthrown by the Conservative Pedro Justo Berrío at the beginning of 1864, made the registration and public auction of entailed property almost impossible, as both federal agents and buyers felt intimidated.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bushnell and Macaulay, *The Emergence of Latin America*, 217; E. Gutiérrez Cely, 'El Radicalismo 1860-1878', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1991), 389-90.

<sup>15</sup> J. P. Restrepo's *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia* (London, 1885) is still a useful work on this period, particularly on Mosquera and his conduct within Antioquia. See also Lynch, 'The Catholic Church', 315-18.

<sup>16</sup> Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 73-5; Díaz Díaz, 'Estado, Iglesia', 458-60.

The measure to suppress religious orders did not cause major disruptions in Antioquia, given that the only existing convent was that of the Discalced Carmelite Sisters. However, symbolically it meant much, as the emotional response to its closing revealed. The expulsion of the nuns was decreed in February 1863, and carried out by troops of the Bomboná battalion in April, under the personal supervision of Mosquera.<sup>17</sup>

Local reactions to the *tuición* laws were more heated. These required that priests in order to perform religious services had to obtain a *pase*, or official permit. They had to report to the nearest civil authority to swear obedience to the Constitution and laws of the republic. Recalcitrant non-jurors were to be exiled. The official newspaper printed the names of the priests who submitted to this requirement, with the date when they did so.<sup>18</sup> The Bishop of Antioquia, Domingo Antonio Riaño, authorized by Pope Pius IX, declared the measure contrary to Church law and forbade the clergy to obey it. Mosquera tried in person to persuade Bishop Riaño to retract, with no success.

Juan Pablo Restrepo in *La Iglesia y el Estado en Colombia* describes in detail the memorable meeting.<sup>19</sup> Bishop Riaño '... while in Medellín, received an order from the Secretary of Government instructing him in the name of the President of the United States of Colombia to attend a meeting at twelve o'clock sharp the following day to discuss the tuition decrees and the freeing of assets from mortmain.'

The bishop appeared at the appointed time, escorted by three priests and three doctors. Restrepo says that 'The prelate went without his walking stick, because he heard that General Mosquera had said that if he went with it, he would break it over in his head.' The interview took place in the presence of the secretaries, a number of military men, and several eminent personalities of the city, '... there was such a large crowd of people there that the room was almost full, and there were people in the inside gallery as well. Virtually all the support was for the Liberal party. You saw very few Conservatives there.'

After exchanging greetings, both men sat down on a sofa and exchanged a few words about the general's health. Mosquera then bade the bishop to obey the decrees, insisting they did not contradict Catholic dogma. He blamed the clergy's meddling in politics for the continuation

<sup>17</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Iglesia y Antioquia. Derrotero histórico y panorama actual* (Medellín, 1983), 215; Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 73-5.

<sup>18</sup> See *Gaceta Oficial de Antioquia*.

<sup>19</sup> (London, 1885), 672-80. The following quotes are taken from this account.

of the war. The bishop replied that he could not submit before he received an answer from Rome. The general told him that if he would not yield at once, he should go straight to gaol, and be exiled next day to Iscuandé.<sup>20</sup> The bishop begged for a few days to arrange the trip, but they were not granted. Near the end, when both were already standing, the bishop reproached the president for losing his composure. Mosquera answered that it was not so, that he just happened to talk like that.

The meeting had lasted more than two hours. Each antagonist, certain of his position, offered the other elaborate arguments. Mosquera declared himself a Catholic by conviction, but resolved to enforce his decrees by force if necessary. 'And you', he said to the bishop, 'have a one-sided arrangement, where you put the best on one side for yourselves and leave the rest for everyone else'.

Riaño was exiled and replaced with a Liberal bishop, Lino Garro from Santa Fe de Antioquia. He was not accepted by the ecclesiastical authorities in Bogotá, who appointed Valerio Antonio Jiménez instead, producing virtual schism in the Antioqueño Church. A small group of priests from western Antioquia and a few from Rionegro submitted to the *tuición* laws, but after Riaño was sent into exile most clerics refused to obey Mosquera, and avoided persecution by hiding in the mountains or in private houses. Fugitive priests offered clandestine services, while people boycotted those performed by 'sworn' priests. Nevertheless, in January 1863 an embargo was placed on the effects and properties of those who still resisted, finally forcing almost half of the clergy to apply for the *pase*.<sup>21</sup>

The application of these laws aroused the resentment of the clergy and of Conservatives all over the country. In Antioquia even Liberals reacted against them, convinced that the persecution of bishops and priests had gone too far. The liberal '*Tuerto*' Echeverri described the disruptions brought to the religious practices of all Catholics, independent of their political affiliation:

The clergy . . . are still saying Mass for the most part out in the bushes . . . there are children here who are over one year old and who are still 'Moors', as they say around here, because there is nobody to baptise them, apart from some *Padre Sometido* . . .<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> On the borders of the current departments of Cauca and Nariño.

<sup>21</sup> Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 67-73; Ortiz, *El Federalismo en Antioquia*, 110-11.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia*, Part I (Medellín, 1918), 54.

The benign attitude towards the Church adopted by Liberals in Antioquia shows the absence of strong anticlerical feelings, such as were found in Santander, Cauca, and other parts of the country. This may partially have derived from the limited economic importance that the Church had in the region. Many prominent Antioqueño Liberals also defended the interests of the Church because it was a matter of protecting family interests: many had relatives who had embraced the religious life. The cases of Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815–99, and of Vicente Restrepo, 1837–89, illustrate this point. The former, a brilliant lawyer and parliamentarian, had been Liberal until José Hilario López banned the collection of tithes and decreed that parish priests be elected and assigned a fixed income by the local Cabildos. Restrepo Escovar moved to the Conservative party; he found it impossible to accept these reforms or the general attitude of the central government towards the clergy. He had three uncles who were priests—two of whom had been his teachers during his childhood—and his father, Felipe Restrepo Granda, had as a widower become the parish priest of Itagüí, a town south of Medellín; after his wife had died in 1821, he had placed his seven children in the care of relatives and entered the seminary. Other widowers had taken similar decisions before; it was considered a logical alternative for men who had intellectual interests and no regular income.<sup>23</sup>

Vicente Restrepo, a scientist of note, was a pious Catholic who had belonged to the Liberal party in his youth. He had studied mining in Paris and in Freiburg, Germany. Back in Medellín, he founded a smelting plant and the academic society *Escuela de Ciencias i Artes*. He was also a writer, served as a minister in the national government, and represented Antioquia in the *Congreso Nacional de Delegatarios* in 1886. He was one of the founders of the *Sociedad Católica* of Medellín in the 1870s. The following detail reveals something of his character: in 1855, while attending the *École des Mines* in Paris, despite their different ages, he had become a close friend of Gabriel García Moreno, the future ultramontane dictator of Ecuador, 1860–75, who was then in exile. For a year they lived in the 'pleasant intimacy produced by scientific affinities, without even once thinking of frequenting dances and cafés in the Latin Quarter'.<sup>24</sup>

Vicente Restrepo's disillusion with the Liberal party began during Mosquera's regime, especially after the banishment of Bishop Riaño and

<sup>23</sup> Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño*, 11–13, 83–4.

<sup>24</sup> *Don Vicente Restrepo, apuntes autobiográficos* (Bogotá, 1939), 17.

the incarceration of one of his wife's uncles for not submitting to the *tuición* laws. Years later he wrote in his memoirs:

General Mosquera's attacks to the Colombian Church; the barbaric way he treated our shepherds and the loyal clergy in general; the deference he showed to *Padres Sometidos*, however contemptible they might be; his mocking of holy objects; all these things made an impression on my spirit. If political passion led me to look for reasons to gloss over these facts, which I never applauded, my conscience told me this was not the fine and wonderful freedom those who supported the revolution had been promised.<sup>25</sup>

However, Restrepo remained a Liberal until he witnessed the progress brought to Antioquia by the Conservative government of Berrío. Other Liberals obstinately persisted in their anticlerical stand. The day after Restrepo announced his decision to join the Conservatives, anonymous signs reading: 'Vicente Restrepo, crooked Jesuit' appeared on some walls of the town.<sup>26</sup>

#### BERRÍO'S ADMINISTRATION, A RESPITE FOR THE ANTIOQUEÑO CHURCH

By the end of 1863 the Antioqueño Conservatives had conducted a successful military campaign to overthrow Pascual Bravo. In January 1864 the Conservative Pedro Justo Berrío was appointed provisional head of state. He was formally elected president a few months later and re-elected in 1869. He remained in power for almost ten years, an unusual duration for those times in Colombia. Although he wished to install a civilian government, the fear of an invasion by Mosquera's forces constrained him to maintain a military regime during his first months in power. The belligerent climate was dispelled when Liberal Manuel Murillo Toro was appointed president of the union. Despite protests from some radical Liberals, he recognized Berrío's government. He skillfully used the influence of the rich Bogotano merchant Próspero Pereira Gamba, his friend and business partner, to get Berrío to sign a declaration accepting the Constitution of Rionegro. In return, Murillo Toro recognized his government.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Don Vicente Restrepo, apuntes autobiográficos*, 34.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>27</sup> L. J. Villegas B., 'La trama de un poder. Administración de Pedro Justo Berrío, 1864-73', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1994), 67-81; Uribe de H. 'Camilo Antonio Echeverri', 84.

Berrió's administration brought political stability and was applauded even by many Liberals. Born in northern Antioquia, he came from a modest family. He had the support of the local clergy and of the Giraldos, the Gómez, and other traditional families from the east, who exerted significant political and economic influence in the region.<sup>28</sup> Berrió's government provided a refuge for the Church at a time when it faced attacks in most other parts of the country, where the Liberals prevailed. He explicitly considered religion to be one of the bulwarks of Conservatism in Antioquia, and believed it could be a useful instrument for preserving peace and order between the different social classes. During his regime the persecution of the clergy was halted, and little or nothing was done to enforce the laws concerning ecclesiastical property. In 1867 the convent expropriated by Mosquera was returned to the Discalced Carmelites, and an official monthly subvention to compensate the nuns was approved. In July of that year, in response to a petition addressed by the Antioqueño Legislature, the National Congress annulled the *tuición* law of 1861. The state of Antioquia decreed in 1869 that dioceses and parishes had a legal right to own churches, episcopal and parish houses, and cemeteries.<sup>29</sup> In the early 1870s two devotional lay societies, the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* for women and the *Sociedad Católica* for men, opened chapters in more than twenty towns in Antioquia.

The decision to move the episcopal see from Santa Fe de Antioquia to Medellín in 1868 recognized the fact that the more populated central and eastern part of the state had become the centre of local economic and political life. This was already evident by 1826, when Medellín had been declared the civil capital of the province. Moreover, the transfer of the see was a way of rewarding the role played by the Conservative clergy from the Medellín area during the local civil war of 1863 and during the subsequent occupation by Mosquera's forces. The bishop of the new diocese, Valerio Antonio Jiménez, a native of the eastern town of Marinilla, had been Berrió's schoolmate at the seminary in Santa Fe de Antioquia, and had acted as chaplain of the troops he had mobilized against Bravo.<sup>30</sup>

To a large extent, religious conflicts in Colombia during the third quarter of the nineteenth century centred on the control of education.

<sup>28</sup> See Villegas B., 'La trama de un poder'; also Ortiz, *El Federalismo en Antioquia*, 64–70.

<sup>29</sup> Ortiz, *El Federalismo en Antioquia*, 65–6; Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 215.

<sup>30</sup> Villegas B., 'La trama de un poder', 90–101.



Under Berrió's mandate, education from elementary to university level was entrusted to the Church, and improved a great deal. In 1865 the secretary of government of Antioquia sent a circular to priests requesting them to teach religion and morals in the schools within the limits of their parishes, stressing their positive influence on the formation of the young.<sup>31</sup>

When the Liberal central government issued its Decree on Primary Education on 1 November 1870, introducing free and mandatory secular primary education, another critical period for Church–state relations began. Though the decree allowed the clergy to impart religious instruction in official schools to children whose parents requested it, Conservatives in the states of Antioquia and Cauca nevertheless opposed the decree, perceiving it as a threat to the survival of the Catholic religion. Monseñor Carlos Bermúdez, bishop of Popayán, was the most intransigent, and warned parents not to send children to official schools under pain of excommunication.<sup>32</sup>

Arguing for the autonomy of the federal states, Berrió applied a modified version of the decree in Antioquia. In 1871 the *Sínodo de Medellín y Antioquia*, following a call made in Bogotá in 1868 during the *Primer Concilio Provincial de la Nueva Granada*, asked priests to impart religious education in public schools. Where priests were lacking, they were advised to delegate this responsibility to devotional associations, especially to women affiliated to the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Members of these bodies were also asked to help parish priests to guarantee the religious orthodoxy of public school teachers, regardless of the subject they taught.<sup>33</sup>

The reaction against anticlerical reforms had evolved in Antioquia, and the protection the Church received under Berrió's government seems to have reinforced the practice of a Catholicism wary of any deviations. Signs of this orthodox sentiment can be seen earlier. For example, Tyrell Moore's frustrated attempt to import a group of English Protestant colonists in the 1840s, and to introduce French weights and measures, finally failed because anything French was considered synonymous with secularism.<sup>34</sup> The feeling persisted and even strengthened during the second half of the century. In 1872 the union government

<sup>31</sup> G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia, prácticas y discursos, 1828–1885* (Medellín, 1993), 68–72.

<sup>32</sup> E. Gutiérrez Cely, 'El Radicalismo', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1991), 408.

<sup>33</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 67–9.

<sup>34</sup> Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 45–6.

invited nine professors of education from Germany, aiming to set up Normal Schools for the training of teachers in every state of the country. Gotthold Weiss was dispatched to Antioquia, but he left soon after, unable to stand the local hostility towards him as a Protestant. He was replaced by a Catholic German.<sup>35</sup> In his recollection of the civil war years of 1876–7, the Liberal leader Lucio Restrepo was eloquent about the sort of discrimination Liberals had to endure:

The clergy blatantly exerted its influence in elections, where it waged open war on the Liberal party. An intransigent Bishop brought up young priests on principles of rigorous intolerance, and so paved the way for the era of bloodshed and disaster that devastated the country in our days.

He later adds

In a land like Antioquia, where the Masonic tradition is completely unknown, the clergy raged about it every day, painting it in the most hateful colours and declaring that masonry and liberalism were one and the same thing. And so it was that the word 'liberal' came to be despised . . . Teaching establishments became a Conservative monopoly . . . Woe betide anyone who allowed his children to be given a liberal upbringing! Woe betide anyone who failed to flock to church and processions! . . . Pointed out as a heretic from the pulpit, he soon had to choose between abjuring his political opinions or emigrating.<sup>36</sup>

#### THE ANTIOQUEÑO CLERGY UNDER LIBERAL OCCUPATION

In 1876 a clique of Conservatives in the state of Cauca ignited a civil war with the aim of gaining control of the national government. The educational reform, which attempted to curtail Church influence, served as an excuse; but the confrontation was also fuelled by disputes over the federal regime and by the economic crisis that was affecting the country. By July 1876 Antioquia had become involved in the war, which also spread to the states of Tolima, Cundinamarca, and Santander.<sup>37</sup> The Conservatives were defeated, and on 5 April 1877 Antioquia surrendered to the federal forces.

The war had a religious connotation from the beginning. Liberals argued that religion should be restricted to the private sphere, but Conservatives believed that the Church had an obligation to intervene

<sup>35</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 71–2.

<sup>36</sup> L. Restrepo, *Apreciaciones históricas sobre la última guerra en el Estado de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1879), 3–4, 9–10.

<sup>37</sup> Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 253–5.

in politics to preserve social order, and that it was inevitably concerned with issues such as education, marriages, and burials. José Ignacio Montoya and Joaquín Guillermo González, the bishops of Medellín and Santa Fe de Antioquia, urged priests to get involved:

War concerns all of us, is against all of us, and the people should vigorously rise up en masse and deter and confuse the common enemy . . . Without any distinctions whatsoever, and with aims set solely on the salvation of the country, [you should] sacrifice your rest, your amenities, your riches and even your own life for the defence of religious and social interests.<sup>38</sup>

Many felt compelled to participate. Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, a member of the state legislature, was not only moved by his own convictions but was also influenced by Bishop Montoya, who had been appointed a few months before the war broke out and who was both his friend and his commercial partner. Referring to the bishop's message he wrote in his diary:

The religious question in this country has never been presented in a manner so clear, so forceful, so conclusive. He who reads this pastoral and does not take up arms to defend his religion, clearly and infamously attacked by the atheists who currently debase and degrade this suffering land, has no honour, no religion, no blood in his veins.<sup>39</sup>

In September 1876 the Bishop of Medellín called for a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Chiquinquirá in La Estrella, a town in the southern Aburrá valley, to implore divine help for the Church's cause.<sup>40</sup> The medical doctor Jaime Mejía Mejía in his autobiography caricatures the religious aspects of the war, describing one of the final battles fought near Manizales in November of 1876, in the following words:

Before the 'saving hosts' of Don Recaredo [de Villa, governor of Antioquia, 1873–6] went sky blue flags bearing these inscriptions: Long Live Religion! Long Live Pío Nono! . . . His Holiness had sent his papal blessing for the scapulars that every soldier had to wear like a badge over his battle dress. The fronts of these had to say 'Pío', and the backs 'Nono'. The aggressive priests exhorted the troops, telling them that these insignia made their wearers invulnerable, for they would work the miracle of turning the enemy's bullets into balls of cotton. Trusting in these words, many young recruits were seen standing in defiance in the face of charges by central government soldiers . . . many dead bodies were

<sup>38</sup> Quoted by Gutiérrez Cely, 'El Radicalismo', 411.

<sup>39</sup> Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño*, 308.

<sup>40</sup> Londoño, 'Mosaico de antioqueñas en el siglo XIX', *Estudios Colombianos*, 5 (Bogotá, 1988), 26.

seen where the bullet had gone in through the 'Pío' and out through the 'Nono'.<sup>41</sup>

After their victory in May 1877, General Julián Trujillo and his troops entered Medellín. A new period of conflict with the Church began under his rule. In that same month, the National Congress issued the law of *inspección de cultos*, which banned the Church from obeying any Papal dispositions that had not been previously approved by the government. Furthermore, the law suspended ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the clergy, and restored the requisite of a *pase* or government permission to conduct religious services, which the bishops of Medellín and Santa Fe de Antioquia refused to obey, arguing they were not authorized by the Vatican.<sup>42</sup> On 12 May 1877 the Congress exiled both prelates for ten years. To avoid capture, they hid in the mountains north of Medellín.<sup>43</sup> To prevent schism among the clergy, they sent letters from their hideouts to priests, authorizing special measures to guarantee the continuity of religious services. Mass and sacraments could be provided at private homes; after the drawing up of an inventory, Church vases and ornaments were to be placed in the hands of *mayordomos de fábricas* (parish treasurers), the sacristans, or any other persons of trust. Through private conversations or the confessional, priests were to advise parents not to send their children to secular schools, where they might lose their faith and learn bad behaviour.<sup>44</sup> In August 1877 the bishop of Medellín ordered priests in his diocese to continue to oppose the official schools, and reinforced the prohibition of priests giving religious instruction in them, encouraging instead the creation of Catholic schools. He emphasized that collaboration in this matter, 'will be looked on as one of the main and most relevant merits of candidates when the provision of curacies is being discussed'.<sup>45</sup> Disobedience would damage chances of promotion.

The firm stand adopted by the ecclesiastical authorities seems to have been successful. In contrast with the response to the earlier measure in 1862–3, on this occasion only a few clerics obeyed the government order and obtained a *pase*.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, in protest against the exile of the

<sup>41</sup> J. Mejía Mejía, *Historias médicas de una vida y de una región* (Medellín, 1960), 50.

<sup>42</sup> Gutiérrez Cely, 'El Radicalismo', 413.

<sup>43</sup> Until Law 37 of 1877 was derogated on 14 June 1880.

<sup>44</sup> Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 255–6; U. Ramírez Urrea, Pbro., *Apuntes para la historia del clero. Persecución religiosa en 1877* (Medellín, 1917), 35–8.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted by Gutiérrez Cely, 'El Radicalismo', 414.

<sup>46</sup> Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 252.

bishops of Medellín and Antioquia, as well as those of Pamplona in Santander, and Popayán and Pasto in Cauca, churches were temporarily closed, their bells were silenced, and priests refused to administer the Sacraments.

Another point of contention between the Radicals and the Church in Antioquia touched on the validity of Catholic marriages for civil effects. Since 1864, when for the first time civil marriage had become obligatory after the adoption by Antioquia of the Cundinamarca Civil Code, a series of contradictory measures had been alternately passed by the union and by the state of Antioquia. Civil marriage was again made compulsory in May 1877. The debate over the control of cemeteries, by the Church or by the secular districts, also aroused discord in Antioquia.<sup>47</sup>

During Daniel Aldana's administration from 1877 to 1878, tensions were eased by his conciliatory posture towards the clergy. But his successor, Tomás Rengifo, 1878–80, strained relations once more. Rengifo at length captured and banished the bishop of Medellín, imprisoned or exiled other priests, and even put restrictions on bell-tolling, processions, and other public manifestations of faith. His troops committed the sacrilege of occupying several churches.<sup>48</sup>

The polarization and emotionalism provoked by the conflict during these years helped to deepen the intransigent religious feelings of the Conservatives of Antioquia. Deviating points of view were immediately labelled 'red', or indiscriminately accused of being Masonic or diabolical. In his short story *Padre Casafús*—in some later editions titled *Luterito*—Tomás Carrasquilla offers a picture of the atmosphere and the extremes reached before, during, and after the 1876–7 civil war in his small fictional town of San Juan de Piedragorda, located somewhere in the mountains around Medellín.<sup>49</sup> Rumours started by envious neighbours led the naïve curate to suspect the orthodoxy of the protagonist Father Casafús, an intellectually curious man who tried not to get involved in the preparations for the war. On the eve of the departure of the local volunteers to join the Conservative army Father Casafús had not preached against the Liberals. In the reigning milieu of hatred and hypocrisy, his silence is misinterpreted and people see it as irrefutable proof that indeed, he is a 'red'; that he must have been one of the 'submitted clerics' under the Mosquera regime; and that he has surely read

<sup>47</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 85–6.

<sup>48</sup> Ortiz, *El Federalismo en Antioquia*, 111–12; Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 257.

<sup>49</sup> First published in Medellín in 1914.

Bentham and Víctor Hugo and the liberal *Diario de Cundinamarca*. The bishop of Medellín is notified, and he suspends Casafús.<sup>50</sup> From then on, his neighbours in Piedragorda are convinced that anyone who helps him will also be committing sacrilege: they ostracize him and he starves to death.

THE *REGENERACIÓN* AND THE CONCORDAT:  
A NEW 'GOLDEN AGE' FOR THE CHURCH

Conflicts between Church and state in Colombia were much lessened during Rafael Núñez's first presidency, 1880–2. Congress abolished the *inspección de cultos* law and ended the exile of the bishops.<sup>51</sup> However, in Antioquia the Radicals remained in power until their defeat in the general civil war of 1885, begun by their colleagues in the state of Santander to overthrow Núñez. The victorious alliance of Conservatives with the moderate or Independent Liberals ratified Núñez in power.

Most Antioqueños supported the Conservatives during the war. In her reminiscences, Concepción Ospina Vásquez, one of the daughters of Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, describes how her mother helped the Conservative leaders who set off from her house to engage in one of the battles. All classes appear to collaborate in the effort:

Despite the sentries guarding the door, weapons still got through to our house for sending on to the army, which was very short of them. Ladies and young girls would turn up to pay condolences and under their dresses they would be carrying a gun or a rifle; the same was true with the women selling sweets from Caldas or Envigado or bread and sweets from other places: they would go up to the house and pass right beside the sentry without him suspecting a thing; in exactly the same way weapons and munitions for the army left grandmother's house . . .<sup>52</sup>

Núñez's programme, the *Regeneración*, emphasized order and economic progress and introduced a series of reforms. Though originally a Liberal, his pragmatism led him to consider the Church as an organic part of Colombian society important for achieving social stability. He used religion to promote social discipline. The Constitution of 1886

<sup>50</sup> *Padre Casafús* was first edited in Medellín in 1914.

<sup>51</sup> L. J. Ortiz, 'La Regeneración en Antioquia, Colombia, 1880–1903', Master's thesis, Historia Andina, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Flacso (Quito, 1986), 85–92.

<sup>52</sup> 'Reminiscencias de Concha Ospina Vásquez, Sor Concepción', AMOR/E, doc, 2, FAES.

recognized the power and influence of the Church, and the Concordat signed a year later with the Papacy granted ecclesiastical institutions a series of long-standing privileges.<sup>53</sup>

Both the Constitution and the Concordat reflect the influence of the Conservative Miguel Antonio Caro, the Jesuit Juan Telésforo Paúl, and of Pope Leo XIII. The state proclaimed the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as the national creed, and would protect it as an essential element of social order. Both documents recognized the right of the Church to acquire and administer real property and other assets, to establish religious orders and associations, and to guide public instruction in schools and universities. Yet there were limits to ecclesiastical power: the Church would autonomously manage its internal affairs, but clergy could not be appointed to public offices, excepting those concerned with charity and education. Canonical legislation was detached from civil legislation; churches, seminaries, parish houses, and episcopal palaces were exempted from taxes; and Catholic marriage automatically produced civil effects. The registration of births, marriages, and deaths was again placed under the care of the parishes.<sup>54</sup>

From 1887 to 1930 the Conservatives remained in power, and the Church consolidated its position in Colombian society.

#### ORTHODOXY AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL DOCTRINE: 1900–1930

In Colombia the Church's influence emerged stronger as a result of the Thousand Days' war of 1899–1902. Bernardo Herrera Restrepo, archbishop of Bogotá, 1891–1928, and primate of Colombia after 1902, used a succession of Episcopal Conferences in 1908, 1912, 1916, 1919, 1924, and 1927 to impose greater control over the clergy. He was close to the secular power, and highly influential during all these years, especially with President José Vicente Concha, 1914–18. In May 1902 President José Manuel Marroquín approved Archbishop Herrera Restrepo's suggestion that the warring parties make a vow to the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the restoration of peace. In contrast with the previous Liberal epoch, now presidents presided over the solemn annual Corpus Christi proces-

<sup>53</sup> D. Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia. A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley, 1993), 140–1; M. A. Urrego, 'La Regeneración (1878–1898)', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1991), 421–3.

<sup>54</sup> F. González, 'El Concordato de 1887', *Credencial Historia*, 41 (Bogotá, May 1993), 4–9.

sion and over other religious events, the first *Congreso Eucarístico Nacional* of 1913, and the first *Congreso Nacional de Misiones* of 1924.<sup>55</sup>

The privileged status enjoyed by the Colombian Church was particularly visible in Antioquia, the department with the largest Conservative electorate and with the most deeply rooted Church. Conservatism had overwhelming support, especially in the rural areas in the highlands to the east, around Santa Rosa de Osos to the north, and in Abejorral and Sonsón to the south, where peasants, shopkeepers, merchants, day labourers, and local political bosses all numbered themselves among the faithful. Parish priests also favoured this party.<sup>56</sup> Due to the tacit alliance between the Church and the Conservative party, and the relatively good local understanding between Conservatives and Liberals—both parties had decided to face together the threat of external political interference and the inefficiencies of centralism—the issue of Church–state relations in Antioquia played a secondary role in politics.<sup>57</sup>

In 1902 the diocese of Medellín became an archdiocese. Manuel José Caycedo, the long-reigning archbishop of Medellín, 1906–34, exerted a profound influence on the social, political, and cultural life of the department. Born in Bogotá, in his youth he had been a member of the *Juventud Católica* and of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society. Once ordained, he was sent to Rome for further studies. Caycedo was appointed bishop of Pasto in 1891, and of Popayán in 1900. His work as archbishop of Medellín was characterized by his zeal and support of orthodoxy against the dangers of modernism.

Caycedo condemned the local journals *Panida* and *Acción Cultural*; and the newspapers *El Escorpión*, *La Fragua*, *El Combate*, *El Bateo*, and *La Organización*; and several books, for example *Colombia Constitucional*, published in 1915 by Antonio de J. Cano. If a book or item of printed matter was vetoed by Church authorities, it meant that no Catholic could read, keep, sell, disseminate, or defend it. Approval of texts was sanctioned by the traditional *nihil obstat* printed in the opening pages. Works condemned were announced at Sunday masses.

<sup>55</sup> C. Abel, *Política, Iglesia y partidos en Colombia* (Medellín, 1987), 33–5.

<sup>56</sup> J. O. Melo, 'La política de 1904 a 1946', in *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 111–13. See also M. Deas, 'The Role of the Church, the Army and the Police in Colombian Elections, c. 1850–1930', *Elections Before Democracy. The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*, ed. by E. Posada-Carbó, ILAS (London, 1996), 163–76.

<sup>57</sup> Abel, *Política, Iglesia*, 79–80; M. Roldán, 'La política de 1946 a 1958', in *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 164; C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón: Fantasía o realidad en la Historia de Colombia', Master's thesis, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1995), 85–94.



Caycedo also scrutinized the education imparted in his see. In 1911 he challenged a permit issued by the Departmental Assembly to revise the content of school textbooks, quoting article thirteen of the Concordat, which stated that such decisions had to be approved by the ecclesiastical authority. The archbishop censured *Una tesis* by Fernando González, and *Notas feministas*, a thesis by Ricardo Uribe Escobar, graduates in law from the University of Antioquia. He also sought to bar Protestants from evangelizing in Antioquia. In 1912 he banned *De cómo el Liberalismo colombiano no es pecado*, the tract written by the nationally prominent Antioqueño Liberal Rafael Uribe Uribe, on the ground that it had not received the Church's approval in advance, as decreed by Leo XIII.<sup>58</sup> Besides, the booklet had also been condemned by Archbishop of Bogotá Bernardo Herrera Restrepo.<sup>59</sup> In 1920 Caycedo attacked the Adventists and their book *Heraldos del porvenir*, and sought to prevent the *Primera Convención Evangélica Nacional*, to be held in Medellín on July 1926, on the ground that it was unconstitutional and violated the Concordat, which ordered public authorities to protect the Catholic religion.<sup>60</sup>

Another side of Monseñor Caycedo's activism was the promotion of social works and the creation of programmes such as the *Sopa Escolar*, the *Gota de Leche*, and of day-care centres for the children of working women. He welcomed the arrival of several Catholic religious communities, and the creation of devotional associations. His preaching reached the hearts of his numerous flock in Antioquia, as witnessed by the multitude who attended his funeral in 1937.<sup>61</sup> After listening to one of his sermons, Tomás Carrasquilla wrote in a letter to a friend:

If the Honourable Señor Caycedo talks to those complicated souls as he spoke here to the soul of the mountain [i.e. Antioquia], I'm telling you, my dear

<sup>58</sup> Prominent lawyer, soldier, orator, mason, and diplomat, Uribe Uribe was born in Valparaiso, Antioquia on 12 April 1859. He fought with Liberal armies during the wars of 1876, 1885, and 1895. After playing an important role during the Thousand Days' war, he settled in Bogotá. There he founded and directed several journals where he preached a leftist Liberalism. As a Member of Congress he argued for agrarian and labour reforms. He was assassinated in Bogotá on 15 October 1914. *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 10: *Biografías* (Bogotá, 1994), 600–2. For a more complete biography see E. Santa, *Rafael Uribe Uribe* (Medellín, 1973).

<sup>59</sup> 'Decreto Nos Manuel José Caycedo, por la gracia de Dios y de la Santa Sede Apostólica Arzobispo de Medellín', FAES, Poster collection, D6.

<sup>60</sup> E. Robledo, *La vida ejemplar de Monseñor Manuel J. Caycedo* (Medellín, 1952), 119, 127, 134–9, 186, 206–7.

<sup>61</sup> There is a series of photographs of the event taken by Jorge Obando, kept in CMV/FAES.

woman, our Archbishop has really got the knack. I was enthralled as I listened to the four sermons he preached. What a voice! What a noble way of speaking! And most of all, how easy he makes difficult things sound, with such a solid doctrine! It seems impossible that anyone could speak so beautifully, so correctly, with such elegance and depth, and yet still be able to get through to the country folk. This is the holy oratory I have dreamed of, that I had barely glimpsed in Herrera Restrepo and that I've now seen fulfilled in Caicedito. What a tremendous archbishop he is!<sup>62</sup>

During the Caycedo period the Church in Antioquia was open in its disapproval of political groups other than the Conservatives. The *Catecismo político social*, published in 1915 with the same question-and-answer scheme as the classic catechism of Father Astete, a text which generations of children memorized, depicted the Conservative and the Liberal party in the following terms:

Q. Which party in Colombia stands for good politics?

A. The Conservative party.

Q. Why?

A. Because the Conservative party does not have in its political creed a single principle condemned by the Church; because by repressing the press it protects the honour and religious beliefs of the citizens, and does not allow Religion to be insulted . . .

Q. Which party in Colombia stands for bad politics?

A. The Liberal party.

Q. Why?

A. Because the Liberal party has in its political creed several canons or principles that are reprovved and condemned by the Church, that is, by the Pope, who is the head of the Church, teacher and guide of all Catholics.<sup>63</sup>

Another episode which illustrates the spirit of confrontation between clerical groups and other more liberal sectors, was the fist fight waged in May 1915 in the Plazuela San Ignacio by some 'ignacianos' (students of the prestigious upper class school founded by the Jesuits), against contributors to a Liberal paper and some local writers, among them the poet León de Greiff, backed by students from the University of Antioquia and the Liceo Antioqueño.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Quoted by Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 275.

<sup>63</sup> A. Botero L., *Catecismo político y social* (Medellín, 1915), quoted by C. A. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900-1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, September 1986), 154-5.

<sup>64</sup> A caricature by Luis Eduardo Vieco showing the police arresting some members of the 'bando rojo' was published in *La Semana*, suplement to *El Espectador* (Medellín, 31 October 1916).

In January 1922, in a circular posted around the archdiocese of Medellín, Caycedo openly supported the involvement of the clergy in politics, to guard the Church against the evil posed by the Liberal party:

Much has been said and repeated that the clergy should not take part in politics . . . if by politics we meant those manœuvres and intrigues . . . but in true politics, which is the art of governing . . . to maintain public security and peace and preserve order and morals, the clergy is not only allowed to intervene, but to do so is their strict obligation.<sup>65</sup>

It is not surprising that the parish priest of Concordia telegraphed the results of the 1913 elections in the following terms: Catholics 240; Luciferianists 83.<sup>66</sup> He was not alone: Miguel-Ángel Builes, bishop of Santa Rosa de Osos from 1924, together with the Spaniard Ezequiel Moreno Díaz, bishop of Pasto, 1896–1905—canonized in 1992—were the two best known for their anti-Liberal fervour.<sup>67</sup>

From the 1920s onwards, besides Liberalism, the local ecclesiastical authorities combated the Socialist and Communist ideas that had recently succeeded in the Soviet revolution. They must frequently have disseminated ideas the majority of the Antioqueños had never heard of before. They also opposed some of the novelties brought by modern life, such as motion pictures, radio dramas, sports, fashions, and activities that opened up alternative ways of socializing and which risked cooling religious fervour.<sup>68</sup>

Clerics in Antioquia, particularly the Jesuits, were responsive to the calls issued by the Colombian Episcopal Conferences to create lay organizations for the dissemination of Catholic Social Doctrine, which preached collaboration between the different Social Classes to counteract the influence of the new ‘pernicious’ ideologies prevalent among urban workers. In 1919 *Acción Social Católica*, together with the *Patronato de Obreras*, both backed in Medellín by the Jesuits, led a cam-

<sup>65</sup> ‘El Arzobispo de Medellín al clero y los fieles’, FAES, Poster collection, D8.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted by C. Abel, *Política, Iglesia*, 83.

<sup>67</sup> For Builes, see: M. Zapata Restrepo, *La mitra azul* (Medellín 1973). M. Deas, ‘San Ezequiel Moreno or “El liberalismo es pecado”’, *Credencial Historia*, 46 (Bogotá, 1993), 8–12.

<sup>68</sup> Darío Jaramillo Agudelo recalls from his childhood in Santa Rosa de Osos the list of usual prohibitions—dances, movies, cafés, and *paseos*, or day excursions where both sexes mingled—to which *Monseñor* Miguel Ángel Builes added: reading the Liberal newspaper *El Tiempo*, ‘mambo, that diabolic rhythm invented by Pérez Prado’, and listening to ‘*El derecho de nacer*’, a popular Cuban radio drama written by Félix B. Caignet. See his ‘Algunos comentarios sobre la cultura antioqueña’, unpublished paper, Simposio Mundo Rural Colombiano, FAES (Medellín, 1980), 6.

paing to stop the celebration of the First of May, planned by a few small Socialist-leaning groups in the city, who demanded the closing of factories on that day. Supporters of the Jesuits distributed some 1,300 leaflets, exposing the dangers of such a celebration and exhorting workers to go to their workplaces and to attend a special Mass that would be said for them.<sup>69</sup>

The local opposition, which could not count on resources comparable with those of the Church nor with the educational system to propagate its point of view, usually resorted to the press. Among those branded 'dissidents' were the younger writers Roberto Botero Saldarriaga, Luis de Greiff, Libardo López, Eduardo and Ricardo Uribe Escobar, Alejandro López, and the Socialist leader María Cano; as well as some intellectuals and public figures of an earlier generation, Fidel Cano, editor of *El Espectador*, and Carlos E. Restrepo, president of Colombia, 1910–14. All of them at one point or another were targets of the censures of the Catholic authorities in Antioquia, which also vetoed the newspaper *El Espectador*, and the *Revista Colombia* and *El Correo Liberal*, three important periodical publications.<sup>70</sup> There was a latent conflict between intransigent sectors of the clergy, headed by the archbishop of Medellín, and some prominent political figures who wanted a more flexible Catholicism to assure social tranquillity. In 1916 Archbishop Caycedo accused Carlos E. Restrepo of spreading the principles of materialistic evolution and determinism in his writings on constitutional law. Restrepo replied that he was merely following Leo XIII, and referred to the opposition the Pope faced from part of the French clergy.

Differences arose not only among public servants and politicians, but among other Antioqueños as well. A letter written by Sister Concepción Ospina Vásquez, a well-connected nun, to Luis Navarro Ospina in November 1932 commenting on his religious vocation, reflects the interest in Catholic Social Action felt by some of the intellectually curious. Luis Navarro had decided to join a Carthusian convent in Spain. Sister Concepción asks him to consider Catholic Social Action instead, arguing that with his character and his inclination to lead an active life, this option might better suit his desire to serve God. She recommends a new European lay congregation for both sexes that was opening in December of that year in Bogotá; the son of the eminent Antioqueño physician Emilio Robledo had already joined them. She insists that

<sup>69</sup> Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social', 146.

<sup>70</sup> N. Vallecilla López, 'Periodismo panfletario y excomunión en el suroccidente colombiano', *Historia y Espacio*, 14 (Calí, June 1991), 130.

By writing, struggling, working, you can keep your mind and your imagination occupied and you won't be so secluded all the time, something that could be dangerous for someone as nervous and conscientious as you . . . As for the state of the country, like you I think we are sliding towards the abyss and that only the Sacred Heart of Jesus, our King, can save us [ . . . ] There, you can write and fight, if not in politics then at least in Catholic Social Action, which is the primary need today because unfortunately our society is heading towards paganism or even something worse.<sup>71</sup>

More than in any other region in Colombia, the Church in Antioquia supervised people's behaviour and the content of education. The old conflict between Church and state about the orientation of instruction imparted in schools and universities had been settled when the Liberals lost power. From time to time, a few groups and individuals still questioned ecclesiastic omnipotence. In 1920 a number of students from the University of Antioquia protested because the portrait of the recently deceased Fidel Cano had not been exhibited in the Paraninfo, the university's auditorium, as decreed by the Departmental Assembly. Students marched to the hall, removed the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and replaced it with Cano's portrait. The university authorities considered this act blasphemous and sent for the police to disperse the students. The police at one point fired on them and killed one of the students. Disturbances followed for several days and the Minister of Education was sent from Bogotá to restore calm. Finally, the university set up a portrait gallery and moved Cano's picture there.<sup>72</sup>

Some lay educational institutions, usually the most progressive in terms of pedagogical method, were also subject to direct or indirect ecclesiastical censure. This is illustrated in the experience of Luis Tejada, who grew up in a Liberal family interested in philosophy and education and went on to become a respected journalist. He studied in the *Escuela Normal de Instructores*, directed by Pedro Pablo Betancourt, an open-minded teacher who included in the school library Rousseau, Nietzsche, Baudelaire, and José Enrique Rodó. In 1915 Tejada joined a group of young intellectuals who published *Panida*, which soon became one of the most important literary journals in the country. In its pages authors mocked the bourgeois ideals held by Medellín's upper crust. The archbishop did not take long to forbid Catholics to read it. In 1916 Tejada paid the price. The Normal School was now in the hands of a new headmaster who purged the library and exerted strict control over

<sup>71</sup> FAES, ARN y E /C/11/f. 18–20.

<sup>72</sup> Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social', 160–1.

the students' reading. Later that year Tejada was expelled on the grounds that his conduct grades were too low. Fidel Cano, Carlos E. Restrepo, and Pedro Pablo Betancourt protested in vain.<sup>73</sup> Archbishop Caycedo also banned the journal *Acción Cultural*, edited by the *Sociedad Pedagógica* for the divulgation of modern pedagogical methods. The founders of the *Sociedad* were teachers of the *Instituto Caldas*, another lay secondary school in Medellín which drew students from all over the department.<sup>74</sup>

To conclude, in Colombia the years between 1848 and 1880 were characterized by Church–state conflicts. There arose tensions and even some violence, out of which the Church eventually emerged triumphant. In Antioquia, by Colombian standards, conflicts between the clergy and the civil authorities were relatively mild as the region had not inherited from the colony a rich and powerful Church, the anticlerical feelings were weak; and the Church was defended even by many Liberals, partly due to family interests. Even under the Radical regimes of the 1860s and 1870s when the country went through some of the most acute clashes between Church and state, Antioquia managed to become what some appropriately labelled a '*República de curas*' or 'priestly republic'.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> G. Loaiza Cano, 'Luis Tejada, el estudiante expulsado', *Estudios Sociales*, 7 (Medellín, June 1994), 87–98.

<sup>74</sup> M. B. Rojas López, 'El viajero de los tiempos', en *Doce testimonios colombianos sobre una vida sin reglas*, ed. by H. Sandoval (Bogotá, 1995), 54–7.

<sup>75</sup> Mesa, *La Iglesia y Antioquia*, 255.

## *Towards a Greater Presence of the Church*

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURE

In spite of the growing academic interest on the social and cultural aspects of religion, studies which offer a comprehensive view of the institutional structure of the Colombian Church during the nineteenth century are still scarce.<sup>1</sup> In order to follow the topics developed later in this book, it is important to understand when, where, and how the growing presence of the Church was achieved in Antioquia. This section describes the ecclesiastical structure, the geography and sociology of dioceses, churches, chapels, parishes, and clergy.

#### *Dioceses*

At the close of the colonial period, the province of Antioquia belonged to three different ecclesiastical jurisdictions: the largest part, in the central area, belonged to the diocese of Popayán; Remedios and Zaragoza in the north-east belonged to the archdiocese of Santafé de Bogotá,

<sup>1</sup> It is worth mentioning two recent studies on Colombian nineteenth-century dioceses: I. D. Toro's doctoral thesis submitted to the Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona, in 1996, 'El clero en la diócesis de Medellín de 1868 a 1902. Actuación y formación sacerdotal', describes what he calls the 'geography of the diocese', the motivations for religious vocations, the type of education given to priests, and discusses Church-state relations and the influence of the Church in the education of Antioqueños. Aside from regional archives, Toro provides new information from the *Archivo Secreto* and other archives in the Vatican; the archives of the Archdiocese of Medellín; the diocese of Antioquia; and the *Secretaría del Seminario Menor*. The other study is J. D. Cortés Guerrero's *Curas y políticos: mentalidad religiosa e intransigencia en la diócesis de Tunja, 1881-1918*, Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1998), winner of the National Award in History. Based on regional archives and periodical publications, Cortés analyses the intransigent values and attitudes disseminated by ecclesiastical authorities, parishes, schools, and families in the diocese of Tunja, a diocese which grew in spite of regional stagnation, in the midst of the strong Romanization and 'ultramontanism' of the Church under the *Regeneración* policies of Rafael Núñez.

whence no pastoral visit ever arrived; the area of Cáceres, along the Cauca river, belonged to the diocese of Cartagena.<sup>2</sup>

The bishops of Popayán and Cartagena seldom visited or sent emissaries to the faraway province of Antioquia. In 1788 the Visitor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde saw the need to establish a proper diocese: the distance to even the closest bishop's seat, Popayán, was too great; seventy rivers to cross on the way, either by wading or on rafts or in canoes; and the overland trails were very rough. In the early nineteenth century the trip took some forty days. Under such circumstances, ecclesiastical administration of the province could not be adequately maintained.<sup>3</sup> The harmful effects of the distance generated frequent complaints.<sup>4</sup> From lack of supervision, many priests were engaged in gold mining and other secular activities instead of attending to the '*cura de almas*'. Gold paid for tithes was taken out of the province, leaving no local benefit at all; the delays in obtaining a special licence to marry a relative, common in the region, propitiated illegitimate births.<sup>5</sup>

In 1804 the diocese of Antioquia had finally been established, with its seat in the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia.<sup>6</sup> However, disruptions caused by the wars of independence delayed the arrival of the first bishop until 1828. By then Medellín had become the centre of political, economic, and cultural life of the province—it had already been declared the capital in 1826. Local authorities and citizens began to demand that the see be transferred there too. This was finally achieved in 1868, with a new diocese encompassing both Medellín and Antioquia. Due to complaints from the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Antioquia, the former see was re-established as a separate bishopric in 1873.<sup>7</sup>

The beginning of the twentieth century saw further changes in ecclesiastical jurisdictions. In 1902 the diocese of Medellín became an

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF 'Trayectoria histórica de la Iglesia', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 384.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los punicipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952), 239.

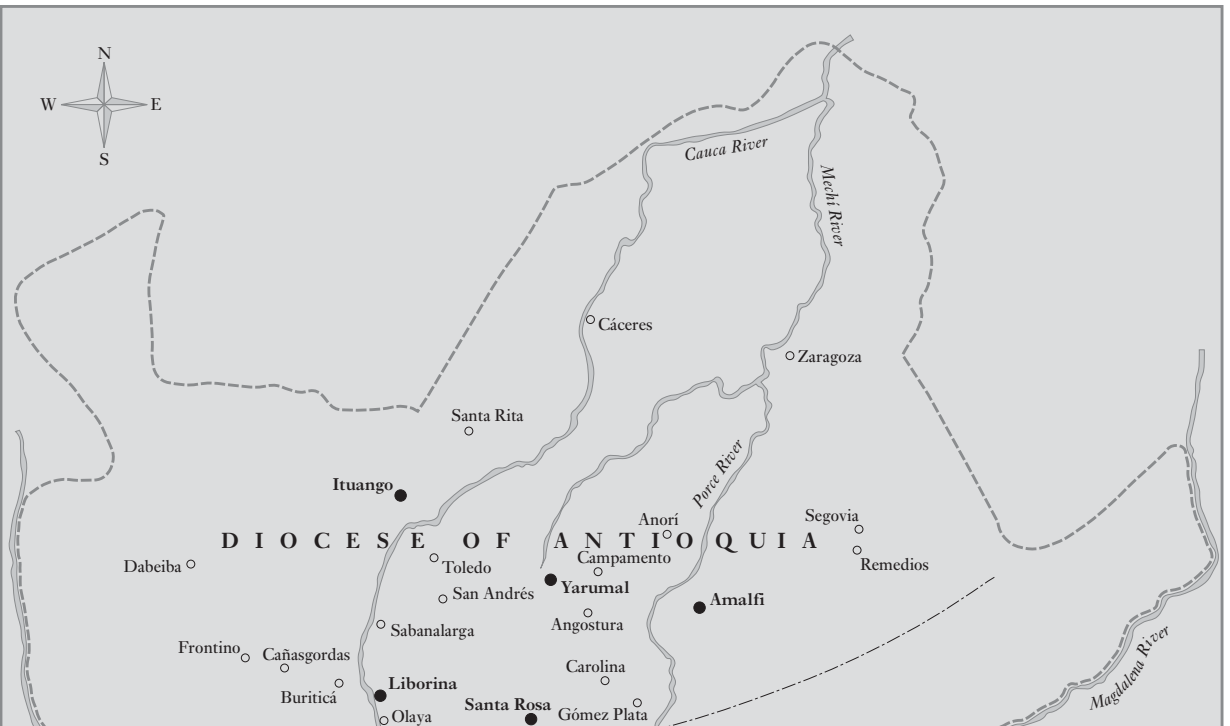
<sup>4</sup> In the 1780s the *visitadores* Francisco Silvestre and Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde reported these inconveniences to viceregal authorities. See: 'Relación del estado de la Provincia de Antioquia cuando la entregó a don Cayetano Buelta, don Francisco Silvestre que la gobernó interinamente', *Archivo Historial*, 12 (Manizales, June, 1919).

<sup>5</sup> M. T. Uribe and J. M. Álvarez, *Raíces del poder regional: el caso antioqueño* (Medellín, 1998), 396–413.

<sup>6</sup> By 1804, the province of Antioquia had around 35 parishes. See Silvestre, 'Relación del estado de la Provincia'; and J. Piedrahíta, *Historia ecesiástica de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1973).

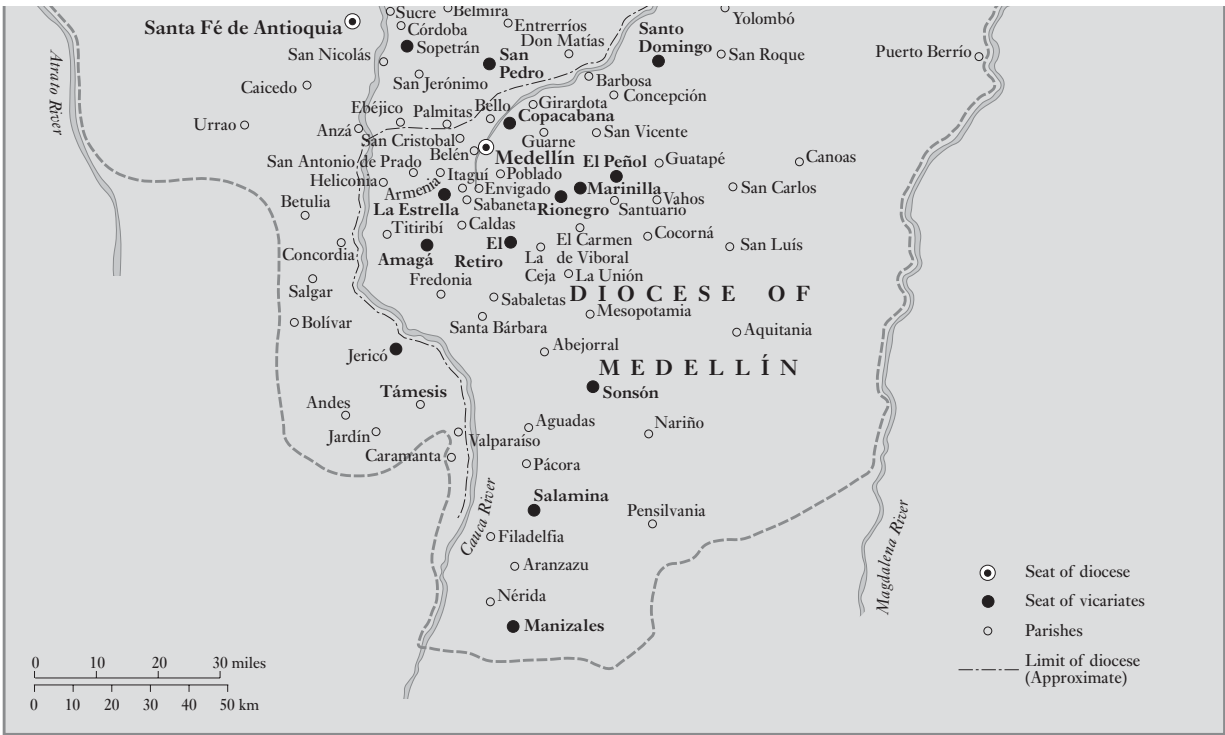
<sup>7</sup> See Map 3: 'Diocese, *vicariatos*, and parishes in Antioquia, 1888'.





MAP 3 Dioceses, vicariats, and parishes in Antioquia, 1888

Source: C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico*, (Medellín, 1888), 96–7.



archdiocese. That same year the diocese of Manizales was erected, with jurisdiction over a group of parishes located in the southern part of the department of Antioquia.<sup>8</sup> In 1915 the diocese of Jericó was created, and two years later that of Santa Rosa de Osos.<sup>9</sup>

The rhythm of creation of new dioceses was relatively dynamic. By 1900 Colombia had eleven dioceses and one archdiocese; all Latin American countries had in total 73 dioceses and 17 archdioceses. Mexico, with 22 dioceses and 6 archdioceses led the list.<sup>10</sup>

Ecclesiastical jurisdictions varied a great deal in physical extent from one diocese to another. The diocese of Jericó covered 7,000 square kilometres; Santa Rosa's 31,400. Population density also varied widely. In 1938 the archdiocese of Medellín was the most densely populated, with about 33 inhabitants per square kilometre; followed by Jericó, with 26 inhabitants per square kilometre. The vast and nearly uninhabited diocese of Santa Rosa had less than 7 inhabitants per square kilometre; while Santa Fe de Antioquia accounted for just over 2 inhabitants per square kilometre.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Churches and chapels*

Following the growth in the number of churches and public chapels helps us to assess the strength of the Catholic Church in Antioquia. Table 7 presents statistics from 1844 to 1938. Antioquia's share of the national total increased from 9 per cent in 1844 to almost 20 per cent in 1915.

In 1844 the sole Antioqueño diocese had 70 parish churches; the diocese of Bogotá, leading the national scale, had 323.<sup>12</sup> In 1891, a year for which unfortunately there is no information about the diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia which by then occupied half of Antioquia's territory, the dioceses with the highest number of churches in Colombia were Tunja, Bogotá, and Popayán. Popayán is said to have had 160

<sup>8</sup> A few years later, when the new Department of Caldas was created, some of these parishes were included under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Monizdes.

<sup>9</sup> Mesa, 'Trayectoria histórica', 391.

<sup>10</sup> See: I. D. Toro Jaramillo. 'El clero en la diócesis de Medellín de 1868 a 1902', 449-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938), 65-125. Map 4 shows the dioceses which had been created in the department of Antioquia by 1938 and the location of parishes.

<sup>12</sup> *Exposición del Secretario de Estado*, table 28.

TABLE 7. Churches and public chapels in Antioquia and Colombia, 1844-1938

Date	Number of churches and chapels in Antioquia	Number of churches and chapels in Colombia	Percentage of national total
1844	70	785	9%
1891 <sup>a</sup>	71	1,106	6%
1915	242	1,293	19%
1938	262	1,681	16%

<sup>a</sup> Does not include diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia

Sources: M. Ospina R., 'Exposición que el Secretario de Estado de la Nueva Granada presenta al Congreso, 1845' (Bogotá, 1845), table 28; Min. Fomento, *Boletín trimestral de estadística Nacional de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1892), 15-16; Minhacienda, Dirección de Estadística, *Anuario Estadístico de 1915* (Bogotá, 1917), 293; *Anuario de la Iglesia*, 65-125.

churches.<sup>13</sup> In 1915 the department of Antioquia had 242 churches and chapels, the largest number for Colombia, followed by Nariño and Boyacá. However, relating these figures to population, Antioquia falls to fifth position, after Nariño, Cauca, and Caldas.<sup>14</sup>

#### *The secular clergy*

Dioceses varied widely in extent and population and also in the numbers of their clergy. Priests grew both in absolute and relative numbers, and the central mountains of Antioquia provided far more vocations than the lowlands on the periphery.

At times during the colony the archdiocese of Bogotá and the diocese of Cartagena had had a numerous clergy. In 1634 the city of Cartagena had forty priests, while the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia had only one. In the early eighteenth century the diocese of Popayán, to which a large part of the Province of Antioquia was attached, had twenty-two clergymen serving parishes in the jurisdiction of Santa Fe de Antioquia, and eighteen serving Medellín.<sup>15</sup> Most of them had acquired titles such as

<sup>13</sup> S. Høeg Warming, 'La Santa Iglesia Católica', Ministerio de Fomento, *Boletín Trimestral de Estadística Nacional de Colombia*, 1 (Bogotá, 1892), 15-16.

<sup>14</sup> Ministerio de Hacienda, Dirección Estadística, *Anuario Estadístico de 1915* (Bogotá, 1917), 293.

<sup>15</sup> Mesa, 'Trayectoria histórica', 386.



MAP 4 Dioceses and parishes in Antioquia, 1938

*Sources:* Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia (Bogotá, 1938), 64–125; S. de Santa Teresa, OCD, Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién, desde el Descubrimiento hasta nuestros días, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1957), 105–7; 586.



'doctors, licentiates, baccalaureates and teachers' in Santafé de Bogotá, usually at the Jesuit school.<sup>16</sup>

The total number of clergymen active in New Granada in 1851 was 1,672. Of these, 1,377 were secular and 295 regular clergy. The province with the highest figure was that of Cauca, with 405 priests, followed by Cundinamarca. Antioquia occupied the sixth place, with 123 priests, all of them secular, which represented slightly more than 7 per cent of the national total of clergymen. Considering these figures in terms of clergy per capita, the places occupied by the provinces remain unaltered.<sup>17</sup>

By 1870, though the number of clergymen in the country had declined, it had grown in Antioquia. The province climbed to the fifth place with its 150 priests, who now represented 10 per cent of the country's total. Yet, during these years the Antioqueño population grew at such a fast pace that the proportion of clergymen per capita dropped, remaining below the national average. The 1883 census conducted in Antioquia registered 224 persons 'dedicated to religious service'. Assuming this refers to the clergy, it would imply a proportion of almost five priests per 10,000 inhabitants, an increase over the census of previous years.<sup>18</sup>

The national census of 1912 recorded 612 'ministers dedicated to religious service' in Antioquia, who now represented almost one-third of the 2,138 priests in the whole country, or ratio of slightly over 8 priests per 10,000 inhabitants, a figure double the national average. In the 1938 census, Antioquia again recorded double the national average.<sup>19</sup> See Tables 8 and 9.

The decades between 1850 and 1930 were critical for the development of the Church in Antioquia. The members of the clergy multiplied by three and the region increased its proportion of the national total from 7 per cent in the mid-nineteenth century to approximately 30 per cent in 1938. Until 1870 Antioquia was well below the national average of

<sup>16</sup> R. Silva, *Universidad y sociedad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá, 1992), 303–16; F. González, 'La Iglesia. Organización en la Colonia, acción misional y educativa', *Historia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1988), 544.

<sup>17</sup> M. Deas, 'The Role of the Church, the Army and the Police in Colombian Elections, c.1850–1930', *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*, ed. by Eduardo Posado Carbó, Institute of Latin American Studies (London, 1996), 14. F. Gómez, 'Los censos en Colombia antes de 1905', *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970), table 7.

<sup>18</sup> A. Galindo, *Anuario Estadístico Nacional* (Bogotá, 1875), 22–6; C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico: Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 117.

<sup>19</sup> *Censo general de la República de Colombia, levantado el 5 de marzo de 1912* (Bogotá, 1912), n.p.n.; *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 64–125.

TABLE 8. *Number of clergymen in Antioquia, 1851–1938*<sup>a</sup>

Date	Number of clergymen	Percentage of national total	Population	Proportion per 10,000 inhabitants
1851	123	7%	243,000	5.1
1870	150	10%	366,000	4.1
1883	224	—	465,000	4.8
1912	612	29%	741,000	8.3
1938	386	28%	1,189,000	3.3

<sup>a</sup> Sources do not indicate if figures include regulars.

Sources: F. Gómez, 'Los censos en Colombia antes de 1905', *Compendio de estadísticas históricas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1970), table 7; *Anuario Estadístico Nacional* (Bogotá, 1875), 22–6; C. Botero G., *Anuario Estadístico . . . 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 117; *Censo general de la República de Colombia, 1912* (Bogotá, n.d.), 60–6; *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938), 65–125; J. O. Rueda, 'Historia de la población en Colombia, 1880–2000', *Nueva historia de Colombia*, vol. 4 (Bogotá, 1989), 368.

TABLE 9. *Number of clergymen in Colombia, 1851–1938*

Date	Number of clergymen <sup>a</sup>	Population	Proportion per 10,000 inhabitants
1851	1,672	2,244,000	7.5
1870	1,565	2,293,000	5.3
1912	2,138	5,073,000	4.2
1938	1,397	8,702,000	1.6

<sup>a</sup> Sources do not specify if figures include regulars. The sharp drop in numbers 1912–38 was probably caused by some redefinition.

Sources: Gómez, 'Los censos en Colombia'. *Compendio estadísticas*, table 7; *Anuario estadístico Nacional*, 22–6; *Censo general. 1912*, 60–6; *Anuario de la Iglesia*, (1938), 65–125.

serving priests, but these increased so that by 1912 Antioquia led the country, a position it maintained at mid-century.<sup>20</sup>

How do trends in the number of secular clergy in Antioquia compare with trends in other Latin American regions? Unfortunately published

<sup>20</sup> The above ratios should, however, be read with caution, particularly when comparing different years, as some of the censuses (1883, 1912, 1938) do not specify whether they include both regular and secular clergy. Nevertheless, these statistics at least provide an idea of Antioquia's ecclesiastical place within the country and of the overall trends in the department.



statistics for the period 1850–1930 are scarce. In the absence of comprehensive regional data, the following national figures provide some perspective. In 1820 Peru had 15 clergymen for every 10,000 inhabitants, a higher proportion than Antioquia ever reached. Yet Antioquia's figure of 8 per 10,000 inhabitants was substantially higher than the 3 per 10,000 registered for Mexico in 1895, or the low figure of around 1 per 10,000 in Venezuela in 1881.<sup>21</sup>

Knowledge of which of Antioquia's regions supplied most of the clergy, and of the social origins of candidates, provides an indication of the type of clergy that developed in the region. We have to rely on indirect sources such as the published biographical sketches of priests. Unfortunately these do not give much detail about the social origins of the clerics and their level of instruction, topics which have received little attention from Antioqueño and Colombian historiography. Roger Brew's study on Antioqueño society from 1850 to 1865 affirms that the clergy from the eastern region came from well-off local gentry, while in the west they came from less affluent families, but he does not provide much evidence for this.<sup>22</sup>

Renán Silva's study on university education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New Granada shows that the seminary maintained by the Jesuits in Santafé de Bogotá recruited many of its members from the upper echelons of Antioqueño society.<sup>23</sup> According to another author, at that time candidates primarily came from Santa Fe de Antioquia (150) and from Medellín (140), followed by Rionegro (30), and from Marinilla (20).<sup>24</sup>

As the following figures suggest, during the second half of the nineteenth century the Antioqueño clergy originated in the areas which concentrated the largest number of parishes: the Aburrá valley, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and towns in the northern and eastern highlands. These were also the sets of the seminaries. In Antioquia ecclesiastical training became available for the first time in 1830 with the opening of the seminary of Santa Fe de Antioquia. When the diocese was transferred to

<sup>21</sup> J. Lynch, 'The Catholic Church', *Latin America. Economy and Society, 1870–1930*, ed. by L. Bethell (Cambridge, 1989), 353.

<sup>22</sup> R. Brew, 'Aspects of Politics in Antioquia, 1850–1865', M. Phil. thesis (Oxford University, 1971), 49–50.

<sup>23</sup> Silva, *Universidad y sociedad*, 307–11.

<sup>24</sup> Followed, in descending order by other Antioqueño towns: Envigado, Copacabana, Santa Rosa, Arma, Sopetrán, Yolombó, Remedios, Cancán, El Carmen, Yarumal, Santa Bárbara, Sabanalarga, La Estrella, Itagüí, San Pedro, Concepción, and Buritica. See J. Piedrahíta, *Creación del obispado de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1992), 101–5.

Medellín in 1868, so was the seminary, but that of Santa Fe was re-established in 1874. In 1906 the Eudists took charge of the seminary in San Pedro; in 1915 of the seminary in Santa Rosa de Osos, and in 1917 of the one in Jericó. Finally, in 1927 a Pontifical Seminary for Missions was opened in Yarumal.<sup>25</sup>

For 1828 there is evidence available on the birthplaces of one-third of the clergy active in Antioquia. Almost a quarter of them had been born in Marinilla, another quarter in Rionegro, and the rest in La Ceja, Sonsón, Antioquia, and the Aburrá valley. Between 1868—the date when the diocese of Medellín was erected—and 1934, of the 462 priests ordained in the diocese of Medellín—including the 118 present when the see was erected—the highest number came from Santuario (8.9 per cent), followed by 8.7 per cent from Medellín; the rest came from the group of towns located to the east of Medellín: Sonsón, Rionegro, Marinilla, El Carmen, San Vicente, Granada, and Abejorral, and also from Envigado, in the vicinity of Medellín.<sup>26</sup>

Guillermo Duque Botero's findings in his *Apuntes para la historia del clero en Caldas* coincide with these trends. He lists the places of birth of forty-five priests active between 1828 and 1868 in the southern parishes of Antioquia. Twenty-seven of them came from western towns, seven from Medellín, four from towns in the highlands to the north, and four from newly founded towns in the south.<sup>27</sup>

### Parishes

The evolution in the number of parishes is another means of measuring the presence of the Catholic Church in Antioquia. Unfortunately, published information about parishes in nineteenth-century Colombia is scarce, making comparisons among regions difficult. Even within Antioquia it is not easy to establish boundaries, as ecclesiastical and political-administrative divisions did not always coincide. Although the two apparently did so in 1836, by 1872 jurisdictions had varied. In 1888 Camilo Botero Guerra observed in his *Anuario estadístico* that not all parishes in the dioceses of Antioquia and Medellín were equivalent to

<sup>25</sup> J. C. García, *Historia de la instrucción pública en Antioquia* (Medellín, 2nd edn. 1962), 286–300.

<sup>26</sup> J. Piedrahíta, *El Presbiterio de la Arquidiócesis de Medellín en sus cien años de existencia* (Medellín, n.d.), 5–41.

<sup>27</sup> In 1910 these parishes became part of the new department of Caldas. G. Duque Botero, *Apuntes para la historia del clero en Caldas* (Medellín, 1957), 176–225.

the secular districts under the same names: the district subdivisions known as 'fractions' were also sometimes parishes or vice-parishes. At that date, Antioquia had 94 parishes, grouped into 23 ecclesiastical larger units, *vicarias* or vicariates, while the number of secular districts was 85. In 1930, the department of Antioquia was divided into municipalities which coincided with parishes, except in Medellín, which contained several parishes within the municipal boundary.<sup>28</sup>

Regarding the evolution in the number of parishes and of parish priests, the few figures available suggest that in 1844 the diocese of Antioquia had 61 parish priests, 10 per cent of the total number in the country. Assuming there was one priest per parish, there would be 61 parishes. Again, the 1851 population census does not provide a figure for parishes, but the 72 'parochial districts' it reported could be taken to indicate the number of parishes. In this year, the province of Antioquia had 123 clergymen, which would give an average of nearly two priests for each parish.<sup>29</sup> In 1872 the number of parishes had increased to 74.<sup>30</sup> In 1938 the dioceses in Antioquia comprised 133 parishes, a figure which more than doubles that reported for 1844.<sup>31</sup> Now, considering the average number of inhabitants per parish during the whole period, this figure more than trebled: from 2,459 in 1844 to 8,939 in 1938. A similar evolution can be observed for the number of priests per parish, which grew from one to nearly three.

Table 10 relies on averages which offer the advantage of comparisons between different epochs and places, but which hide key features, such as the differences between rural and urban parishes. However, the scant statistical information available makes it impossible to explore this topic in more detail.

The growth in the number of parishes and priests suggests intense activity in the organization of a more complex framework for the Church

<sup>28</sup> Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico. Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 91–8; D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 55. In 1944 the Church began to publish an annual record of parishes in Colombia, in the *Anuario Pontificio*. In 1960 only a few dioceses had maps indicating the location of their parishes. See G. Pérez and I. Wüst, *La Iglesia en Colombia. Estructuras eclesiásticas* (Bogotá, 1965), 73.

<sup>29</sup> *Exposición que el Secretario de Estado en el Despacho del Interior de la Nueva Granada presenta al Congreso Constitucional de 1845* (Bogotá, 1845), table 28. It is an approximate figure, as many districts do not seem to have had a parish priest. For the 1851 census see, AHA, Fondo República, Serie 'Censos', vols. 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702.

<sup>30</sup> G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia. Prácticas y discursos, 1828–1885* (Medellín, 1993), map 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 64–125.

TABLE 10. *Number of parishes in Antioquia, 1844-1938*

Date	Number of parishes	Population	Inhabitants per parish	Number of clergymen	Clergymen per parish
1844	61	190,000	2,459	61	1.0
1872	74	373,000	5,040	150 (1870)	2.0
1883	94	465,000	4,947	224	2.3
1938	133	1,189,000	8,939	386	2.9

*Sources:* M. Ospina R., 'Exposición que el Secretario de Estado de la Nueva Granada presenta al Congreso . . . 1845' (Bogotá, 1845), table 28; G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia, Prácticas y discursos, 1828-1885* (Medellín, 1993), table 3; C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico . . . 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 117; *Anuario de la Iglesia*, (1938), 65-125.

in Antioquia from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards. These parishes would mould the social and cultural life of Antioqueño towns and neighbourhoods.

#### RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

The Catholic Church in Colombia experienced strong institutional growth after the adoption in 1887 of the Concordat, which put an end to the three decades of conflict caused by the Liberal reforms. Religious communities, most of them new arrivals from abroad, played a prominent role in the reorganization of the Church. In the half-century before 1930, several foreign religious communities settled in Antioquia, while the region also saw the creation of four communities of its own.

Between 1850 and 1930, 44 congregations, domestic and foreign, were established in Colombia, 29 female and 15 male.<sup>32</sup> Of these, 20 female communities and 10 male communities worked in Antioquia. Only the Discalced Carmelite Sisters, the Presentation Sisters, and the Jesuits were established in Antioquia prior to the Concordat. Of the female congregations, two other congregations began their work in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—the Company of Mary and the Good Shepherd Sisters. Two settled in the 1900s (the *Congregación de Siervas del Santísimo* and the Salesian Sisters); nine in the 1910s (the Capuchine Sisters, the Sisters of the Poor, the *Madre Laura* missionaries, the Vincentian and the Bethlehemite Sisters, the Visitandines, the Poor Clares,

<sup>32</sup> Pérez and Wüst, *La Iglesia en Colombia*, 146, 157-8.

the *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*, and the Franciscan Concepcionists); four in the 1920s (the Daughters of Wisdom, the Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters, the *Terciarias Dominicás de Santa Catalina de Siena*, and the *Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús*); and in 1930, the Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society—see Table 11. The Jesuits, who had returned to Antioquia for the second time in 1844, only to be expelled again in 1850, were finally re-established in 1885. The Eudists and the Christian Brothers also arrived in the 1880s. The Franciscans, who had been present in Antioquia between 1803 and 1821, returned in 1895. The Salesians arrived in the 1900s, and the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, the Claretians, and the Marists settled in the 1910s. Finally, during the 1920s, one foreign order, the Augustinian Recollets arrived, and the only male order of Antioqueño origin—the *Instituto de Misiones Extranjeras* or *Padres Javieres*—was founded (see Table 12).

TABLE 11. *Date of establishment of female religious communities active in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

	Date	Community
1	(1791)	Discalced Carmelite Sisters
2	1876	Presentation Sisters
3	1898	Company of Mary
4	1899	Good Shepherd Sisters
5	1903	<i>Congregación de Siervas del Santísimo y de la Caridad</i>
6	1906	Salesian Sisters
7	1912	Capuchine Sisters
8	1913	Sisters of the Poor
9	1914	<i>Congregación de María Inmaculada y Santa Catalina de Siena</i>
10	c.1914	Visitandines
11	1915	Vincentian Sisters
12	1916	Bethlemite Sisters
13	c.1917	Poor Clares
14	1918	<i>Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver</i>
15	c.1918	Franciscan Concepcionists
16	c.1920	Daughters of Wisdom
17	1926	Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters
18	1928	<i>Terciarias Dominicás de Santa Catalina de Siena</i>
19	1929	<i>Congregación de las Hermanas Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús</i>
20	1930	Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society

TABLE 12. *Date of establishment of male religious communities active in Antioquia, 1850-1930*

	Date	Community
1	1885	Jesuits
2	1888	Eudists
3	1889	Christian Brothers
4	1895	Franciscans
5	1903	Salesians
6	1912	Discalced Carmelite Fathers
7	1913	Claretians
8	c.1917	Marists
9	1927	<i>Padres Javieres</i> or <i>Instituto de Misiones Extranjeras</i>
10	1929	Augustinian Recollects

The number of priests, monks, and nuns in Antioquia is high by Colombian standards. Unfortunately, other regional statistics are not available, so, in spite of the incompleteness of comparing national and regional data, the figures in Table 13 provide some perspective of Antioquia's position in this field. These figures, however, are not so impressive when compared with those from other countries. Commenting on the electoral role of the Colombian Church, Malcolm

TABLE 13. *Number of members of religious communities in Antioquia and Colombia, 1844-1938*

Date	Male			Female		
	Colombia	Antioquia	Percentage of national total %	Colombia	Antioquia	Percentage of national total %
1844	473	—	—	293	19	6
1891 <sup>a</sup>	469	37	8	731	54	7
1915	—	—	—	2,240	457	20
1938	2,012	254	13	5,734	1,484	25

<sup>a</sup> Does not include diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia

Sources: Ospina R., 'Exposición que el Secretario de Estado de la Nueva Granada presenta al Congreso, 1845' (Bogotá, 1845), table 28; Minfomento, *Boletín Trimestral de Estadística*, 15-16; Minhacienda, Dirección de Estadística, *Anuario Estadístico . . . 1915*, 293; *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 65-125.

TABLE 14. *Number of priests and male religious in Colombia and Ireland, 1851–1901*

Date	Ireland		Colombia	
	Total parish priests	Catholics per parish priest	Total male religious, including regulars	Inhabitants per religious—approximate
1851	2,368	2,214	1,672 (295 regulars)	1,100
1871	2,813	1,476	1,565	2,000
1901	2,938	1,126	2,138	2,500

Source: M. Deas, 'The Role of the Church, the Army and the Police in Colombian Elections, c.1850–1930', *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (London, 1996), 14.

Deas compared the number of priests and male religious in Colombia and Ireland from 1851 to 1901 (see Table 14), and argued that in Colombia the Church '... was far less present in the lives of the population than it was in Ireland'.<sup>33</sup>

Considering the number of nuns, Antioquia's figures contrast even more starkly with those for other countries. In Germany, the number of nuns increased from 7,800 in 1866 to 50,000 in 1908; and in France there were 130,000 in 1880. Spain had over 40,000 nuns in 1904 and by 1930 reached around 60,000.<sup>34</sup>

Of the religious who settled in Antioquia, four male communities came from Spain, three from France, and two from Italy. One, the *Instituto de Misiones Extranjeras*, was founded in Yarumal by the well-known bishop of Santa Rosa de Osos, Miguel Ángel Builes (see Table 15).<sup>35</sup> Of the female religious communities, eight came from France, four from Spain, two from Italy, and one from Guatemala. Five con-

<sup>33</sup> M. Deas, 'The Role of the Church, the Army and the Police in Colombian Elections', 179, footnote 17.

<sup>34</sup> Figures on Germany and France come from: M. L. Anderson, 'The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *The Historical Journal*, 38/3 (1995), 653; and those for Spain from F. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1975* (Oxford, 1987), 61.

<sup>35</sup> After being ordained in 1914, Builes was appointed *Vicario Cooperador* in Valdivia, a village in the north of Antioquia near the Cauca river, and later missionary in the vast area between Valdivia, Nechí, and Puerto Berrío. From 1924 on, raised to the bishopric of Santa Rosa de Osos, he organized *correrías*, missionary expeditions, to administer the sacraments and to preach the gospel in his jurisdiction. See: J. Botero Restrepo, *Los diez grandes evangelizadores de Colombia* (Caracas, 1987), 120–33.

TABLE 15. *Country of origin of male religious communities active in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Country	Community
Spain	Augustinian Recollects
	Claretians
	Discalced Carmelite Fathers
	Jesuits
France	Christian Brothers
	Eudists
	Marists
Italy	Franciscans
	Salesians
Colombia (Yarumal, Antioquia)	<i>Instituto de Misiones Extranjeras</i>

gregations were of Colombian origin, three of them from Antioquia: the *Congregación de Siervas del Santísimo y de la Caridad*, founded in Medellín in 1903 by María de Jesús Upegui Moreno; the *Congregación de Hermanas de María Inmaculada y Santa Catalina de Siena*, founded in Dabeiba in 1914 by Laura Montoya Upegui, Madre Laura; and the *Congregación de Hermanas Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús*, founded in 1929 in Santa Rosa de Osos by Bishop Builes (see Table 16).

Some religious communities arrived in Colombia directly from their countries of origin, others from Ecuador, from where they were expelled after the fall of García Moreno.<sup>36</sup>

Altogether male and female religious congregations worked in at least seventy-two Antioqueño towns including Medellín, as may be observed in Appendix 1: 'Location of religious communities in Antioquia, 1850–1930'. Female congregations were more evenly distributed throughout the region. The nuns and sisters worked in fifty-four towns outside Medellín, and the monks and fathers in forty-one. The more widespread distribution of the nuns outside Medellín to a large extent was due to the Presentation Sisters, who were active in twenty-two towns, the Lauritas in seventeen, the Discalced Carmelite Sisters in six, the Salesian Sisters in five, the Capuchine Sisters present in four localities, and the Vincentian Sisters present in two.<sup>37</sup> Overall, the towns

<sup>36</sup> R. V. Farrell. 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education: In Search of a Tradition', Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University, New York, 1974), 49–50.

<sup>37</sup> See Plethora of Charity Societies; and section on Religious teaching communities, in Ch. 6, on education.



TABLE 16. *Country of origin of female religious communities active in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Country	Community
France	Company of Mary Daughters of Wisdom Good Shepherd Sisters Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society Presentation Sisters Sisters of the Poor Vincentian Sisters Visitandines
Colombia	<i>Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver</i> (Barranquilla, Atlántico) <i>Misioneras de la Madre Laura</i> (Dabeiba, Antioquia) <i>Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús</i> (Santa Rosa de Osos, Antioquia) <i>Servas del Santísimo</i> (Medellín, Antioquia) <i>Terciarias Dominicás de Santa Satalina de Siena</i> (Villa de Leyva, Boyacá)
Spain	Capuchine Sisters Concepcionists Discalced Carmelite Sisters Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters
Italy	Poor Clares Salesian Sisters
Guatemala	Bethlemite Sisters

with the highest number of religious communities, besides Medellín with fifteen, were Jericó and Santa Fe de Antioquia, with six each; Santa Rosa de Osos, with five; and Dabeiba and San Pedro, with four each.

The few available contemporary statistics provide a rough idea of Antioquia's share of religious communities within the nation. In 1844 Antioquia had not reported any regular clergy; in 1938 the department contained 254 religious, 13 per cent of the 2,012 priests, monks, and friars then active in Colombia. A comparison of the ratio of population to religious shows that while Colombia had an average of around 2 religious per 100,000 inhabitants, Antioquia had 19. The rise of female religious in the region was even more dramatic: in 1844 Antioquia had 19

nuns in the enclosed convent of the Discalced Carmelites; by 1938 there were 1,484 nuns, 25 per cent of the 5,734 in the country.<sup>38</sup> According to an 1891 survey—unfortunately it did not include the diocese of Pasto, a religious stronghold in southern Colombia—the two dioceses in Antioquia contained 17 per cent of the monks and nuns in Colombia; the diocese of Bogotá, had 42 per cent; Tunja, 13 per cent; and Popayán, 10 per cent.<sup>39</sup> In the last three towns the monastic tradition dated back well into colonial times.

As to the activities carried out by religious communities, most congregations combined responsibilities in different fields. Of the ten male religious communities established in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930, seven were involved in missionary work, five in teaching, six in parochial work, and three were committed to charitable works. Of the twenty female communities, a dozen were dedicated to teaching, eight to charities, three to missions, and four were contemplative.

#### *Male religious communities*

The first male religious order established in Antioquia after 1850, and one of the most influential and dynamic, was the Company of Jesus. Founded in Spain, the Jesuits had first arrived to the New Kingdom of Granada in 1603, and reached the province of Antioquia in the 1720s. By the time they were expelled from all Spanish territories in 1767, their teachings, missionary, and parochial work had won the respect of the people and of the local authorities in the province. During the previous half century almost all local parish priests had been educated by the Company in the seminary of San Bartolomé in Santafé de Bogotá, where Antioqueño Jesuits had acted as professors, superintendents of studies, and even as rectors.<sup>40</sup>

Invited again to Colombia in 1842, the Jesuits returned to Antioquia two years later. During their trip down the Magdalena river on their way to Medellín, Fathers Joaquín Freire, José Segundo Láinez, and Luis Amoros were greeted in the riverside villages by local bands, fireworks, and bell-ringing, to which they responded by preaching sermons.

Once in Medellín, the visitors received all kinds of attentions and, ‘. . . right from the first day, there were as many people as the spacious

<sup>38</sup> *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 165; *Exposición del Secretario de Estado*, tables 28 and 54; Pérez and Wüst, *La Iglesia en Colombia*, 162.

<sup>39</sup> *El Revisor Católico*, 4/15 (Tunja, December 1894).

<sup>40</sup> Silva, *Universidad y sociedad*, 303–9.

church could accommodate; the shops closed . . . Groups of men followed the priests through the streets, asking to confess; their house was constantly besieged'.<sup>41</sup> The order was assigned the church of San Francisco—today San Ignacio—and the *Colegio Académico*, located in the outskirts of the city centre. Another six fathers arrived in 1846.

Jesuit preaching generated a religious fervour which lasted several years. Following Saint Ignatius Loyola, the Jesuit fathers established the custom of spiritual retreats or spiritual exercises, and of special sermons on Good Fridays. Additionally they organized the *Congregación de la Anunciación* for students, the *Congregación de San José* for artisans, and the *Congregación de la Inmaculada Concepción*, or *Corte de María*, for young ladies. Their influence on Antioqueño society can be seen in the massive audience that was drawn to the pulpit of San Francisco which became the most important church in the city.

Such activities were consistent with the Jesuits' firm belief in the responsibilities of the Church in the maintenance of the social order. An editorial published in 1846 in Antioquia's official newspaper expressed a similar sentiment:

. . . religious teaching is necessary for the poor, to console them and make them see there is no injustice in these unequal conditions . . . what will happen to society if the poorer classes, with no religious principles, were to believe they had the same right to be taken into account? . . . Neither politics nor the government with all its resources would be sufficient to hold them off.<sup>42</sup>

A few months later, due to the opposition headed by the Liberal club, *Los Amigos del País*, the Jesuits were removed from the direction of the *Colegio Académico*. In reaction, another group of influential citizens bought a plot of land and began to build the competing institution of San José, which started classes in 1846 under the guidance of the order. In 1847 the church of San José was also entrusted to the Jesuits.

President José Hilario López exiled the Jesuits once more in 1850. Even though their first return to Colombia had been short-lived, their work was appreciated, as the words from one of them before departing from Medellín reveal:

I have preached more than forty sermons, I have conducted exercises many times, I have travelled to a number of towns and villages doing missionary work,

<sup>41</sup> R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y en Centroamérica después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896), 69.

<sup>42</sup> *El Antioqueño Constitucional* (Medellín, 25 November 1846), quoted by Brew, 'Aspects of Politics', 54; Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, 90-2, 108-11.

especially in the city of Santa Fe de Antioquia . . . I have listened to general confessions from people who were enemies not only of the Company but also of the Church . . . Penitents followed me for two or three days just so they could confess, even if it was in the fields where we stopped to eat or sleep.<sup>43</sup>

The Jesuits were allowed to return to Colombia in 1858, but on this occasion they had yet to reach Antioquia before they were exiled for the third time, in 1861. In 1885, after a series of negotiations undertaken by the bishop of Bogotá, Vicente Arbeláez, they were finally allowed to return to the country. Thanks to the contacts made by Enriqueta Vásquez, the influential widow of Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, in December 1885 they signed a contract with the governor of Antioquia, Marceliano Vélez, to open the San Ignacio School in Medellín, which was soon the most prestigious for upper-class boys in the city.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to their educational efforts, the Jesuits organized a number of devotional confraternities, reopening some they had founded in the 1840s. They directed new associations, including the *Asociación de Madres Católicas* (1882), the *Asociación de la Buena Muerte* (1886), the *Apostolado de la Oración* (1887), the *Congregación Mariana* (1899), the *Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes* (1899), and the *Acción Social Católica* (1917).

From the 1910s onwards the Jesuits played a particular role in the formulation of responses to the 'social question'. They followed the teachings of the Catholic Social Doctrine, especially the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) of Pope Leo XIII, as well as the examples of Catholic workers' organizations created in France, Belgium, Germany, and Spain at the end of the nineteenth century. The order sought a new constituency among urban workers by changing the old devotional associations into workers' mutual-aid organizations, and—by the 1930s—into Catholic trades unions. By then, their work in Antioquia was directed mainly to the emerging working class in Medellín, which had become Colombia's major industrial centre.

The French Congregation of Jesus and Mary, or Eudists, founded by Jean Eudes in 1642 to work in parishes and to teach in seminaries and

<sup>43</sup> Pérez, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia*, 255.

<sup>44</sup> See: A. J. Gómez, *Monografía eclesiástica*, 62; D. Restrepo, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1940), 255; L. J. Muñoz, SJ, *Notas históricas sobre la Compañía de Jesús reestablecida en Colombia y Centroamérica, 1842-1914* (Oña, 1920), 63-4. Archive San Ignacio School, 'Contrato celebrado por los RR. Jesuitas para el establecimiento del Colegio de San Ignacio' (Medellín, 12 December 1885). For a local history of the Order see: *La Compañía de Jesús en Antioquia y el Colegio de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Medellín, n.d.).

in missions, settled in Colombia in 1883. The first steps to bring them to Antioquia had been taken in 1887 by Jesús María Rodríguez, bishop of Santa Fe de Antioquia, during a short stay in Paris on his way back from Rome.<sup>45</sup> In 1888 the Eudists came to Antioquia to direct the seminary of the diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia. By the turn of the century they had set up missions in Dabeiba and Sabanalarga. In 1906 they moved to San Pedro to assume charge of the seminary there, where two years later they opened the *Juniorato*, or high school. In 1915 the Eudists assumed the direction of the seminary in Santa Rosa de Osos and in 1917 the seminary of the new diocese of Jericó. By 1910 the Eudists were offering Sunday lessons for domestic servants in Medellín. By the 1920s they had extended their missions to Yarumal and Campamento.<sup>46</sup>

The Christian Brothers, the congregation founded in France by Jean Batiste de la Salle in 1680, combined pedagogical activities with charitable work. The congregation was established in Colombia first in Pasto in 1875, but left in 1876 after the outbreak of civil war.<sup>47</sup>

The idea of inviting the Christian Brothers to Antioquia first came from the bishop of Medellín, José Ignacio Montoya, while he was in France during his exile in 1877, though their arrival only became a reality many years later. In 1887 the bishop of Medellín, Bernardo Herrera Restrepo, with the support of Joaquín Vélez, Minister of Colombia to the Vatican, finally reached an agreement with the Provincial Visitor of the congregation for South America to bring the first group of six Christian Brothers to Medellín. When they finally arrived in 1889, they took charge of the *Instituto de Educación Cristiana*. Through this institution, which had been founded in 1883 by the local bishop, the Brothers ran several free schools. In 1890 a group of Brothers took charge of the boys' section of the *Casa de Huérfanos* and opened the *San José* school for boys from well-to-do families. Around 1909, in an effort to improve the food provided to boys from low-income families who attended public schools, they created the 'school-boy soup' programme in one of the city's public markets—the Plaza de Flores—in collaboration with the City Council and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society.

<sup>45</sup> A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 247, 264.

<sup>46</sup> L. Samson y A. Echeverri, *Los eudistas en Suramérica, 1883-1906*, vol. 1. (Bogotá, 1981), 44; vol. 2, 1982, 120; A. M. Palacio Vélez, Pbro., *Biografía de un cura paisa* (Medellín, 1968), 103.

<sup>47</sup> Hermano E. León, *Los Hermanos Cristianos en Colombia, 1890-1928* (Medellín, 1950), 10, 33.

Outside Medellín the Christian Brothers opened schools in 1892 in Marinilla; in 1901 in La Ceja; in 1905 in Sonsón; in 1907 in Jericó; in 1908 in Copacabana; in 1911 in Yarumal; in 1916 in Santa Rosa; in 1928 in San Pedro.<sup>48</sup>

The Franciscans reached present-day Colombia in the early sixteenth century. They first appear to Antioquia in 1803, but left during the independence wars. The order returned in 1895 to take charge of the chapel of the traditional parish of San Benito in Medellín, where, during the early years of the twentieth century, they too gave Sunday lessons to domestic servants organized in the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. In the 1910s they organized missions in Yalí and Remedios, in north-eastern Antioquia, in Andes in the south-east, and to the north in Don Matías and Gómez Plata.<sup>49</sup>

The Salesians, an Italian congregation founded by Juan Bosco in 1841 to catechize and instruct youth among the poor, arrived in Colombia in 1890 thanks to contacts made since 1887 by the archbishop of Bogotá, Monseñor Telésforo Paúl, and by Joaquín Vélez.<sup>50</sup> In Antioquia, Bishop Joaquín Pardo Vergara, backed by the governor, Pompilio Gutiérrez, in 1902 began negotiations to bring the Salesians from Italy. They arrived in 1903, and that same year founded the departmental Lepers' Hospital in Fontidueño, north of Medellín.<sup>51</sup> In 1915 the Salesians opened a poorhouse, and took charge of a school for shoe-shine boys and destitute youngsters, called the *Dormitorio de Limpiabotas y Niños Desamparados*, previously set up by the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Another group of Salesians arrived in Medellín in 1915, invited by Archbishop Caycedo to introduce the '*oratorios festivos*'. In 1915 the congregation founded El Sufragio, a pioneer industrial school, which by 1922 had opened workshops to train tailors and shoe-makers. In 1925 the institute added a mechanics school, and some years later one for book-binding and typography. In the late 1920s this school became the *Instituto Salesiano Pedro Justo Berrío*, whose first students graduated in

<sup>48</sup> A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 64–5; Höeg Warming, 'La Santa Iglesia', 20; *El Obrero Católico*, 3/123 (Medellín, May 1927), 2; *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 221–2; J. Piedrahíta Echeverri, *El templo y la parroquia de San José, 1720–1991* (Medellín, 1992), 80; Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 68–72.

<sup>49</sup> *La Buena Prensa* (Medellín, 16 August 1912), 488; (19 November 1913), 636; A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 321.

<sup>50</sup> J. J. Ortega Torres, *La obra salesiana en Colombia. Los primeros 40 años*, vol. 1 (Bogotá 1941), 22.

<sup>51</sup> J. J. Ortega Torres, *La obra salesiana en los lazaretos*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1938), 313–14.

1930.<sup>52</sup> In 1920 the Salesians bought a house and were assigned the church located at the barrio Boston, which two years later became the new parish of El Sufragio.

Pope Pius IX (1846–78) had maintained a particular interest in expanding missionary work, and promoted a series of mission initiatives in different continents. In the Americas, the main efforts were conducted in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Rome repeated the call for the opening of missions through the encyclicals of Popes Pius X (*Lacrimabili Statu Indorum* 1912), Benedicto XV (*Maximun Illud* 1919), and Pius XI, ‘the Missions Pope’ (*Rerum Ecclesiae* 1926).<sup>53</sup>

Colombia responded relatively late to the Vatican’s call to win new souls for Catholicism through missionary efforts. The commitment of masculine religious orders to this field appeared only in the last decade of the nineteenth century. While the Jesuits, the Eudists, and the Franciscans had previously conducted sporadic missions in Antioquia, the arrival in the 1910s of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel—or the Discalced Carmelite Fathers—and of the Marist Missionaries of the Heart of Mary signalled a new phase in missionary efforts.

The Discalced Carmelite Fathers, a Spanish order founded in 1568, first settled in Colombia in Villa de Leyva, Boyacá, in 1911, thanks to petitions from the Discalced Carmelite Sisters of Medellín, Bogotá, and Villa de Leyva. The effort to bring them to Antioquia was headed by the bishop of Santa Fe de Antioquia, Monseñor Maximiliano Crespo, who was concerned with the lack of priests to tend to the spiritual needs of the *Madre Laura* missionaries working in Dabeiba and Frontino, frontier towns in north-western Antioquia. In 1912 the Carmelite Fathers were established in Frontino, where they took up parish responsibilities as well as aided the missionary efforts of the ‘Lauritas’. In 1918 they were assigned the new Apostolic Prefecture of Urabá. Frontino, chosen as the place of residence for the Apostolic Prefect, remained so even after this town was excluded from the jurisdiction of the prefecture, because the bishop of the diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia refused to accept it to be removed from his diocese. The prefecture, under the

<sup>52</sup> J. Mejía E., *Resumen histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Medellín* (Medellín, 1967), 53; Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 62–3; H. Quiceno, ‘La educación primaria y secundaria en el siglo XIX’, *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 365; J. J. Ortega T., *La obra Salesiana en Colombia, 1880–1940* (Bogotá, 1941); Farrell, ‘The Catholic Church and Colombian Education’, 89.

<sup>53</sup> Lynch, ‘The Catholic Church’, 321–2.

direct authority of the archbishop of Bogotá, was maintained until 1941.<sup>54</sup>

The Carmelite Fathers also opened a convent in Sonsón in 1914; in 1920, thanks to contacts made by Archbishop Caycedo, another group settled in Manrique, a new middle-class quarter of Medellín where they built a convent and a church.<sup>55</sup> By 1927 the Carmelite Fathers had missions in Apartadó, Arboletes, Chigorodó, Chocó, Dabeiba, Juntas de Uramita, Murindó, Murri, Necolí, Pavarandocito, Puerto César, San José de Urama, San Juan de Urabá, Turbo, and Vigía del Fuerte. In some of these towns they had only a missionary centre, while in others they built churches and ran parishes. In Dabeiba, the Fathers installed an electric plant; in San José de Urama, both the electric plant and the aqueduct; in Juntas de Uramita, the aqueduct; and in Turbo they opened a hospital sponsored by the Department Assembly.<sup>56</sup>

The regional impetus behind much of the missionary activity in Colombia in the early decades of the twentieth century derived from Miguel Ángel Builes, bishop of Santa Rosa de Osos from 1924 to 1967. Bishop Builes had personal experience, as he had worked as a missionary in the lower Cauca region in the 1910s. A brilliant speaker and a prolific writer, he became nationally famous for his belligerent pastoral letters and sermons against Liberalism, Masonry, Communism, and modernism in general. Together with Madre Laura, he helped to organize the first *Congreso Nacional de Misiones* held in Bogotá in 1924, and the subsequent publication of the *Revista de Misiones*. In Yarumal Builes founded two missionary orders: the *Instituto de Misiones Extranjeras*, or *Padres Javieres* (1927), the first male missionary order ever created in

<sup>54</sup> L. Montoya Upegui, *Autobiografía* (Medellín, 1991), 307–18; P. S. De Santa Teresa, OCD, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién desde el Descubrimiento hasta nuestros días*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1957), 105–9, 124, 586.

<sup>55</sup> B. Restrepo G., OCD, *Monasterio de San José de Carmelitas Descalzas de Medellín, 1791–1991* (Medellín, 1989), 107, 116, 140.

<sup>56</sup> *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927), 120; *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938), *Anuario Eclesiástico* (Barcelona, 1919–20); Conferencia de superiores mayores de religiosos, *Directorio de comunidades religiosas en Colombia* (Bogotá, n.d.); N. Gaviria Pérez, *Misioneros Claretianos en el Chocó* (Medellín, 1980); *La Orden Carmelitana en Colombia 1911–1981* (Bogotá, 1981); B. Restrepo Giraldo, OCD, *La Orden Carmelitana en Colombia. Síntesis histórica, texto de formación carmelitana número 7* (Bogotá, 1979); *Revista de Misiones*, (Bogotá, 1925–34); *Setenta y cinco años de la Orden Carmelitana en Colombia, 1911–1986*, (Bogotá [1986]); Severino de Santa Teresa, OCD, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién. Desde el descubrimiento hasta Nuestros días*, vol. 5, part 3 (Bogotá, 1957); *Virgenes conquistadoras que Santa Teresa envió a las Américas* (Vitoria, 1951).



Latin America; and the *Misioneras Teresitas* (1929).<sup>57</sup> The first group of *Padres Javieres* were sent to preach to those living on the lower Cauca river, in Remedios, Segovia, and Nechí, mining areas located in north-eastern Antioquia. During the 1940s the congregation experienced a notable expansion and extended their work to at least twenty-three different places, most of them located in remote regions such as the Pacific coast, Arauca, and Vaupés. By the end of the twentieth century the congregation had three *vicarías* and one *prefectura* in Colombia, and missionaries in several other countries, including Africa.<sup>58</sup>

The Spanish Claretian congregation—founded in 1849—was established in Colombia in 1908 and in Antioquia in 1913. Initially the friars settled in Jericó, where they set up a shrine devoted to the Heart of Mary, and organized missions throughout south-western Antioquia.<sup>59</sup> They wanted to open a house in Medellín, but only received permission after their provincial superior agreed to take up the pastoral care of Puerto Berrío, a backward port on the Magdalena river. In Medellín the order was assigned the parish of Jesús Nazareno, and a house that would serve as a sanatorium for missionaries working in the unhealthy riverside lowlands. The first group of Claretians reached their new destinations in 1925.<sup>60</sup> They organized missions along the Magdalena river and to western Antioquia, reaching the remote areas of Ituango, Yolombó, Remedios, and Segovia. In the *correrías*, missionary expeditions, the fathers observed the Forty Hours' Devotion, holding vigils and prayer sessions in churches decorated with flowers, music, and candles. They were known for their frequent spiritual retreats and Novenas.<sup>61</sup>

The Marists, another nineteenth-century French congregation, arrived to southern Colombia in 1889. The exact date of their arrival to

<sup>57</sup> *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 9 (Bogotá, 1994), 94–6; M. Zapata Restrepo, *La mitra azul* (Medellín, 1973), 124–5.

<sup>58</sup> *Anuario de la Iglesia católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); *Anuario de la Iglesia católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1951); *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927); Conferencia de Superiores Mayores de Religiosos, *Directorio de comunidades religiosas en Colombia* (Bogotá, n.d.); *Instituto de misiones extranjeras de Yarumal, YMEY. Los 63 años de su historia* (Medellín, 1990); C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Iglesia y Antioquia* (Medellín, 1983), 13; M. D. Olano García, *Monseñor Builes. El hombre, el apóstol, el místico* (Cali, 1979), 236–7.

<sup>59</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, *Galería de preladados claretianos* (Medellín, 1985), 81.

<sup>60</sup> C. E. Mesa Gómez, CMF, *La comunidad claretiana en Medellín, 1625–1975* (Medellín, 1976), 13–18. AGN, Fondo República, Sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas, vol. 8, folio 61.

<sup>61</sup> Mesa, *La comunidad Claretiana en Medellín*, 48–9.

Antioquia is not known, but by 1917 they were conducting missions in Concordia and Jericó, in the south-west.<sup>62</sup>

The Augustinian Recollects, an Italian order founded in 1588 as a result of a reform of the Order of Saint Agustin, came to the New Kingdom of Granada in 1604 and settled in the Candelaria desert, near Villa de Leyva, becoming known as '*Agustinos candelarios*'. They arrived in Antioquia only in 1929 when the archbishop of Medellín, Manuel José Caycedo, authorized their acting as chaplains of the Presentation Sisters, and assigned them the church of San Miguel in Medellín.<sup>63</sup>

### Nuns

Throughout the colonial era most female religious communities in Spanish America had been contemplative institutions, as pastoral and charity work were reserved for friars, monks, and priests. By contrast, the majority of female congregations established in the nineteenth century conceived their apostolic role largely in terms of education and social assistance.

By 1930 only four female religious communities in Antioquia still led secluded lives. The Discalced Carmelite Sisters, an order founded in Spain in the sixteenth century, which in 1791 had established a convent in Medellín, opened a second one in El Poblado, on the outskirts of Medellín in 1900, and another one in La Ceja in 1912.<sup>64</sup> The Visitandines—a French order founded in 1610, established in Colombia since 1892—initially dwelled in Santa Fe de Antioquia, but by 1914 had moved to Jericó in search of a better climate.<sup>65</sup> The Italian Poor Clares, or *Clarisas*—who date back to 1215 and who had arrived to the New Kingdom of Granada in 1573—had a convent in Jericó by 1917.<sup>66</sup> Finally, the Order of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Franciscan Concepcionists (founded in Spain 1484 and

<sup>62</sup> Mejía, *Resumen histórico*, 54; Pérez and Wüst, *La Iglesia en Colombia*, 146–7; *Antioquia por María*, 3/34 (Medellín, 8 December 1923), photograph; M. Zapata R., *La mitra azul*, 16–17; 'Los Padres Carmelitas: 75 años en Medellín', *El Colombiano* (Medellín, 17 September 1995), 8B; AGN, F. República, sección 4, vol. 8, No. 61, 1921, f. 61; Hermano Jaime Norberto, 'Apuntes históricos. Provincia Marista colombiana', unpublished paper, 246–54.

<sup>63</sup> Fray E. Ayape de San Agustín, *Fundaciones y noticias de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Orden de los Agustinos Recoletos* (Bogotá, 1950), 632.

<sup>64</sup> B. Restrepo, OCD, *Monasterio de San José, de Carmelitas Descalzas de Medellín, 1791–1991* (Medellín, 1989), 152, 163.

<sup>65</sup> R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 292–3.

<sup>66</sup> *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927), 41.

settled in the New Kingdom of Granada since 1583) only came to Antioquia in the early twentieth century. By 1918 they had a convent in Jardín.<sup>67</sup>

The most important group of nuns established in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930, considering their geographical presence as well as the variety of their apostolate, were the *Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicás de la Presentación de la Santísima Virgen de Tours*, locally known as Presentation Sisters, or Sisters of Charity. This congregation was founded in France in 1699 by Marie Poussepin to train female teachers, educate children of the poor, and look after the sick.<sup>68</sup> In 1867 it opened houses in Spain, and in 1873 in Colombia. In 1808 it occupied place number 17 among 25 largest French female religious congregations; and in 1878 it was number 15, with 1,300 sisters of the 76,000 in France.<sup>69</sup>

The initiative of bringing the Presentation Sisters to Antioquia came from a group of distinguished Medellín men and women in 1870. Among them were the elder Conservative statesman Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, the Liberal medical doctor and geographer Manuel Uribe Ángel, the entrepreneur Julián Vásquez, and Señora Natalia Barrientos de Zulaibar. They collected donations, and in 1872 the newly founded *Sociedad Católica* appointed a commission to work with the bishop to resolve any problems. It was not an easy task to convince the congregation to settle in Colombia in years when Liberal reforms were underway. In Ospina Rodríguez's words: '... the discredit of the Confederation abroad, from the religious and moral point of view, is without doubt one of the causes that have given rise to this difficulty'.<sup>70</sup> Originally, the invitation was not accepted because the number of nuns in the congregation was not sufficient to attend to demands from several countries. The first group of Sisters arrived in Colombia in 1873 to manage the San Juan de Dios hospital in Bogotá; the Colombian consulate in France had invited them in 1870. The Antioqueños persisted,

<sup>67</sup> *Monografías de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952), 513; B. Diez, SJ, *Los religiosos en Colombia. 500 años sembrando luz y amor* (Medellín, 1993), 407, 901.

<sup>68</sup> C. Jeglot, 'Las Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicás de la Presentación de Tours. Tres siglos de historia', unpublished paper, Medellín, 29–50.

<sup>69</sup> María Cecilia Gaitán, 'Salud, política y religión. Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicás de la Presentación de la Santísima Virgen en Colombia, 1873–1929', Master's thesis, Faculty of Education, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia (Tunja, 1997), 53; C. Langlois, *Le catholicism au féminin. Les congregations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXème siècle* (Paris, 1984), 334–5.

<sup>70</sup> *La Sociedad*, 129 (Medellín, 13 December 1874); C. Jeglot, 'Las Hermanas de la Caridad', 177.

and in 1873 the Conservative president of Antioquia, Recaredo de Villa, authorized Tomás Herrán to negotiate with the superior general of the community in Tours. Later that year, Vicente Restrepo and José María Torres Caicedo, two Colombians living in France, helped to clarify the terms of the invitation. In August 1875 the Antioquia State Assembly finally approved an agreement in which the Presentation Sisters were given the charge of the state's charity hospital in Medellín. The state government offered to provide a house for the Sisters, to cover their travel expenses, and to pay a stipend to each nun on arrival.<sup>71</sup>

The first four Presentation Sisters reached Medellín in 1876. On the day of their entrance, the sons of the president of Antioquia and of Mariano Ospina Rodríguez greeted them in the pueblo of San Carlos on their way to Medellín. On the outskirts of this city they were welcomed by a large crowd. Later that evening a solemn Mass was celebrated in the cathedral, attended by the local ecclesiastical, political, and civic authorities.<sup>72</sup> In 1880 seven more Sisters arrived to found in Medellín the Presentation School for upper-class girls. In 1912 they added the *Pensionado Francés*, where they taught French, English, singing, and piano.<sup>73</sup>

In 1880 the Presentation Sisters assumed the care of a group of destitute girls in an annexe to the Presentation School, the *Orfanato Nazaret*; in 1890 the bishop assigned the Sisters the female section of the *Casa de Huérfanos*, the home for orphan children.<sup>74</sup> In 1900 they were entrusted with the *Casa de Mendigos*, a shelter for beggars; in 1904 they received the *Manicomio Departamental*, a lunatic asylum; and in 1915 the *Orfelinato de San José*. In 1918 the Sisters began to manage the *Salascunas*, nurseries for the aid of poor mothers as a complement to the *Gota de Leche*, another charitable institution aimed to improve the nutrition of infants, founded the previous year.<sup>75</sup> In 1921 they took charge

<sup>71</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del estado de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1918), 210–11; García, *Historia de la instrucción*, 183–4. The agreement between the Congregation and the state of Antioquia was published in the *Boletín Oficial*, 125 (Medellín, 23 June 1876), 502.

<sup>72</sup> *Boletín Oficial*, 151 (Medellín, 29 July 1876), 609; *Boletín Oficial*, 133, (Medellín, 4 July 1876), 534.

<sup>73</sup> J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografía de Medellín, 1675–1925* (Medellín, 1925), n.n.

<sup>74</sup> It had existed since 1881, and in 1916 changed its name to *Orfelinato de la Presentación*.

<sup>75</sup> Gómez, *Monografía eclesiástica*, 68–81; Monsalve, *Monografía estadística*, 62–3; H. D. Villegas, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890–1930* (Medellín, 1990), 221–31; J. Gaviria T., *Monografía de Medellín, 1675–1925* (Medellín, 1925), 151–5; L. E. Pardo C., *Consideraciones sobre las Gotas de Leche* (Bogotá, 1920), 16.

of the *Casa Dormitorio de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*, originally founded in 1893 by the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* to provide lodging for young female workers.<sup>76</sup> In 1923 they were also put in charge of the *Clinica Noel* for infants, created by the *Club Noel* and attached to the *San Juan de Dios* hospital.<sup>77</sup> That same year they took charge of the *Patronato de María Inmaculada y de San Francisco Javier*,<sup>78</sup> and founded the *Casa de Jesús, María y José*, the latter with the idea of regenerating 'fallen girls', who contributed to their board and lodging by sewing or working as maids for well-to-do families.<sup>79</sup> In 1930 the Congregation started to work in the *Hospital La María*, which from its foundation in 1923 had specialized in patients with tuberculosis, and opened a noviciate in Los Ángeles, a neighbourhood in north-east Medellín.<sup>80</sup>

The Presentation was not only active in Medellín but also in several rural towns, where it became a focus of attention and respect. On 25 March 1891 a group of Presentation Sisters arrived in Manizales, and the French Sister Marie Saint-Gautier registered in her diary:

At three in the afternoon, several elegant female riders, a great number of people on foot and on horseback, and a group of musicians, left the village to welcome the travellers. The main streets they traversed were adorned with banners bearing welcoming inscriptions. The whole community was expectant. The imposing and respectful silence that reigned in those solemn moments announced the happy arrival of the Sisters of Charity.<sup>81</sup>

The Presentation Sisters opened orphanages: some for boys, others for girls in Envigado 1891, in Sonsón 1898, in Santa Fe de Antioquia 1910, in Jericó 1912, and in Marinilla 1918. They founded a home for beggars in Manizales in 1906, and others for the elderly poor in Rionegro in 1910 and in Salamina in 1918. Between 1888 and 1915 they took up work in the charity hospitals in Abejorral, Envigado, Manizales,

<sup>76</sup> 'Informe de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús', *Familia Cristiana*, 831 (Medellín, 21 July 1922), 444.

<sup>77</sup> Monsalve, *Monografía estadística*, 63.

<sup>78</sup> Better known as the *Patronato de Medellín*, which had existed since 1912. See: C. A. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900–1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, March 1986), 145–6.

<sup>79</sup> *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia, Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948), 82.

<sup>80</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 8/94 (Medellín, July 1930), 1500; E. Sofía, O., *Hermanas Dominicas de la Presentación, Provincia de Medellín, 1930–1980* (Medellín, 1980), 27, 70.

<sup>81</sup> *Voyage en Colombie de Soeur Marie Saint-Gautier de Novembre 1890 a Janvier 1892* (Paris, n.d.), 84.

Salamina, Girardota, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sonsón, Rionegro, Jericó, Sopetrán, and Titiribí.<sup>82</sup> In 1933 they opened a dormitory, the *Patronato de Obreras*, for female textile workers in the Fabricato factory in Bello.<sup>83</sup>

Besides their efforts on behalf of the poor, from 1891 to 1923 the Presentation Sisters began working in a series of schools—some were founded by them, others were public schools—in Manizales and Envigado, Girardota, Salamina, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sonsón, Abejorral, Tâmesis, Jericó, San Roque, Concordia, Rionegro, Santo Domingo, La Estrella, Titiribí, Marinilla, Santa Bárbara, Fredonia, and Caldas.<sup>84</sup> In 1930 the increased scope of activities of the community in Antioquia and the insistence of Archbishop Caycedo led to the creation of a provincial headquarters of the Congregation in Medellín.<sup>85</sup>

Other female congregations who divided their attention between charity and education were the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity and the Good Shepherd, the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul (Vincentians), the Congregation of Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians (Salesian Sisters), and the local *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*.

The Good Shepherd Sisters were founded in Angers, France, in 1829 by Saint Eufrasia Pelletier for the moral regeneration and professional training of convicted women. They were brought to Colombia after long negotiations conducted, among others, by the family of the veteran general of the independence wars, Pedro Alcántara Herrán, married to Amalia Mosquera, the only daughter of General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, who at certain times during his various presidencies had strenuously attacked the privileges of the Church.<sup>86</sup> In the 1850s, General Herrán and his wife, then living in New York, had encountered the Good Shepherd Sisters in Brooklyn. Twenty years later, their

<sup>82</sup> 'Libro de establecimientos', Archivo Provincial de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Presentación; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación*, 74–112.

<sup>83</sup> L. G. Arango, *Mujer, religión e industria. Fabricato 1923–1982* (Medellín, 1991), 139–59.

<sup>84</sup> For specific dates, see Appendix 5: 'Educational institutions under female religious communities in Antioquia, 1880–1930' in section on education.

<sup>85</sup> The only published local history of the community spans from this date until 1980. See: E. Sofia, O., *Hermanas Dominicas de la Presentación, Provincia de Medellín, 1930–1980* (Medellín, 1980).

<sup>86</sup> One of Mosquera's brothers, Manuel José, was archbishop of Bogotá, 1835–52. It is perhaps surprising to find among his descendants various religious: a *Lazarista*, a Trappist, a Salesian, two Discalced Carmelite missionaries, three Good Shepherd Sisters, five Presentation Sisters, and one nun of the Company of Mary. See: E. Vergneau, *Vida de la Madre María de la Santa Cruz Herrán* (Barcelona, 1928), 4, footnote 1.

daughters took the first steps to invite the Sisters to Bogotá; additional efforts to bring them to Antioquia were undertaken by Enriqueta Vásquez, widow of Ospina Rodríguez.<sup>87</sup> However, it was only in the 1890s, when one of Pedro Alcántara's sons, Tomás Herrán, moved to Medellín and married an Antioqueña, that the final settlement in 1890 of the Good Shepherd nuns in Bogotá and later in Medellín in 1898 was accomplished. Two of Tomás Herrán's daughters had entered the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Brooklyn. One of them, Emma, whose religious name was Madre María de la Santa Cruz, was secretary-general of the congregation from 1905 to 1922 in Angers, France.<sup>88</sup>

On 25 July 1898 the superior of the Good Shepherd congregation in Bogotá, and the governor of Antioquia, Dionisio Arango Ferrer, signed an agreement to bring a group of Sisters to manage the *Casa de Reclusión*—also known as the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios Femeninos*—for the reform of prostitutes in Medellín. The government pledged 6,000 pesos to cover the travel and accommodation expenses of five Sisters, who were to begin work in the city within the next five months; it was to provide a fully furnished house, which was already under construction in Carabobo street, with separate quarters for 'presuntas y reclusas', and for the community; for every inmate a daily sum of 33 and a half centavos from the national and from the departmental treasuries; 350 pesos monthly would be paid to the Sisters; a guard would be provided for the house; they would also receive free the services of a priest. In return, the community agreed to run the institution, and to give the inmates religious and moral instruction and training in domestic work, so that they could earn a living once they were released.<sup>89</sup>

The first Good Shepherd Sisters arrived in 1899 and immediately took charge of the *Casa de Reclusión*. From 1914 they directed the Escuela Tutelar, established by the politician and writer Francisco de Paula Pérez, to supervise under-age female delinquents as well as minors accused of domestic misbehaviour.<sup>90</sup>

The Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, or Vincentians, a congregation founded in Paris in 1633 to help abandoned children, prison-

<sup>87</sup> FAES, AMOR, c/26/f 142<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Vergneau, *Vida de la Madre María de la Santa Cruz Herrán*, 3-31; B. Díez Suárez, SJ, *Los religiosos en Colombia. 500 años sembrando luz y amor* (Medellín, 1993), 341-5.

<sup>89</sup> 'Contrato', *Repertorio Oficial*, 38 (Medellín, 7 September 1898), 321.

<sup>90</sup> In 1923 the Escuela Tutelar was known as the *Casa de Arrepentidas*. For the *Casa de Reclusión* and the *Escuela Tutelar*, see: *Diario Oficial* (Bogotá, 16 August 1910), 137; J. Sierra G., *Un siglo de gobierno en Antioquia, 1886-1986* (Medellín, 1986), 27; Monsalve, *Monografía estadística*, 62.

ers, youngsters, the aged poor, and the sick, was the largest among the female congregations in France during the nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup> A group of these sisters arrived to Colombia in the 1880s, and first settled in Pasto, Cali, and other southern towns, where they worked in hospitals and schools. The congregation reached Antioquia in 1915, thanks to the collaboration of Monseñor Crespo, bishop of Santa Fe de Antioquia. In Andes and in Caramanta they taught in the public schools. In Andes they also worked in a home for the aged poor and in the charity hospital.<sup>92</sup>

The Congregation of Daughters of Mary, or Salesian Sisters, was founded in 1872 by Juan Bosco and Dominga María Mazzarello in Italy, primarily to educate destitute young girls, besides working in other charities and in missions. By 1881 the order had 300 sisters working in Italy, France, and Argentina.<sup>93</sup>

The first Salesian Sisters came to Colombia in 1897, invited by Father Evasio Rabagliati, superior of the Salesian Fathers in the country, to help them with the Lepers' Hospital in Contratación, Santander. A year later the Salesian Sisters were in charge of the municipal school there, and in 1900, with the encouragement of the inhabitants, opened a shelter for sick girls and another school.

The congregation arrived to Antioquia in 1906, with six Sisters, among them Sor Concepción Ospina, sister of General Pedro Nel Ospina, son of President Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, and later president of Colombia himself. They were invited to Medellín by Señora Clara Restrepo de Vásquez, Sor Concepción's aunt. The commercial house of *Ospina Hermanos*, contributed with 20,000 pesos to cover travel expenses and to help them settle in the city. Señora Restrepo donated 10,000 pesos towards the foundation of the *Casa Taller de María Auxiliadora*, an institution that offered bed and board to young female workers. Some were received free; others had benefactors who paid a fee. The girls learned to wash, iron, and mend clothes to help to pay for their maintenance. In 1907, at the request of the municipal government, the Sisters took charge of the girls' school in barrio Gerona, next to the Casa Taller.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Langlois, *Catholicism au féminin*, 334–5.

<sup>92</sup> R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 323, 345, 353; *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927), 41–2; *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938), 204.

<sup>93</sup> B. Díez, *Los religiosos en Colombia*, 779.

<sup>94</sup> *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña* 1/8 (Medellín, December 1905), 286; 'Reminiscencias de Concepción Ospina Vásquez, Sor Concepción', AMOR, FAES, 14 folios.



In January 1912 the Salesians founded the María Auxiliadora School in La Ceja, and three years later two more schools in Santa Rosa de Osos and in Medellín. In 1922 they opened another school in Santuario, in 1923 in Concordia, all María Auxiliadora schools. These offered the qualifications of elementary teacher, kindergarten teacher, and commerce. They also trained students in manual work, sewing, embroidery, dressmaking, painting, and cooking.<sup>95</sup>

The Salesian Sisters established *Oratorios Festivos* in their schools, free Sunday schools for poor young girls. These offered wholesome entertainment, games, songs, and religious teaching, reading, writing, arithmetic, and dressmaking lessons, with the idea of protecting them from 'worldly' dangers.<sup>96</sup>

The *Congregación de Siervas del Santísimo y de la Caridad*, the Sisters of the Poor, and the Hermanitas de San Pedro Claver, were religious communities exclusively dedicated to charity.

The *Siervas del Santísimo*, founded in 1903 in Medellín by María de Jesús Upegui Moreno from Abejorral, set up the *Casa de la Misericordia* in Medellín in 1921 as a shelter for destitute boys under the age of 12. In 1923 they took charge of the *Hospicio Municipal* in this same city. The *Siervas* eventually broadened their activities to the care of the elderly and the sick, and to missionary work, not only in Colombia but also in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Italy.<sup>97</sup>

The Sisters of the Poor, an order founded in 1839, was second in the list of the larger French female religious congregations.<sup>98</sup> Settled in Colombia in 1889, it first came to Medellín invited by the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* in 1913 to run the *Asilo de Ancianos*, the *Casa de Refugio*, and the *Casa de Jesús, María y José*.<sup>99</sup> In 1921 the *Asilo* moved to a new building in calle San Juan, where it still functions.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> '100 años de F.M.A. Colombia. Primeras casas en Antioquia', leaflet no. 7. (n.p., n.d.); J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografías de Antioquia*, 109; *Informe presentado al Sr. Gobernador Dr. Ricardo Jiménez Jaramillo sobre la marcha del ramo de Instrucción Pública en el año de 1925* (Medellín, 1925), 307.

<sup>96</sup> *Mensajes del Colegio*, 8 (Medellín, July–September 1946), 15.

<sup>97</sup> C. E. Mesa, *La Madre Upegui y su Congregación de las Siervas* (Medellín, 1988); C. E. Mesa, 'Trayectoria histórica', 393–4; '90 años de la Congregación Siervas del Santísimo', *El Colombiano* (15 May 1993), 3c; AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas 14, fols. 12–14.

<sup>98</sup> Langlois, *Catholicism au féminin*, 334–5.

<sup>99</sup> The latter dates back to 1873 and had been initially directed by the ladies of the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

<sup>100</sup> P. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880–1930', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994), 65–7; 'Las Hermanitas de los Pobres', *Familia Cristiana*, 339 (Medellín, 31 October 1913); 'Informe de la

The *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*, a Colombian congregation founded in Barranquilla in 1912 by Mother Marcelina, until then a member of the *Hermanitas de los Pobres* from Maiquetia, Venezuela, were brought to Antioquia by the bishop of Santa Fe de Antioquia, Cristóbal Toro, after his transfer from the diocese of Santa Marta. The first eight Sisters arrived in February 1918 to manage the *Asilo de Ancianos* in Santa Fe. Later that year some of them settled in Támesis, where they opened a hospital and another hospice. When Mother Marcelina visited both Antioqueño foundations in 1921, she was surprised at the large number of postulants. Twelve were admitted to the convent.<sup>101</sup>

Among the congregations fully dedicated to teaching, the Company of Mary, popularly known as the *Enseñanza* nuns, played an outstanding role. This order, founded by Juana de Lestonac in France in 1606, sought to renew female religious life by adding teaching to the traditional solemn vows. They were the first nuns in Spanish America to engage in social activities. In 1754 the Company of Mary had opened schools for girls of all social classes in Mexico; in 1780 they reached the Río de la Plata; and in 1783 founded a convent in Santafé de Bogotá.

The state authorities first discussed the idea of bringing the Company of Mary to Medellín in 1871.<sup>102</sup> The initiative was delayed until the 1890s when Bishop Joaquín Pardo Vergara and the rector of the San Ignacio School with the backing of a group of clerics and lay citizens guaranteed the availability of funds to cover the expenses of bringing the nuns. Señorita Liberata Arango Barrientos donated a house, under the condition that she be admitted to the convent. The Superior in Barcelona sent three well-trained nuns in 1898. They were joined by five nuns from the convent in Bogotá, among them María Ignacia Bertilda, daughter of the politician José María Samper and his wife, the writer

Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús', *Familia Cristiana*, 433 (Medellín, 17 July 1914), 583.

<sup>101</sup> C. E. Mesa, *La Madre Marcelina. Su vida, sus virtudes y su Congregación* (Bogotá, 1984), 33, 193–204; AGN, Fondo República, Sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas, vol. 14, fols. 12–14.

<sup>102</sup> Law 185 of 23 September 1871 established that the 1,600 pesos, which a law issued on 13 December 1859 had set aside to bring the Vincentian Sisters to work in the state hospital, be used instead to invite the Company of Mary, as the former invitation was not successful. See: P. A. Echavarría, *Leyes expedidas por la Legislatura Constitucional del Estado de Antioquia en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1859* (Medellín, 1859), 29; *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 30 September 1871), 466.

Soledad Acosta. María Ignacia, commissioned by her superiors, kept a diary of the trip.<sup>103</sup>

In 1899 the *Enseñanza* nuns inaugurated a school for upper-class girls, where they familiarized teachers with modern pedagogical methods, and introduced practices such as 'school debates' and literary gatherings. This religious community was so successful in Antioquia that between 1899 and 1921 it admitted eighty-three postulants. In 1912 the Departmental Board of Public Education approved a subsidy for the *Enseñanza* school.<sup>104</sup>

Other congregations exclusively dedicated to teaching included the Capuchine Sisters, the Daughters of Wisdom, the *Terciarias Dominicanas*, the Bethlehemite Sisters, and the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Congregation of the Tertiary Sisters of the Holy Family (Capuchine Sisters), founded in 1885 in Montiel, Spain, was brought to Colombia in 1905. In 1912 the Sisters moved their convent from La Guajira to Yarumal, Antioquia, where they also started the *Colegio de la Merced* and a noviciate. In 1916 the Capuchines opened the *Colegio de la Sagrada Familia* in Urrao, and a school in Tâmesis in 1916; in 1920 another one in Santa Rosa de Osos.<sup>105</sup> Around 1920 the Daughters of Wisdom, a community founded in France in 1703 and established in Colombia in 1905, opened an institute for blind and deaf-and-dumb girls in Medellín.<sup>106</sup> The *Terciarias Dominicanas de Santa Catalina* de Siena, established in Villa de Leyva in 1880, settled in Valparaíso, southwestern Antioquia, in 1928. The *Congregación de Hermanas Betlemitas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* originated in Guatemala in 1856; exiled in 1873, they moved to Costa Rica, from where they were also banned. The Sisters arrived in Pasto in 1885, and in 1916 they opened a school in San Pedro, Antioquia.<sup>107</sup>

The Mothers of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded in Paris in 1800, established in Medellín both a school for upper-class girls

<sup>103</sup> Archivo de la Orden de Nuestra Señora, Serie 6G1, Libro Anales de la Casa, 1899–1914, Hermana María Ignacia Bertilda Samper, 'Viaje en 1899 a fundar el convento de Medellín', fols. 25–71 ; P. Foz y Foz, ODN (ed.), *Fuentes primarias para la historia de la educación de la mujer en Europa y en América*, *Archivo Histórico de la Compañía de N. S. de María, 1607–1921* (Rome, 1989), 567–607, 1054–67.

<sup>104</sup> García, *Historia de la instrucción Pública*, 185–6.

<sup>105</sup> *50 años de las Terciarias Capuchinas en Colombia, 1905–1955* (Medellín, 1974), 11–26.

<sup>106</sup> AGN, Fondo República, Sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas, vol. 14, fols. 12–14.

<sup>107</sup> B. Díez, *Los religiosos en Colombia*, 335–8; C. E. Mesa, *Biografía de la Madre Magdalena Restrepo, Betlemita* (Bogotá, 1987), 23–7.

and a free one for low-income girls in 1930.<sup>108</sup> When two local señoras visited Archbishop Caycedo to ask his authorization to invite these nuns to Medellín, he asked them why this was needed if the city already had the Presentation Sisters. The ladies replied that it was in order for the nuns to educate 'the local nobility'. With irony, the archbishop replied that they had better first import a couple of European nobles.<sup>109</sup>

Among the nuns committed to missionary work, Laura Montoya Upegui, who was born in Jericó, south-western Antioquia in 1874, and who died in Medellín in 1949, was a leading figure in Antioquia and in the nation. The Vatican gave her the title of *Venerable* in 1991. She started her career as a teacher in rural towns, until she was appointed headmistress of the *Colegio de la Inmaculada*, a new school for upper-class girls opened in 1895 in Medellín by her affluent cousin Leonor Echavarría. The school was a success until 1905, when one of her pupils, sister of the Liberal writer Alfonso Castro, decided against marrying on the eve of her wedding. Soon after, Castro wrote and published the novel *Hija espiritual*, parodying the situation and blaming Laura Montoya for his niece's decision. The *Vicario General Capitular* ordered Laura to answer in person, for the prestige of religious instruction was being called into question. With the aid of the novelist Tomás Carrasquilla she wrote an *Open Letter*, a brilliant piece of argumentation in defence of religious education.<sup>110</sup> Some years later she tried to join the contemplative order of the Discalced Carmelites, but finally opted for catechizing Indians in Antioquia. In 1909, after overcoming widespread opposition, as ecclesiastical authorities and most people did not deem it an appropriate task for women, she started work with the Indians in the south-west of Antioquia. In 1914 she obtained approval from Monsignor Crespo, bishop of Santa Fe de Antioquia, to catechize the Emberá Indians in Dabeiba, a small town in sparsely populated north-western Antioquia, where she settled with five postulants. In 1914, she founded the *Congregación de Hermanas Misioneras de María Inmaculada y Santa Catalina de Siena*, the first female missionary order in the country. Three years later the congregation started a novitiate in

<sup>108</sup> Hermana T. de la Inmaculada, *Quién ha educado la mujer*, 173; *Anuario de la Iglesia* (1938), 222; *Antioquia por María*, 8/89 (Medellín, February 1930), 1408; Mejía, *Resumen histórico*, 54.

<sup>109</sup> Sofia, O., *Hermanas Dominicas*, 23.

<sup>110</sup> 'Carta abierta', in Tomás Carrasquilla, autobiográfico y polémico, ed. by V. Pérez Silva (Bogotá, 1991), 106–64; L. Montoya Upegui, *Autobiografía de la Madre Laura de Santa Catalina ó Historia de las misericordias de Dios en un alma* (Medellín, 1991). 1st edn. (1971), 231.

Dabeiba, and in 1921 a missionary school in Turbo. By 1924, before the *Lauritas* had to leave the Urabá region due to differences with the *Prefecto Apostólico de Urabá*, they had established other missionary centres in Antadó, Cáceres, Chichiridó, Chimiadó, Chontaduro, Curadientes, El Pital, Ituango, Murri, Peque, Puerto Cesar, Rioverde, and Turbo. After leaving the prefecture, the Sisters went on working in the noviciate and the Indocrespo boarding school for Indian girls established in 1922 in San Pedro, and began missions in Ituango, Don Matías, and Peque, all these in the diocese of Santa Rosa de Osos. They also started missions in Caraño, in the diocese of Santa Fe de Antioquia; and in 1927, moved the *Casa generalísima* to the town of Santa Fe de Antioquia, and expanded their work to the Sarare region, on the Venezuelan border. The community has to date extended its activities to seventeen countries in Latin America, Europe, and Africa.<sup>111</sup>

Another community active on the periphery of Antioquia was the Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters. This community, founded in Barcelona in 1862, arrived in Antioquia in 1926 to assist their male counterparts, the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, in preaching the gospel in the area of Urabá. Initially the Sisters took charge of the schools for Indians set up by the *Lauritas*, and in 1925, in response to the frequent petitions for admission from young women in neighbouring towns, in 1926 set up a convent in the north-western town of Frontino.<sup>112</sup> By 1930 they were teaching in Turbo, San José de Urama, Puerto Cesar, in several villages along the Atrato river, and in San Jerónimo.<sup>113</sup>

In 1929 the bishop of Santa Rosa de Osos, Miguel Ángel Builes, founded a new missionary congregation, the *Congregación de Hermanas Misioneras de Santa Teresita*. These nuns were not only dedicated to the conversion of Indians but also worked among 'civilized' people in charitable enterprises, such as the running of hospitals, refuges for the aged, lunatic asylums, schools for the destitute, and 'first aid' missionary groups known as 'catechistic ambulances'. The congregation first

<sup>111</sup> S. de Santa Teresa, OCD, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1957), 243–64; *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 10 (Bogotá, 1994), 390–1; Mesa, 'Trayectoria histórica', 393–4; M. Mejía, 'Laura Montoya Upegui', *Lecturas Dominicales, El Tiempo* (Bogotá, November 1998), 7; L. Montoya Upegui, *Autobiografía* (Medellín, 1991), 988; Hermana M. T. Lopera, 'Reseña histórica de la congregación de María Inmaculada y Santa Catalina de Siena', *Revista de la Academia de Historia Eclesiástica*, 34 (Medellín, 1976), 135–44.

<sup>112</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 6/71 (Medellín, August 1928), 1076; Hermana T. de la Inmaculada, *Quién ha educado la mujer*, 176. S. de Santa Teresa, OCD, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1957), 268–351.

<sup>113</sup> S. de Santa Teresa, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá*, 266–351.

worked in the highlands north of Medellín—Santa Rosa de Osos and San José de la Montaña—and in the later part of the 1930s they reached Caucasia, Nechí, Zaragoza, and Anorí in the lowlands of north-eastern Antioquia. Today it has expanded its presence to other regions in Colombia and to Venezuela, Ecuador, and Italy.<sup>114</sup>

From 1850 to 1930 the number of dioceses and of parishes increased in Antioquia, which, from being one of the regions in Colombia with the lowest number of priests, became one capable not only of providing for its own needs in vocations but also of exporting priests to serve in other parts of the country, from the turn of the century onwards. This seems to have been the case until around the 1960s. The positive local attitude towards religion not only afforded a fertile milieu for religious vocation but also encouraged the lay citizens and authorities to sponsor the activities of the religious communities.

The work of friars and nuns in education, catechizing, social assistance, and missions was a fundamental element in the expansion of the institutional presence of the Catholic Church in Antioquia. Congregations helped to channel private initiatives and brought together people of different social backgrounds—peasants as well as town and city dwellers, of both sexes and of all ages. The influence of religious communities was felt mainly by those living in the central, most populated, areas of Antioquia, but by the end of the period it also reached the population of remote settlements such as Ituango, Nechí, Turbo, Urrao, Yalí, and Yolombó. These congregations provided social coherence and, by offering instruction to people from all ranks, opened channels of upward mobility within Antioqueño society.

<sup>114</sup> Olano García, *Monseñor Builes*, 298–317; M. A. Builes, *Crónicas misionales y viaje a Roma* (Medellín, 1947), 260–2; Hermana I. Cardona Zapata, 'La Congregación de Hermanas Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús', *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Historia Eclesiástica*, 34 (Medellín, 1976), 186–203.

## *Proliferation of Devotional Associations*

The number, variety, and importance of religious associations active in Antioquia steadily increased between 1850 and 1930. Some were lay brotherhoods or sisterhoods, confraternities (*cofradías*), others called themselves congregations, societies, associations, unions, or leagues. These were promoted mainly by parish priests and by the Jesuits, and to a lesser extent by the other congregations and the laity. Membership was open to men and women from different age groups and social backgrounds.

Such religious associations fulfilled a variety of goals. Some cared for the spiritual salvation of deceased 'brothers' by fostering the cult of a particular saint through a series of individual and social pious practices. According to canon law, the statutes of these devout associations had to be approved by the bishop and they had to be supervised by the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>1</sup> Each association celebrated its patron saint's feast day and kept an altar, customarily in one of the side chapels of the church where the congregation was registered. In return for carrying out their duties, members were promised prayers for the eternal rest of their souls and were granted plenary or partial indulgences, graces for the forgiveness of sins.

In addition to honouring a particular saint and disseminating Catholic doctrine, some religious associations sponsored particular charities.<sup>2</sup> They opened hospitals and free schools for the poor, promoted mutual help among the less-favoured groups of society, visited the sick and those in prison, and, in times of need, besides spiritual comfort, gave material aid to their less advantaged 'brothers'.

<sup>1</sup> 'Decreto Orgánico de las Vicarías en las Diócesis, abril 27, 1872', *Sínodo Diocesano del Obispado de Medellín, Antioquia* (Medellín, 1872), appendix at p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Members saw confraternities as a means of achieving eternal salvation for their souls through the prayers of lay brothers (G. M. Arango, 'Las cofradías, las asociaciones católicas y sus formas de sociabilidad, Antioquia, siglo XIX', *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 34-5 (Medellín, December 1995), 94.

Similar devotional associations, of course, had existed and exist in other Catholic countries and other parts of Colombia. In the Christian world confraternities date back to the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> In Spain, brotherhoods emerged in the twelfth century, but became even more popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> Spaniards brought to the New World the custom of associating for religious purposes.<sup>5</sup>

In Santafé de Bogotá and main urban centres of the New Kingdom of Granada the most important sixteenth-century confraternities included *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, *Santísimo Sacramento*, *Santa Veracruz*, and *Ánimas del Purgatorio*. All granted indulgences and organized colourful local celebrations.<sup>6</sup> Brotherhoods were supported by whites, blacks, and Indians.

In colonial Antioquia *cofradías* included those devoted to the *Virgin de la Concepción*, *Las Ánimas*, *La Soledad*, *Lámpara Luminaria*, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, *Nuestra Señora de Chiquinquirá*, and to the *Niño Jesús*.<sup>7</sup> Lay authorities used to complain about the money squandered by confraternities to celebrate the patron saint's feast day, with an excess of food and drink, fireworks, and other 'worldly' entertainment. Continually and ineffectively they argued that these sums should be invested in more socially useful ways, such as for the dowries of needy girls, or as donations to charity hospitals.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> By the ninth century brotherhoods, organized by crafts, neighbourhoods, parishes, asylum societies, and charities, were found in areas of modern-day Germany, France, and England. See George Duby, *La época de las catedrales, arte y sociedad, 980-1420* (Madrid, 1993), originally published in French in 1976.

<sup>4</sup> The majority admitted people from different social strata. See: C. Álvarez, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez (eds.), *La religiosidad popular*, vol. 3: *Hermanidades, romerías y santuarios* (Barcelona, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> In New Spain, from the early sixteenth century onwards, and later in the rest of American colonies, confraternities proliferated among the various social classes and ethnic groups, in urban and rural areas. Often they were based on parishes. Funding came from voluntary contributions and from fees imposed on members. Some brotherhoods, such as the *Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, created in 1537 in New Spain, amassed fortunes from the vast amount of lands, livestock, and real property received as gifts or legacies. Often *cofradías* multiplied their wealth by acting as moneylenders. See: G. M. Foster, 'Cofradía and Compadrazgo in Spain and Spanish America', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9/1 (Spring 1959), 10-17; A. Lavrin, 'Mundos en contraste: Cofradías rurales y urbanas en Mexico a fines del siglo XVIII', *La Iglesia y la economía de América Latina: Siglos XVI al XIX*, comp. by A. J. Bauer (Mexico, 1986), 223-71.

<sup>6</sup> 'La evangelización del Nuevo Reino, siglo XVI', by J. M. Pacheco, SJ, Academia Colombiana de Historia, *Historia Extensa de Colombia*, vol. 13 (Bogotá, 1971), 406-10.

<sup>7</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Iglesia y Antioquia. Derrotero histórico y panorama actual* (Medellín, 1983), 159.

<sup>8</sup> F. Silvestre, *Relación de la Provincia de Antioquia*, transcription, introduction, and notes by D. J. Robinson (Medellín, 1988), 524-36.



Comparison between the devotional associations active in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930 and those in other regions in the country is difficult, as few studies have been made. There is some evidence, mainly concerning the Cauca valley and Bogotá, about the activities of a member of religious organizations created after the mid-nineteenth century, as the *Asociaciones del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, *Apostolado de la Oración*, and the *Sociedades Católicas*.<sup>9</sup> Their involvement with the Conservative party is the subject of scattered allusions in political texts.

Many of these associations formed part of networks in several Catholic countries, many of them promoted by the Jesuits. Examples of these are the *Sociedades Católicas*, *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, *Hijas de María*, *Apostolado de la Oración*, *Congregación Mariana*, *Círculos de Obreros Católicos*, *Juventud Católica*, *Acción Social Católica*, and *Propagación de la Fé*.<sup>10</sup> This type of religious sociability was not specifically Antioqueño, but it was particularly extensively disseminated and rooted among Antioqueños.

Between 1850 and 1930 a total of at least 298 devotional associations existed in Antioquia.<sup>11</sup> One-fifth had their seat in Medellín, while the rest were scattered throughout 68 towns and villages, usually as chapters of the main association in Medellín. The total figure for associations is reduced to 165 if each seat with its affiliated chapters is considered as a single association. Eighteen of these associations admitted only men, eleven only women, and eleven were open to both sexes. For the rest, no data are available. The towns with the largest number of devotional associations, besides Medellín with 62, were: Marinilla, 15; Itagüí, 11; Santo Domingo, 10; Santuario, 9; Granada, 8; followed by: Amagá, Concordia, Porce, and Rionegro, with 7 each.<sup>12</sup>

Men could belong to the *Congregación de Obreros de San José*, the *Congregación de San Luis Gonzaga*, the *Sociedades Católicas*, the

<sup>9</sup> B. Castro Carvajal, 'Harmony and Conflict in Cali Society, 1850-1902', M. Phil. thesis (Oxford University, 1986), 39-63; and 'Caridad y beneficencia en Cali, 1848-1945', *BCB*, 27/22 (1990); L. E. Lobato, 'Caudillos y nación. Sociabilidades políticas en el Cauca, 1830-1860', Master's thesis, Universidad del Valle (Cali, 1994), 194-211; C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón: Fantasía o realidad en la historia de Colombia', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> The *Apostolado de la Oración*, founded in France in 1844, during the 1860s reached a worldwide membership of 13 million people. See: C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón: Fantasía o realidad en la historia de Colombia', 41-4.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 2 lists the 'Periodical publications issued by devotional associations in Antioquia, 1872-1930'.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 3: 'Location of devotional associations in Antioquia, 1850-1930'.

*Cofradía de la Inmaculada Concepción*, the *Coro Andante del Corazón de Jesús*, the *Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes*, the *Sociedad de Ejercitantes*, the *Congregación de Obreros de la Candelaria*, the *Cofradía del Viacrucis*, the *Círculo Católico de Obreros*, the *Juventud Católica*, the *Vanguardia de la Juventud Católica*, and the *Asociación Unión Caritativa del Clero*.

Women joined the *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*, the *Corte de María*, the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, the *Asociación de Hijas de María*, the *Asociación de Madres Católicas*, the *Cofraternidad de la Doctrina Cristiana*, the *Obra de los Tabernáculos* or the *Iglesia de los Pobres*, and the *Liga de Damas Católicas*.

Both men and women participated in the *Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco de Asís*, the *Cofradía del Santísimo Corazón de Jesús*, the *Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen*, the *Asociación de la Buena Muerte*, the *Apostolado de la Oración*, the *Congregación Mariana*, the *Asociación de la Adoración Reparadora*, the *Congregación de la Santa Pureza*, and the *Acción Social Católica*.

Many confraternities fostered attendance to the different cults of Christ—the Sacred Heart of Jesús, the Blessed Sacrament; or of the Virgin Mary—Our Lady of Sorrows, the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Our Ladies of la Candelaria and las Victorias.

In cases where it is possible to determine what kind of people were recruited as members, some are identified as ‘gentlemen’, ‘ladies’, or ‘young ladies’—upper-class individuals—while others mention artisans, workers, employees, teachers, students, working women, merchants, priests, farmers, young people, and mothers. For more than half the associations it is not possible to establish on whose initiative they were created.

The years of most intense activity for religious organizations were the 1870s, with another minor peak between 1910 and 1930—see Table 17.<sup>13</sup> The most lasting was the *Cofradía de los Dolores*, created in 1789 and still active 135 years later in 1924; followed by the *Congregación de San José*, founded in 1846 and maintained until 1934, eighty-eight years, and the *Congregación de la Anunciación y de San Luis Gonzaga* with a similar duration. The *Hijas de María* and the *Liga de Damas Católicas*,

<sup>13</sup> The latter coincided with the years when most religious congregations, settled in Antioquia. See section ‘Religious communities’ Ch. 2.

TABLE 17. *Date of foundation (by decades) of devotional associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Decade	Number
Before 1850	5
1850	—
1860	2
1870	164
1880	25
1890	8
1900	13
1910	34
1920	42
1930 <sup>a</sup>	5
Total	298

<sup>a</sup> Refers only to the year 1930

Source: Section Principal Organizations, in Chapter 3: 'Proliferation of Devotional Associations'.

established at the turn of the century, lasted over forty years. However, most of them seem to have lasted around ten years.<sup>14</sup>

Only a few associations kept membership lists. In 1912 the *Congregación de Obreros de San José* claimed some 6,000 members, including chapters in towns other than Medellín. The *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* reported a total of 5,800 new members, or affiliates, from 1873 to 1874. Other bodies seem to have been smaller. In Medellín the *Congregación de Hijas de María* had 500 female members in 1919. In the following year the *Congregación Mariana* counted 270 members, and the *Cofradía del Viacrucis* had 150 in 1913. These figures are not very large, considering that the 1870 census gave approximately 30,000 inhabitants for Medellín, the largest urban centre in Antioquia, while the other major towns of the time—Sonsón, Manizales, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sopetrán, Rionegro, Aguadas, Yarumal, Titiribí, and Santa Rosa—contained 8,000–11,000 people.<sup>15</sup> In the 1912 census Medellín's population had risen to nearly 70,000; and the group of other major towns had changed, with only Sonsón, Yarumal, Santa Rosa, and Rionegro remaining in the list, and the

<sup>14</sup> This average duration should be taken only as an indication, as for most associations the date of disappearance was not identified. The analysis here is based on the earliest and latest references found.

<sup>15</sup> *Anuario Estadístico Nacional* (Bogotá, 1875), 22–5.

addition of Andes, Fredonia, Abejorral, Jericó, and Ituango. Their population now ranged between 15,000 and 30,000.<sup>16</sup>

Still, the connection between the size of organizations and their strength and importance is a relative matter. First, because of the lack of precise data about membership—the normal practice seems to have been not to bother to report it systematically. Besides, small associations could have great significance within the community. The same can be argued for the religious communities in Antioquia: even though they were not numerous, their influence was multiplied through their students and the people involved in or who benefited by their welfare work. Catholic associations exerted influence through a variety of private and public activities such as processions, and devotional, charitable, or catechistical practices, and a series of periodical publications that tried to reach all levels of society.<sup>17</sup>

As to the internal organization of confraternities, the guidance and administration of most of them lay with a board of directors and a series of committees, usually elected at an annual meeting in a democratic manner, each member having a vote. Funding came from voluntary contributions, fees paid by members, legacies left in wills, and money patiently raised through bazaars, raffles, and events such as amateur theatrical performances.

Despite variations in the devotional practices carried out by each association, most had common elements regarding the obligations of members, and the benefits bestowed on them. Most associations tended to be rather formal in their structure, usually having honorary members, directors, and a governing board consisting of a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, and sometimes one or several committees. Often, associations kept special books or a 'golden album' to register lists of members and benefactors. Some had initiation ceremonies where new members received a 'patente', a kind of affiliation card where each one could keep a record of the number of indulgences granted, and a band or ribbon with a medal or a scapular which served as a proof of membership.<sup>18</sup> The colour, size, or form of such items

<sup>16</sup> República de Colombia. Departamento de Contraloría, *Anuario de Estadística General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1933), 66–7.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix 2: 'Periodical publications issued by devotional associations in Antioquia, 1872–1930'.

<sup>18</sup> FAES has collected a sample of membership cards issued by several Antioqueño devotional associations and among the photographs kept in its *Centro de Memoria Visual* there are several pictures of members of *cofradías* exhibiting their bands, medals, and banners, most of them during processions.

could vary according to the member's rank. They were worn for Sunday Mass, parades, processions, pilgrimages, or any other celebration or festivity in which the confraternity participated. Misbehaviour implied losing the right to wear these symbols, so their possession came to be a kind of visible good conduct certificate. In public events each association displayed banners and flags embroidered with its emblems.

Such formalities and symbols provided a feeling of respectability, social significance, and purpose in life to those who made, wore, and observed them. It is important to keep in mind that it was an epoch with fewer institutional alternatives for personal fulfilment than those existing in the later part of the twentieth century.

The next section describes the development and achievements of the main religious organizations, following a chronological sequence according to their date of foundation. These cases provide information to evaluate the impact of these associations on the cohesion of Antioqueño society.

#### PRINCIPAL ORGANIZATIONS

##### *Congregación de Obreros de San José*

Initially identified as the *Congregación de Artesanos de San José y de la Asunción* or *Cofradía de Hijos de San José*, this association was founded in 1846 by the Jesuits in Medellín, and was registered in the church of San Francisco. It soon had 600 members, ' . . . so deeply devout that when the Company came back to Medellín nearly forty years later, it was with great admiration that they found the Congregation still alive and organized thanks to the pious zeal of a number of elderly people who had belonged to it ever since it had first been founded'.<sup>19</sup>

However, with the expulsions suffered by the Jesuits between mid-century and the late 1880s, the congregation had lost some continuity and enthusiasm. It reassumed a leading role in 1910 under the name of *Centro de Industriales y Obreros* or *Congregación de Industriales y Obreros de San José*, when the Jesuits, inspired by the recent Catholic Social Doctrine, undertook intense activity among urban workers. By then, in addition to artisans, the association included people from a variety of occupations, including employees, physicians, and lawyers.

<sup>19</sup> R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centroamérica después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896), 119.

According to its statutes, the congregation was intended to 'promote among artisans, entrepreneurs and workers the Christian way of life, mutual aid in their professions and in daily life, instruction, moral and intellectual, and honest amusements on rest days'.<sup>20</sup>

Members were supposed to attend Mass on Sundays and religious feast days, and were forbidden to work on those days. They could go to Mass in any church, but were advised to choose the special service in the church of San Francisco, where the sermon was particularly addressed to them. According to regulations, members were to receive Holy Communion every third Sunday of the month in this church; to make Confession and receive Communion during Easter week; and to attend spiritual exercises during the annual gathering in which the governing bodies were elected.<sup>21</sup> At events where the congregation participated, all members were to wear the blue ribbon with the medal of Our Lady of the Annunciation.<sup>22</sup>

When possible, the director of the congregation was to be a Jesuit, appointed by a superior resident in Medellín, or by any other priest if the Company of Jesus was not present in the area. The main governing body was the central board, made up of the directors of the sectional boards of each neighbourhood, town, or village where the congregation had chapters. The dignitaries of the central board were the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and three counsellors, and these positions were renewed annually. Boards met once a month, or more frequently if it was considered necessary.<sup>23</sup>

Benefactors, usually prominent men and women in local society, were made honorary members, and their names were registered in a special album and announced in the local newspapers. Included among them was the long in office archbishop of Medellín, Monseñor Manuel José Caycedo, who donated the land and contributed 28,000 pesos for the erection of the first of ten centres the congregation created in Medellín, inaugurated in 1911.<sup>24</sup> It was a modern building furnished with halls for the board and members' meetings and for lectures, a big yard for recreational activities, and a library. Other significant works of the congregation included the newspaper *El Obrero*, published between May 1911

<sup>20</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/9 (Medellín, 1 July 1911), 7.

<sup>21</sup> For estatutes see: *El Obrero*, 1/9 (Medellín, 1 July 1911).

<sup>22</sup> L. Tejada, 'Los masones', *Mesa de redacción* (Medellín, 1989), 152.

<sup>23</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/9 (Medellín, 1 July 1911), 7.

<sup>24</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/23 (Medellín, 7 October 1911), 3; 1/36 (10 February 1912); 2/64 (31 August 1912), 5; *El Obrero Católico* (Medellín, 10 September 1927).

and March 1914, with an initial printing of 1,400 copies. Three new services were opened in 1911: the San José pharmacy, a savings bank, and a consumers' co-operative. Next came an information centre in 1912, where entrepreneurs could look for reliable master-builders or workers without being charged commissions. The following year a mutual aid section was organized, which, in return for small weekly payments, provided members with assistance in case of illness or emergency, and with a modest burial.<sup>25</sup>

Besides these permanent services, the association occasionally intervened in other aspects of civilian life. In 1927, with the support of workers who attended its Sunday schools, it proposed an ordinance to regulate the carrying of arms within city limits, an issue which concerned the association directly, as the majority of the shootings that took place involved workers.<sup>26</sup>

The activities sponsored by the congregation provided a focus for the integration of social classes, sometimes in an explicit manner. This was particularly clear during the *veladas*, or monthly soirées held in the San Ignacio school, where members and their families were offered a few hours of recreation. These parties could gather together up to a thousand people, and were sometimes honoured with the presence of the archbishop, the governor, the commander of the police, the mayor, and other distinguished local personalities. The programmes included films, conferences, and the bestowal of prizes in cash or in the form of lengths of cloth, clothes, or watches. The *velada* which took place in November 1911 provides an example of one such party: it began at 6.30 p.m. with the congregation's anthem. Next, the politician and writer Francisco de Paula Pérez gave a talk, followed by a film about the fauna of the Caquetá region. Afterwards, a group of boys from one of the centres in Medellín performed a play. The session ended with the national anthem. Commentaries published in the press highlighted the positive intermingling of gentlemen, artisans, and workers, who enjoyed themselves 'creating an amalgam of equality'.<sup>27</sup>

Another occasion which encouraged contact between benefactors and members were the patron saints' feast days: the Assumption, Saint

<sup>25</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/12 (Medellín, 22 July 1911), 8; 1/20 (16 September 1911), 7; 1/23 (7 October 1911), 3; 1/24 (14 October 1911), 4; 1/28 (11 November 1911), 8; 1/31 (5 January 1912), 7; 2/54 (22 June 1912), 7; 2/58 (20 July 1912), 7; 10/122 (7 November 1913), 2.

<sup>26</sup> *El Obrero Católico*, 3/113 (Medellín, 12 March 1927), 2.

<sup>27</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/20 (Medellín, 16 September 1911), 8; 1/25 (21 October 1911), 4; 1/30 (25 November 1911), 5; 1/29 (18 November 1911), 4.

Joseph, and the Immaculate Virgin Mary. On 7 May 1911, the celebration of Saint Joseph's day started at 6.00 a.m. with a 'Communion Mass'; followed at 8.00 a.m. with a 'Solemn Mass with Panegyric'. Next came the consecration ceremony for new members. In the evening people gathered again for a May Flower celebration and for the Holy Blessing. *El Obrero* published the names of those who sponsored the festivity, among them such distinguished Medellinenses as María Josefa V. de Moreno, Mercedes F. de Arango, Ana A. de Restrepo, Abraham Moreno, Enrique Mejía, Alejandro Echavarría, Apolinar Villa, and Luis M. Botero and sons.<sup>28</sup>

The *Congregación de San José* used education to bridge the gap between the social classes. In May 1911 *El Obrero* announced that artisans could send their sons to the San Ignacio school in the evenings, where students would instruct them in different subjects. José María Celis, the director, in a circular letter sent to members of the congregation in July 1912, stressed that, 'a capital issue for these associations should be to bring together the prominent members of society and the working class'. He suggested for each social event a number of distinguished persons should be invited to 'honour the working people with their presence'.<sup>29</sup>

Between 1911 and 1919 thirteen chapters of the congregation were established in outlying towns and villages.<sup>30</sup> In Santuario, which had few artisans, farmers were admitted. Members organized in *decurias*, the Latin term for a group of ten Roman soldiers, joined literacy groups, co-operatives, and savings banks, musical ensembles, and mutual aid societies, and watched film shows together. They organized lectures and raffles, and distributed alms to the sick and the poor. In 1912 governing bodies recommended that each branch create its own library and, through the pages of *El Obrero*, headed a campaign to collect books, newspapers, and magazines '*de sana moral*'.<sup>31</sup> In January that year *El Obrero* reported 6,000 members, which seems to have been the largest number the organization attained.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/1 (Medellín, 6 May 1911), 2-8; 2/48 (11 May 1912), 8.

<sup>29</sup> *El Obrero*, 2/59 (Medellín, 27 July 1912), 4.

<sup>30</sup> *El Obrero Católico* (Medellín, 10 September, 1927).

<sup>31</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/36 (Medellín, 10 February 1912), 4; 2/63 (24 August 1912), 6-7; 2/67 (21 September 1912), 7.

<sup>32</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/9 (Medellín, 1 July 1911), 7; 1/20 (16 September 1911), 8; 1/23 (7 October 1911), 3; 2/50 (May 1912), 4; *El Mensajero Eucarístico*, 4 (Medellín, 5 July 1913), 61. M. Archila considers this figure overestimated, arguing that it would have represented around 10 per cent of the city's population. However, his misunderstanding comes from



*Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*

Another prominent pious association was created in Antioquia to honour the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This was similar to those popular in Europe since the eighteenth century, created in most Latin American countries through the nineteenth century. In Europe the devotion to the Sacred Heart dates back to medieval times; it was revived in France during the eighteenth century, when the iconography of the bleeding heart as a symbol of the redeeming love of Christ was adopted. The Vatican has promoted it during the last two hundred years.<sup>33</sup> The cult was introduced into Colombia around the middle of the nineteenth century, and one of its multiple expressions was the founding of the Sacred Heart of Jesus associations, which appeared in various cities and towns during the 1860s and the 1870s.<sup>34</sup>

A *Confraternidad del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* had existed in Medellín since the mid-eighteenth century. Its existence is shown by a letter addressed in 1847 to Bishop Juan de la Cruz Gómez Plata, in which its members offer to donate funds from the *Caja de la Confraternidad* for the construction of the San José church.<sup>35</sup> It seems then to have disappeared, for on 27 September 1861 Bishop Riaño issued a decree creating another association under the same name.<sup>36</sup> There are records of yet another foundation being established under the same name in July 1871, thanks to the initiative of Señora Josefa Posada de Posada, under the guidance of Valerio Antonio Jiménez, bishop of Medellín. Its purposes were 'to encourage the spiritual improvement of souls by giving the ignorant instruction in Christian doctrine, seeking to reform customs and provide relief for the bodily needs of the poor through the carrying out of works of mercy'.<sup>37</sup>

The association was open to the 'pure and generous'; members addressed each other as 'sisters' and wore a scapular with the image of

interpreting it as exclusively for Medellín; it includes membership for chapters all over Antioquia; excluding Medellín, the largest ten towns contained between 15,000 and 30,000 inhabitants. See: M. Archila, *Cultura e identidad obrera, Colombia 1910-1945* (Bogotá, 1991), 213; *Anuario de Estadística General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1933), 66-7.

<sup>33</sup> Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón', Introduction, n.p.n.

<sup>34</sup> B. Castro, 'Harmony and Conflict', 51-2.

<sup>35</sup> J. Piedrahíta Echeverri, Pbro., *El templo y la parroquia de San José, 1720-1991* (Medellín, 1991), 31.

<sup>36</sup> G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia. Prácticas y discursos* (Medellín, 1993), 77.

<sup>37</sup> M. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880-1930', undergraduate thesis, History Department, University of Antioquia (Medellín, 1994), 52.

the Sacred Heart of Jesus depicted with the Crown of Thorns, the Wounded Side, and the Holy Cross. The regulations stated that each member had to visit the Holy Sacrament daily, recite the Rosary every night, attend spiritual exercises once a month, and dedicate the month of June to honouring the Sacred Heart of Jesus.<sup>38</sup> The *Sociedad Pequeña del Sagrado Corazón* was a special group created by the association in Medellín for girls between the ages of 9 and 12.<sup>39</sup>

Governing positions, as was usually the case with these associations, were occupied by laymen. The association distributed its work in five sections: teaching, catechism, reformers, guardian, and charitable. The catechism section taught Christian doctrine, particularly to 'rude and ignorant people', to prepare them to receive the Holy Sacraments. With this in mind, groups of affiliated women visited prisons, parishes, public schools, and hospitals, and also worked with domestic servants and the elderly. They attracted children to classes that prepared them for their First Communion with reading, writing, and sewing lessons, and with awards for the best pupils. By 1874 the association had instructed 600 children in Medellín. In 1908 it had fifteen doctrinal centres and had instituted Sunday talks for domestic servants in the church of San Benito, with the collaboration of the Franciscans. In the 1910s the confraternity opened several centres where domestic servants could learn catechism, reading, writing, and arithmetic.<sup>40</sup>

The reformers' section of the association organized spiritual retreats and missions to rural areas, and made sure that prisoners and the destitute were provided with the Mass and the Sacraments. The director in Medellín reported in 1893 that, among other beneficiaries, the spiritual exercises held that year had been attended by 90 domestic servants and 180 prisoners. This section was also in charge of buying ornaments for the Church, sometimes imported from Europe, and in 1910 opened a library and an employment office for domestic servants. The latter placed 341 servants in 1921.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 86.

<sup>39</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 2/21 (Medellín, 4 September 1882), 130.

<sup>40</sup> Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, *Informe de la Directora, cuenta de tesorería y estatutos y reglamentos* (Medellín, 1884), 1-19; *Informe que la Directora de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús de Rionegro presenta al Consejo . . . 12 octubre de 1884* (n.p., 1884), 1-9; Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 57-61.

<sup>41</sup> Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, *Informe de la Directora, cuenta de tesorería, 1-19; Informe que la Directora . . . 1884*, 1-9; Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 59.

Members assigned to the guardian or vigilant section 'will look after family morals . . . with their words and example . . . to prevent scandals'.<sup>42</sup> The charitable section was in charge of promoting the creation of hospitals and other philanthropic institutions. Its members also visited the sick in hospitals or in their homes to provide them with spiritual and material comfort, placed orphans in foster homes or institutions, and appointed 'charity inspectors' to visit every neighbourhood in the city, in order to evaluate and report the needs of those living in conditions of poverty. Through the teaching section, the association sponsored the founding of parochial schools for children of the lower classes.<sup>43</sup>

The Sacred Heart associations were financed with donations and money raised in bazaars, raffles, and ladies' sewing meetings, activities which absorbed large amounts of time and energy. Many affiliated women were the wives of members of the *Catholic Society*, as was the case with Enriqueta Vásquez de Ospina; Elena Uribe de Vásquez, wife of the wealthy miner and merchant Julián Vásquez; and also Ana Vélez de Jaramillo and Rosalía Eusse de Restrepo.<sup>44</sup>

Among the principal philanthropic works sponsored by the association in Medellín were the *Casa Asilo del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, founded in 1873 for the aged, entrusted in 1913 to the Sisters of the Poor; the *Casa de Asilo* or *Refugio de Mendigos*, 1881; the *Casa de Jesús, María y José*, 1893, where destitute girls were trained to work as domestic servants, also entrusted in 1913 to the Sisters of the Poor; the *Escuela de Artes Domésticas*, 1910; the *Dormitorio de Limpiabotas y Niños Desamparados*, 1912, taken up two years later by the Salesians; the *Dormitorio de Nuestra Señora de la Merced* or *Taller de la Joven Desamparada*, 1921, which had been created in 1897 by the *Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl*. The latter provided food, lodging, and religious instruction to young female workers.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 61.

<sup>43</sup> Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, *Informe de la Directora, cuenta de tesorería*, 1-19; *Informe que la Directora . . . 1884*, 1-9; Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 61.

<sup>44</sup> *Informe de la Directora de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús de Medellín en . . . 1874* (Medellín, 1874); *Informe de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* (Medellín, 9 October 1887).

<sup>45</sup> *Informe del Director General de Instrucción Pública . . . 1910, presentado la Sr Gobernador* (Medellín, 1910), 32; H. D. Villegas, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1880-1930* (Medellín, 1990), 138; F. Gómez Pérez, *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1935), n.p.n.; Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 62-8.

The association participated actively in processions, parades, and pilgrimages, displaying its banners. One of the most memorable occasions was the pilgrimage organized in January 1874 to the *Señor Caído* in Girardota, a town in the northern Aburrá valley, where nearly 15,000 faithful gathered. This was a large number, considering that Medellín had then only 30,000 inhabitants.<sup>46</sup> Mariano Ospina Rodríguez mentions more than 56 flags of different shapes and colours, some richly and expensively decorated . . . representing . . . the districts and the Catholic societies of the main towns and villages in the state. . . . The delegations from the Associations of the Sacred Heart of Jesus particularly caught the eye. The Medellín delegation, consisting of the honourable ladies that made up the Council, was accompanied by many of the most distinguished ladies in our society, with their kindly Director, who is the worthy wife of the State President, carrying the flag.<sup>47</sup>

In the following year, in the parade which took place in Medellín to celebrate the second centenary of the city, the association opened the march with an allegorical carriage. Other confraternities paraded by, each bearing its emblems.<sup>48</sup> The association collaborated in other events. During the 1876–7 civil war its members assisted the wounded and provided medicines, bandages, and clothes.<sup>49</sup>

Between 1872 and 1874 thirty towns in Antioquia were identified as having chapters of this association. It was said that every parish had one. By 1874 their members numbered approximately 3,000.<sup>50</sup>

### *Sociedad Católica*

The first *Sociedades Católicas* in Colombia were founded in August 1838 by the Vatican envoy Monsignor Cayetano Baluffi. His purpose was to bring together members of the upper classes who opposed the radical Republican and advanced Liberal ideas that were rapidly spreading, particularly among the artisans, through the *Sociedad Democrática* established in Bogotá in 1822 by Francisco de Paula Santander.<sup>51</sup>

The *Sociedades Católicas* re-emerged in the 1870s in several Colombian states with the aims of disseminating Catholic doctrine and

<sup>46</sup> *Anuario Estadístico*, 1876.

<sup>47</sup> *La Sociedad*, 2/83 (Medellín, 10 January 1874), 274–5.

<sup>48</sup> *La Sociedad*, 3/179 (Medellín, 4 December 1875).

<sup>49</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 84.

<sup>50</sup> *Informe Directora de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, 1874, 8–19.

<sup>51</sup> F. Zambrano P., 'Las sociabilidades modernas en la Nueva Granada, 1820–1848', *Cahiers des Ameriques Latines*, 10 (Paris, 1990), 202.

morals and of defending the interests of the Church. They were recreated by the Conservatives to oppose Liberal measures, particularly the Organic Decree of Public Education issued by the federal government on 1 November 1870, which introduced lay and compulsory elementary education in the country. The *Sociedades Católicas*, used the capacity of the religious associations to express their point of view through local newspapers and through spiritual exercises and meetings held in parish churches, reaching large numbers of people and warning them against the lay schools.<sup>52</sup>

The Organic Decree organized public instruction into a uniform system overseen by the central government, and caused a nationwide debate over education. To raise enthusiasm, Liberals revived the local organizations known as *Sociedades Democráticas*, originally founded in the 1850s when President José Hilario López introduced a new style of Liberal reforms.<sup>53</sup> The Church was divided in its reaction to the decree. Some accepted it, following the lead of Monseñor Arbeláez, archbishop of Bogotá. Others, with Carlos Bermúdez, bishop of Popayán as main spokesman, backed by Valerio Antonio Jiménez, bishop of Medellín and the Antioqueño Canuto Restrepo, bishop of Pasto, saw it as a harmful instrument, even as a part of a Masonic plot to ruin the Church. These three forbade Catholics to enrol their children in public schools on pain of excommunication: education without the constraint of religion would produce 'corrupt' citizens.<sup>54</sup> Julián Uribe Uribe, brother of the Liberal politician Rafael, recalls how in Buga in 1876 both the *Sociedad Católica* and the *Sociedad Democrática* called for a meeting every Sunday, the former in a Church and the second in a cockpit.<sup>55</sup> The inevitable conflict broke out in the state of Cauca in 1876, and rapidly spread to many other regions of the country.

In Medellín, the *Sociedad Católica* was founded in 1872 in the church of San José by a group of laymen led by former President Mariano Ospina Rodríguez. Chapters soon flourished all over Antioquia.

<sup>52</sup> J. Meyer Loy, 'Primary Education during the Colombian Federation: The School Reform of 1870', *HAHR*, 51/2 (May 1971), 275–94. The *Sociedad Católica* in Cali was founded in 1875. See: B. Castro Carvajal, 'Harmony and Conflict', 78.

<sup>53</sup> Some Liberal reforms were made in the 1820s and 1830s. For those introduced by Francisco de Paula Santander in the 1820s, see: David Bushnell, *El régimen de Santander en la Gran Colombia*. Third edition (Bogotá, 1985), originally published in English in 1954.

<sup>54</sup> Meyer Loy, 'Primary Education during Colombian Federation', 275–93.

<sup>55</sup> J. Uribe Uribe, *Memorias* (Bogotá, 1994), 140; L. E. Lobato, 'Caudillos y nación: sociabilidades políticas en el Cauca, 1830–1860', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad del Valle (Cali, 1994), 195–204.

Members identified with their counterparts in other parts of the country in their opposition to the Liberal educational reform and in their self-portrayal as ‘. . . simple militias that ready themselves to go out on campaign at the moment of peril’.<sup>56</sup> Locally, this society kept close watch to see that private and official schools continued to impart religious instruction. It gave electoral support to the Conservative party and became a military organization during the civil war of 1876–7.

Many members of the *Sociedad Católica* in Antioquia came from the upper classes, and some were important personalities in local economic, political, and intellectual life. Among these were Vicente Restrepo, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, Juan Pablo Restrepo, Julián Vásquez, Estanislao Gómez Barrientos, Wenceslao Barrientos, Demetrio Viana, Eduardo Villa, Luis María Restrepo, Abraham Moreno, Januarío Henao, Juan de Dios Mejía, Alejandro Botero U., Rufino Gutiérrez, Lino R. Ospina, Emiliano Isaza, Fabriciano Escobar, Demetrio Viana, Marco A. Peláez, Manuel Vicente de la Roche, Julián Escobar, Tulio Ospina, Eduardo Villa, Ricardo López, Juan J. Molina, and Pedro Nel Ospina.<sup>57</sup>

The *Sociedad* was administered by a board of directors in charge of supervising the sections devoted to catechism, teaching, and charities. The last signed an agreement with the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* for the purpose of suppressing beggars in the city. Between June 1872 and March 1877 the *Sociedad Católica* of Medellín issued the weekly newspaper *La Sociedad*, which printed religious chronicles, international news, literature, and industrial, scientific, and cultural information. Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Vicente Restrepo, Estanislao Gómez, Manuel Vicente de la Roche, Tulio and Pedro Nel Ospina, and Néstor Castro, among other prominent local figures, were members of the editorial board.<sup>58</sup>

Through its pages *La Sociedad* promoted the opening of chapters in other Antioqueño towns. During the first Catholic Assembly, convened by the *Sociedad Católica* of Medellín in 1872, delegates from twenty-one chapters active all over Antioquia were present. The assembly met annually for the next three years, with the aim of ‘working steadfastly and with perseverance towards ensuring that the religious freedom of

<sup>56</sup> *La Sociedad*, 1/4 (Medellín, 6 July 1872), 26–7.

<sup>57</sup> *Don Vicente Restrepo: Apuntes autobiográficos con comentarios y notas del Padre Daniel Restrepo* (Bogotá, 1939), 43; *La Sociedad*, 4/145 (Medellín, 10 April 1875); 4/151 (22 May 1875), 49.

<sup>58</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia, 1863–1875* (Medellín, 1918), 157–9.

Catholics is respected . . . and to combat blind submission to injustice . . .'. It also supported charities that cared for the material well-being of those most in need, and co-operated with the authorities to prosecute crime and vice.<sup>59</sup>

In 1874 members of the newly opened branch in Manizales hired teachers to open schools in rural areas, established the *Sopa Escolar* in urban schools, and appointed committees to identify families in need. In May 1875, the branch of Itagú was authorized by the state's president to conduct spiritual exercises with a group of prisoners who were constructing the road to Caldas. The parish priest, the coadjutor, and some laymen prepared them for Confession and Communion. In a solemn celebration on a Saturday morning, the prisoners 'received Holy Communion . . . among a select crowd of pious Catholics who were moved and pleased at the sight of those wretched beings approaching the Holy Table to receive God'. Afterwards a group of ladies offered lunch.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Congregación de Hijas de María*

The *Congregación de Hijas de María*, which had originated in mid-nineteenth-century Barcelona, was established in Medellín in 1873, under the initiative of Señora Mariana Arango de Restrepo. At first it had its seat in the Candelaria Church, but in 1893 was transferred to San Ignacio. In 1930 the congregation was still active and had opened chapters in Salgar, Concordia, and Titiribí. It admitted only unmarried, obedient, modest women. During the feast day of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, celebrated in May, members were expected to hear Confession and take Communion, and to say the Novena. During the rest of the year, once a month they were to have Confession and Communion, and visit the Virgin Mary to offer flowers at her altar. Daily, they were to recite at dawn, noon, and evening the Hail Mary and a special prayer for the *Hijas de María*, and to say the Rosary once a day. According to the regulations, members were to collect alms for the poor, instruct children from the lower classes in the catechism, and prepare them for First Communion.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia*, 159–62.

<sup>60</sup> *La Sociedad*, 2/83 (Medellín, 10 January 1874), 274; 4/149 (8 May 1875), 85; 4/156 (26 June 1875), 91.

<sup>61</sup> *Congregación Mariana, Manual y reglamento arreglado expresamente para las Hijas de María en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1894), 1–31; *Reglamento de las Hijas de María* (Medellín, 1914), 1–48.

Women admitted to this congregation gained social recognition. In all activities where the congregation gathered, members were expected to wear the ribbon with the medal that portrayed the image of the Virgin Mary, which was conferred in a special admission ceremony. New members wore a blue band, guardians a white one, and the president a blue-and-white ribbon. Members were divided in *coros*, or groups of thirty-one, each assigned a guardian or custodian appointed by the board of directors. The board met every three months to review the running of the congregation. When a member committed a serious offence, such as attending a 'scandalous entertainment', she was expelled. The *Hijas de María* who wished to dedicate themselves more actively to the service and cult of the Virgin could join the select *Corte de María*.<sup>62</sup>

Members of the congregation were often recruited from the upper ranks of society.<sup>63</sup> However, less well-born women were also admitted. Oral testimonies reveal that some workers from Fabricato, one of the main textile mills in Bello, in the vicinity of Medellín, were affiliated. According to one of them:

I was an *Hija de María* at the Patronato; they gathered us and gave us talks on how to behave, about our love to the Virgin; we lined up for Communion wearing the ribbon. All the female workers at the Patronato were *Hijas de María* and many of the other girls too.<sup>64</sup>

The congregation maintained libraries in its centres and participated in public events, as when in 1908 Archbishop Caycedo asked them to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady of Lourdes. Pilgrimages to the principal parishes in the city were organized in collaboration with other devotional associations.<sup>65</sup>

### *Juventud Católica*

The *Juventud Católica* was founded in 1913 in Medellín in order to promote piety among young males, to prepare them to defend the Church and

<sup>62</sup> *Manual y reglamento* (1894), 1–31; *Reglamento de las Hijas de María*, 1–48.

<sup>63</sup> Names such as Carolina Uribe, Inés Restrepo Vásquez, Helena Ospina Vásquez, Tulia Olarte Sañudo, Zoraida Restrepo Mejía, Concha Sandino, Lola Navarro Ospina, Ana Jaramillo Angel, Ana Vélez Toro, María Gutiérrez Bravo, Margarita Restrepo Gaviria, Inés Escobar Velásquez, Elisa Correa Isaza, Margarita Giraldo Yepes, Pepa Campuzano Santamaria, and Lola Correa figured among 'the pride and honour' of Antioqueño society. See: *El Mensajero Eucarístico*, 4 (Medellín, 5 July 1913), 59.

<sup>64</sup> L. G. Arango, *Mujer, religión e industria. Fabricato, 1923–1982* (Medellín, 1991), 144, 156.

<sup>65</sup> D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 139–40.



to impart Catholic doctrine among urban workers 'by pen and by preaching'. It was linked to the *Asociación de la Juventud Católica Colombiana*.<sup>66</sup>

Laymen between the ages of 16 and 30 years were admitted. At first, they were mainly students and teachers, but later on workers could apply too. They dedicated themselves to teaching and propaganda activities, the publication and distribution of leaflets and books, primarily among students and workers. Those notable for their outstanding good deeds were listed in the 'golden album', along with the names of the benefactors. In 1927, the *Juventud Católica* sponsored a series of Sunday schools in the working-class neighbourhoods of Gerona, Guayaquil, La Toma, Sucre, Villanueva, and Tenche. Events like that described in the *Obrero Católico* on 2 July 1927 were organized. On that occasion, from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. Luis M. Hernández and A. Gómez provided lectures in arithmetic, writing, and reading, followed by a talk by Father Félix Henao Botero, who invited the participants to join in the coming procession dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. At the end some members collected money for the savings bank of the association.<sup>67</sup>

The *Juventud Obrera* was managed by directors chosen by the archbishop, and had a central board with the customary dignitaries elected by all the members. A prominent journalist, Fernando Gómez Martínez, served as president between 1920 and 1921. The Sacred Heart of Jesus and Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception were chosen as patron saints. Its emblems were the national flag and coat of arms, the Maltese Cross, and the image of the Sacred Heart. From 1925 until mid-century the association published *El Obrero Católico*, a weekly newspaper devoted to religious or doctrinal issues; recommendations on the practice of virtue, including edifying anecdotes; announcements of religious events programmed by the association or by other local institutions; and national and international miscellaneous news, as well as commercial advertisements. Chapters of the *Juventud Católica* were established between 1912 and 1933 in Envigado, Itagüí, Girardota, and Montebello, all of them providing free library services for members.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Estatutos y reglamento de la Juventud Católica* (Medellín, 1922), 76. The *Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes* established in 1899 by the Jesuits modified its statutes in 1904 and became the *Juventud Católica*. A different association with the same name was founded in 1913. See: *La Compañía de Jesús y el Colegio de San Ignacio, 1895-1910* (Medellín, n.d.), 111-112.

<sup>67</sup> *Estatutos y reglamento*, 76; *El Obrero Católico*, 3/128 (Medellín, 2 July 1927); 3/36 (Medellín, 27 August 1927).

<sup>68</sup> República de Colombia, Departamento de Contraloría, *Anuario de Estadística General*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1935).

Young people were also recruited as members of confraternities. The *Juventud Católica* created a special group for boys between the ages of 10 and 16 years called *Vanguardias de la Juventud Católica*. Its purpose was to train the boys in pious practices, and to encourage discipline in their studies and responsibility in the simple chores entrusted to them, so they might become good members of the *Juventud Católica* in the future. They were placed under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin and *San Gabriel de la Dolorosa*.<sup>69</sup>

### *Catholic Social Action*

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church in Europe faced strong opposition from radical anticlerical movements, which it considered to be the 'principal enemies of civilization', the offspring of individualism, Liberalism, secularism, Socialism, and Communism. Besides, the Church recognized that the emergence of industrialized societies, population growth, and massive migration movements had created a new working class which required to be ministered to in a new and particular manner. The Church authorities, particularly Pope Leo XIII with his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Pius XI with *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) synthesized the new Catholic thought regarding labour relations which was summarized in the doctrine of Catholic action. It defended private property, proclaimed certain rights of workers, denounced some of the injustices of the capitalist system, and advised owners of factories and productive establishments to pay fair wages.<sup>70</sup>

This doctrine gave rise in Western Europe to numerous workers' organizations backed by the Church. The Jesuits responded actively to Rome's initiative and trained groups of priests in religious sociology in Louvaine, Burgos, and Paris. In the late nineteenth century, Catholic social movements advocating the organization of workers and state intervention to mitigate the effects of capitalism appeared in Belgium, France, Germany, and Spain. Later, in the early decades of the following century, they spread all over the Catholic world.<sup>71</sup>

In Colombia, the Episcopal Conference of 1908 and the subsequent conferences held in 1912, 1913, 1916, 1924, and 1927 discussed these

<sup>69</sup> *Estatutos y reglamento*.

<sup>70</sup> J. Lynch, 'The Catholic Church', *Latin America, Economy and Society, 1870-1930*, ed. by L. Bethell (Cambridge, 1989), 359-61.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

encyclicals, and bishops were requested to promote Catholic action associations among the laity. However, groups of this kind were very slow to appear in Colombia, except in Bogotá and Antioquia, where they were created and functioned successfully from the 1910s onwards. In Bogotá José María Campoamor, SJ, founded the *Círculo de Obreros de San Francisco Javier* in 1911, which opened a school for children of the lower classes and built the *Barrio Villa Javier*, a model working-class neighbourhood.<sup>72</sup>

In Medellín, the *Catholic Social Action* was created in 1917 under the initiative of the Jesuits, particularly the Spanish Father Gabriel Lizardi and the Antioqueño Father Germán Montoya, who was its director for twenty-eight years. The statutes declared that the association was to promote and preserve the social institutions considered necessary for the improvement of the needy.<sup>73</sup> Affiliated laymen were classified as 'active members' if they contributed with their work; 'protectors' if they contributed with fees and donations; and 'lifelong protectors' if they donated 'considerable' sums. The director was appointed by the archbishop.<sup>74</sup>

This association attracted industrial wage-earners and worked hand-in-hand with other congregations and mutual-aid societies in the city such as the *Juventud Católica*, the *Centros Obreros*, the *Vanguardias Católicas*, and the *Patronato de Obreras*. The main base of the Catholic Social Action in neighbourhoods and municipalities was the parish. Sunday schools also served as a means of diffusion. Priests and entrepreneurs were invited to lecture on religious and technical matters, an activity subsequently recognized and sponsored by an ordinance issued by the department of Antioquia in 1920. A year later the Catholic Social Action created the *Centro Docente Católico de Obreros*, with free admission.<sup>75</sup>

Between February 1917 and February 1919 the association published the newspaper *El Social* twice a month, a useful weapon in educational and moral campaigns. In its pages, and backed by *La Defensa*, another local Conservative newspaper, the Catholic Social Action denounced

<sup>72</sup> R. Londoño Botero and A. Saldarriaga Roa, *La ciudad de Dios en Bogotá, Barrio Villa Javier* (Bogotá, 1994), 14–17.

<sup>73</sup> A. Mayor, *Ética, trabajo y productividad en Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1984), 362; *El Social*, 1/15 (Medellín, 5 August 1917); Mesa, *Iglesia y Antioquia*, 368.

<sup>74</sup> AGN, Fondo República, Sección 4 'Personerías Jurídicas', vol. 6, folio 279<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Mayor, 363; M. Archila, *Ni amos ni siervos. Memoria obrera de Bogotá y Medellín, 1904–1945* (Bogotá, 1989), 187; M. Archila, 'El uso del tiempo libre de los obreros, 1910–1945', *ACHSC*, 18–19 (Bogotá, 1990–1), 117.

what it considered immoral publications and launched attacks against films, the theatre, and gambling. However, in the late 1920s the Catholic Social Action changed its attitude to films and decided to project moralizing pictures.

In the political arena, the *Patronato de Obreras de Medellín*, in alliance with the Catholic Social Action, campaigned in 1919 against the celebration of the First of May. Both organizations distributed around 13,000 leaflets among the workers, in a city of 55,000 inhabitants,<sup>76</sup> explaining the dangers of such a celebration, and exhorted them instead to attend a Mass and a special gathering organized by Father Lizardi, SJ. The campaign stirred a press controversy: the small local Socialist-oriented newspapers *El Luchador*, *El látigo*, *El Rebelde*, and *La Estrella Roja* also issued their own leaflets, urging factories to close.<sup>77</sup>

In the 1920s, the city's Liberal press denounced the Catholic Social Action for being involved in political work for the Conservatives. The *Correo Liberal* accused it of having sent out '... circulars inviting businessmen to expel from their factories or not to receive workers who were not wearing a blue badge, or who did not have a Conservative party membership card to hand'.<sup>78</sup>

Adolescents participated in some of the activities organized by the Catholic Social Action. In Porce, some youths formed a *Círculo de Estudios* in August 1930 to mark the fifteenth centennial of the death of Saint Augustine. They intended to study philosophical, religious, and social questions, '... to expand our ideas and to exercise ourselves in their clear exposition so as to convey them to those who live in error'.<sup>79</sup> The parochial bulletin commented: 'An organized and educated youth is a powerful phalanx in the fight currently waged against the spirit of evil; it constitutes one of the front-line forces of the Catholic Social Action.'

#### *Congregación Mariana de la Inmaculada Concepción*

The *Congregación Mariana de la Inmaculada Concepción* originally appeared in Rome in 1563, founded to promote the veneration of the Virgin Mary and to transform the faithful into

<sup>76</sup> República de Colombia, *Anuario de Estadística General*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1933), 66–7.

<sup>77</sup> C. A. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900–1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, September 1986), 146–7.

<sup>78</sup> *El Correo Liberal* (Medellín, 13 March 1922), 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, 50 (San Pablo, Porce, Sunday, 18 January 1931), 231–3.

true Christians . . . who work diligently and sacrifice themselves in their own state, and do their utmost, as far as their social condition permits, to save and sanctify others and defend the Church of Jesus Christ from attacks by the unfaithful.<sup>80</sup>

In Medellín, the congregation emerges in May 1919 during the first *Congreso Mariano Nacional*. Its first public appearance occurred during the closing procession of the *Congreso*, when

around a hundred young people paraded in its ranks. That unforgettable afternoon, they all wore the small Congress badges; before them went the glorious blue standard in the shape of a flag that fluttered happily in the wind, bearing proudly its insignia and the holy motto 'Antioquia for Mary', artistically cut into the golden folds.<sup>81</sup>

The principal patron saints were Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and St Estanislao de Kostka, SJ. In addition, they honoured St Luis Gonzaga. The main festivity of the congregation was meant to be on 8 December, the feast day of the Immaculate Virgin. However, as many families were away on holiday on that date, the organization opted for 15 August, the day of the Assumption.<sup>82</sup>

For the cult of the Immaculate Conception, the statutes established that members should attend Mass and Communion every Saturday in the cathedral where the congregation was registered. They also were expected to encourage youths in their devotion to Mary, and to live up to Catholic precepts, propagate and defend Catholic ideals, visit gaols and hospitals, and do any other good deeds that local circumstances demanded. To fulfil these duties several *secciones* were set up.<sup>83</sup>

Their publication, the journal *Antioquia por María*, appeared from October 1918 to July 1919 to promote the first *Congreso Mariano Nacional*. Once that event was over, from November 1919 until December 1930 the journal was the weekly official publication of the *Congregación Mariana*. It included a section entitled *Colaboración Femenina* that addressed issues related to the emergence of 'modern' feminine ideals, and promoted changes in women's conventional role, according to the model offered by the Virgin Mary. The journal also reported news concerning the development of other religious associations in Antioquia, and on the achievements of missions in the region, especially in Urabá.

<sup>80</sup> *Reglas de las Congregaciones Marianas* (Medellín, 1961), 7.

<sup>81</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 4.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–5.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

The regulations adopted in Medellín in 1919 stated that the congregation could admit men and women of all ages, civil status, and social background. It was considered suitable to organize members into separate groups of children, students, and married persons. To be accepted into the congregation, applicants had to be recommended as individuals of unquestionable good conduct and behaviour.<sup>84</sup>

Among its members we find persons described as 'of consequence, and among the most illustrious of Medellín's youth', and also students, merchants, employees, and ordinary people. A report from 1920 mentions 270 members: 24 medical doctors, 19 lawyers, 14 engineers, 25 teachers, and 40 students, while the remaining 148 were distributed between merchants and employees. By the end of 1921, a group of students from the schools of San Ignacio and San José were admitted. Oral testimonies reveal that numerous workers from Fabricato became members of the *congregación*, especially those living in the *Patronato* opened by the Presentation Sisters in Bello in the 1930s.<sup>85</sup>

The resources of the association came from monthly contributions paid by members, plus an additional annual special quota collected before the Immaculate Conception feast day celebration. The archbishop was honorary president, and he appointed a priest as director. The board of directors had the customary dignitaries, plus a '*celador general*', general watchman. Other positions were those of the minor officials who supervised assistance at meetings and events, and served as librarians, as *capilleros* (churchwardens), or as readers.<sup>86</sup>

For its administration, the association classified members into *coros*, each one made up of twelve *congregantes* and led by a guardian appointed by the board of directors. By the end of the 1920s, nineteen *coros* had been organized in Medellín: one in the Law School, another in the *Escuela de Minas*, two in the Medical School, two in the *Normal de Varones*, three in the University of Antioquia, while the other ten were not associated with institutions. The *Congregación Mariana* founded chapters in several towns, including El Carmen, Marinilla, Santuario, Anorí, and Granada in the early 1920s.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Reglas de la Congregación Mariana* (Medellín, 1961), 17–20; *Antioquia por María*, 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 3.

<sup>85</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/2 (Medellín, 2 February 1921), 12–18; 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 5–6; Arango, *Mujer, religión*, 146.

<sup>86</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 5.

<sup>87</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 5; 1/6 (4 June 1921), 17; 1/8 (6 August 1912), 12; 2/13 (4 March 1922), 24; *Reglas de la Congregación Mariana* (Medellín, 1961), 20.

The congregation usually played an active role in the popular Corpus Christi and the Sacred Heart processions. Later it also took to organizing day trips to the countryside, and pilgrimages, such as the one conducted on 4 September 1921 to the image of Our Lady of Chiquinquirá, patroness of La Estrella.<sup>88</sup>

#### *Other confraternities*

Devotional associations attracted people from all walks of life. Pious routines and codes of behaviour adopted by their members strongly influenced the lives of many Antioqueño families.

In 1883 a Catholic journal reported in fervent tones that an *Asociación de Sirvientas* (Housemaids' Association) existed in the city:

It'll seem strange . . . Few would have imagined that in this capital the spirit of charity had penetrated to the very lowest of the social strata, and that it had brought its beneficent influence to the point beyond which it is impossible to go, right down to the poor housemaids . . . the matrons of this city think about the souls of those miserable servants . . . they bring them together, affiliate them, give them spiritual exercises, teach them their duties, and free them in this way from the crime of corruption.<sup>89</sup>

The association was placed under the protection of *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*; in 1883 it had 600, in a city by then of nearly 38,000 inhabitants.<sup>90</sup>

The *Asociación de la Adoración Reparadora* was founded in Medellín in May 1894 in the Church of San José. A preliminary meeting had been held in the house of Doña Natalia Barrientos viuda de Gómez, attended by eighteen distinguished ladies and gentlemen. Her son Estanislao was appointed president, and Rafael Velásquez Vélez, secretary. Members pledged to worship the Ciborium by turns on the eve of every First Friday. By June, 110 people had joined the confraternity, among them Abraham Moreno and Apolinar Villa. They were distributed in six *coros*, named after some of the Apostles.<sup>91</sup>

This association illustrates the close supervision imposed on members. Among the counsellors of the board of directors, seven *celadores* were named ' . . . with the task of visiting the church at different hours, and so to determine if the duty of taking turns in constant adoration was

<sup>88</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/1 (Medellín, 13 November 1920), 10.

<sup>89</sup> *El Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 4/46 (Medellín, 26 February 1883), 233.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*      <sup>91</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia* (Medellín, 1919), 37–8.

being faithfully observed'. The *celadores* reported their findings at the board of directors' monthly meeting.<sup>92</sup>

The practice of the *Adoración Reparadora* or *Nocturna* also existed in towns and rural areas. Antonio María Vélez mentions that around 1915 it was established in Concordia in the south-west, by *coros* from the *veredas* or rural neighbourhoods attached to the parish. In his *vereda* 'La Limona' there was a group formed by youths over 15 years old. Early in the afternoon on the first Thursday of each month they gathered at Florito Mejía's sugar mill. Since it was the cane-grinding day, they drank *guarapo* (sugar-cane juice) before going up to the next *vereda*, where they joined another *coro*. The party reached Concordia around sunset and slept in the garret of the sacristy. From midnight to 1 a.m. it was their turn for the *Adoración*. Next day, First Friday, they confessed, attended Mass and received Holy Communion.<sup>93</sup> In 1929 the *Boletín Parroquial* of San Pablo, Porce, published a picture of the leaders of the seven *coros* of the local *Adoración Nocturna*, founded in 1922, which took one-hour turns from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. to worship the Holy Sacrament.<sup>94</sup>

The *Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco de Asís*, created in the late nineteenth century in Santa Fe de Antioquia for men and women over 14 years, exemplifies the restrictions imposed on the private lives of the affiliates of religious associations.<sup>95</sup> *Terciarios* were supposed to shun luxuries and any 'refined elegance', and to beware of 'dangerous' entertainments, dances, and 'francachelas', revelries. They were to be frugal about food and drink, receive Confession and Communion at least once a month, go to Mass every day, set a good example at home, never use obscene language, or read 'evil' books or periodical publications. A visitor supervised them.<sup>96</sup>

To cite an example of the dedication of members to the devotion recommended by the congregations, the *Cofradía del Viacrucis* was

<sup>92</sup> *El Mensajero Eucarístico*, 6 (Medellín, 13 August 1913), 91–2.

<sup>93</sup> A. M. Palacio Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa* (Medellín, 1968), 74–5.

<sup>94</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, 2 (Porce, Sunday, 3 March 1929), 5–6.

<sup>95</sup> The *Venerable Orden Tercera* already existed in 1803, when Fray Rafael de la Serna arrived to direct the school and convent of San Francisco in Medellín. He wrote the rules for the Order and the biography of the 'penitent virgin' Francisca Javiera Pascuala de la Santísima Cruz de Arango, who talked with the *Virgen de las Mercedes* '... like a child to its mother, or one friend to another'. *Vida de Francisca de la Cruz, la Flor Divina del Aburrá. Escrita por Fray Rafael de la Serna OFM—en 1808*. Prepared by Fray Gregorio Arcila Robledo, OFM in 1948 (Bogotá, 1950), 32.

<sup>96</sup> *Constitución y reglas de la V Orden Tercera de Nuestro Seráfico Padre de San Francisco de Asís* (Medellín, n.d.).



established in Medellín in 1904 under the initiative of José M. Jaramillo. He invited a group of friends to gather in the cathedral every day during Lent to perform the Stations of the Cross during the short morning coffee-break, for which shops closed daily at 10.15 a.m. The initiative met with such a good response that after Lent these mid-morning pious gatherings continued.<sup>97</sup>

A belligerent spirit in social control is present in the *militantes*, or soldiers of Christ, belonging to the *Sociedad de Ejercitantes*, a confraternity founded in Santa Fe de Antioquia in 1904. The group, identified with a blue ribbon, raised funds by mounting amateur theatrical performances of moral dramas. It opened a library which offered reading material different from the 'pernicious' novels and political journals then in vogue.<sup>98</sup>

The *Obra de los Tabernáculos* was a sisterhood created in Medellín in 1910 by upper-class ladies to meet the needs of poor churches. They set up workshops to provide ornaments and vestments.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, it seems that between 1850 and 1930 the only non-Catholic religious association that emerged in Antioquia was the *Instituto Mensajero de Jesús Crucificado*. It was started in 1927 by a group of Protestants in Frontino, a distant mining town in north-western Antioquia. It organized lectures on morals, finances, political economy, sciences, and 'sociability'. It had a section in charge of lectures and recreation. For ceremonies, partners wore a white band with the inscription 'For moral and material progress'.<sup>100</sup>

#### BONDS AMONG SOCIAL GROUPS

In Antioquia, the devotional organizations active between 1850 and 1930 were one of the predominant forms of sociability. At the end of the period, as we have shown, there were more priests and religious in Antioquia than the national average. It is likely that in regard to religious associations Antioquia was more organized as well. It is premature to draw definitive conclusions, as during these years in Antioquia and

<sup>97</sup> *El Mensajero Eucarístico*, 7 (Medellín, 6 September 1913), 108.

<sup>98</sup> M. Ríos Madrid, 'Consideraciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición, 1890-1920', undergraduate thesis, Department of History, University of Antioquia (Medellín, 1988).

<sup>99</sup> *Antioquia por María* (Medellín, 7 May 1921).

<sup>100</sup> AGN, Fondo República, Sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas, vol. 17, doc. 1, fols. 4-8<sup>r</sup>. In the census of 1928 Frontino reported 16 of the 972 foreigners resident in Antioquia. See: División de Estadística Departamental, *Boletín de Estadística*, 27 (Medellín, 1930), 39.

elsewhere in the country these associations have been largely overlooked by historians.<sup>101</sup> In Popayán, Pasto, Tunja, or Bogotá similar organizations undoubtedly existed, but they were probably not as active or as numerous as in Antioquia.

Most of the devotional associations were founded in Medellín between the turn of the century and the 1930s, when the city population doubled from 60,000 to 120,000, and a significant manufacturing industry emerged.

As with many other aspects of social life, the great proliferation of religious organizations may be attributed to their having become fashionable. Social pressure may have done much to encourage affiliation, as the idea of founding them came almost always from important figures and from well-to-do sectors of society, usually resident in Medellín. This may have stimulated similar initiatives from artisans and groups of workers in the city, and from people in surrounding towns and villages. To join a devotional association was socially applauded, and provided its members with some standing, except in the eyes of a few Liberal-minded individuals and some occasional foreign visitors. The latter were sometimes scornful: in their countries such practices belonged to the past. The French traveller Pierre D'Espagnat ironically described a female confraternity he saw in the cathedral of Medellín in the 1890s: '... the sad mass of kneeling mantillas, dragging across the slabs their eternal and fascinating grief . . .'.<sup>102</sup> He notes that in most families there was one of these 'involuntary victims'.

One of the merits of religious associations was their opening of channels of communication between social classes. Some did so by admitting individuals with different social backgrounds. Others, even those with more rigid admission standards, did so by engaging in activities that

<sup>101</sup> Some authors interested in political history, particularly in the conflicts among Liberals and Conservatives during the 1870s, have briefly commented on the opposition between *Sociedades Católicas* and the *Sociedades Democráticas* mainly in the Cauca valley, Bogotá, and Antioquia. See: L. E. Lobato, 'Caudillos y nación. Sociabilidades políticas en el Cauca, 1830-1860', Master's thesis, Department of History, Universidad del Valle (Cali, 1994). Studies about philanthropy and social assistance give some attention to the *Sociedades del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* active in the Cauca valley and in Medellín. See: B. Castro Carvajal, 'Harmony and Conflict in Cali Society, 1850-1902', M. Phil. thesis, Oxford University (Oxford, 1986); M. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880-1930', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994). For Antioquia, the only recent historian who has examined these associations from a religious point of view is G. M. Arango. See: 'Las cofradías, las asociaciones católicas y sus formas de sociabilidad, Antioquia, siglo XIX', in *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 34-5, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, December 1995), 94-104.

<sup>102</sup> P. D'Espagnat, *Recuerdos de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), 234-5.

encouraged some closeness or intermingling between ordinary members and the benefactors or honorary members, or between members and less affluent individuals, whom they assisted spiritually or materially. Besides, the mere fact that these organizations were popular among the different social groups provided a common point of reference and the same aims in life, and made easier the transmission of values from one class to another. Implicit in all this was the idea that people, rather than social classes, were divided between 'gente decente' and bad or immoral persons.

Some studies of lay confraternities in Hispanic America during the colonial period have also suggested that they promoted social integration, acting as cultural bridges among groups separated by economic and social barriers.<sup>103</sup> The intermingling prompted by Catholic associations did not, however, abolish class distinctions. They were strictly observed in public gatherings: at the procession of the Sacred Heart, attended by all classes, upper- and middle-class members of the *Hijas de María* paraded before those from the 'second category'; that is to say, workers and other humble members.<sup>104</sup>

Devotional organizations exerted control over the private lives of Antioqueños. Their regulations were sometimes quite explicit in describing the controls and punishments that were to be imposed on those who did not comply with their codes of behaviour. Religious sanctions were effective, as they inexorably acted as social sanctions. Until the mid-twentieth century the parish priest, through the confessional and prohibitions dictated from the pulpit, could exert great influence over the private lives of his parishioners.<sup>105</sup> Devotional associations were linked to parish life, and were closely observed by ecclesiastical authorities. One of the tasks of bishops and their delegates during pastoral visits was to examine the state of the confraternities. Such visits were previously announced during Sunday Mass, and parishioners had to

<sup>103</sup> Lavrin, 'Mundos en contraste', 235-78; M. J. Díaz Cruz, 'Influencia de las cofradías en la adaptación y transformación de las manifestaciones religiosas en el siglo XVIII', *La religiosidad popular, vol. 3: Hermandades, romerías y santuarios* (Barcelona, 1989), 641-50.

<sup>104</sup> J. Sanín Echeverri, *Una mujer de cuatro en conducta*, Lima, n.d., quoted by C. Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?: Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana de Medellín, 1890-1930', vol. 3, Master's thesis, Department of History, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993), 424.

<sup>105</sup> D. Jaramillo Agudelo, 'Algunos comentarios sobre la cultura antioqueña', *Simposio Mundo Rural Colombiano*, FAES, 1981, unpublished paper, 5-6.

report to the bishop any irregularities they observed in the lives of members of brotherhoods and sisterhoods.<sup>106</sup>

Some devotional associations lasted until the middle of the twentieth century. Groups of women donning membership medals and ribbons can be observed in photographs of processions in Medellín and other towns taken in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>107</sup> Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, in her pioneer study on family and culture in Antioquia conducted in the early 1960s, found that confraternities were more abundant there than in the rest of the country, usually attached to parishes or to civic organizations such as the *Acción Comunal*.<sup>108</sup> She concluded that confraternities acted as a 'freno moral', a moral check for everyone:

Through them, the Church maintained its leadership in the community and its functional regulatory precepts, for the former enabled it to supervise the whole of society and acted as credentials for the good conduct of their members . . .<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> 'Decreto Orgánico de las Vicarías', 235-6.

<sup>107</sup> See the collections kept in the *Centro de Memoria Visual*, FAES in Medellín.

<sup>108</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1975), 376.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

## *Religiosity in Daily Life*

After visiting Medellín in 1852, Manuel Pombo wrote: 'The people of Antioquia seem to me to be believers, but I have not found them to be superstitious or affectedly devout, or given over to the punctilious practices of an excessive piety.'<sup>1</sup> Five years later, José María Torres Caicedo had a somewhat different perception: 'The people of Medellín, and in general of the State of Antioquia, is essentially devout and prefers religious ceremonies to dances and other spectacles.'<sup>2</sup> Tomás Carrasquilla mocked the sanctimoniousness of his countrymen in his story *San Antoñito*, which is set at the close of the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1930, other national and foreign visitors, authors of *costumbrista* sketches and others, whatever their political point of view, also observed the marked religiosity of the Antioqueños. The parish priest of Cañasgordas, in a communication sent to the governor of Antioquia Clodomiro Ramírez in May 1913, wrote:

real civilization has to do with the Catholic religion, as otherwise civilization cannot be conceived. . . . Well, Colombia is said to be the most Catholic nation on earth. And it may also be said, and will have to be said, that of all the Departments in Colombia, Antioquia is its heart because it is so Catholic.<sup>3</sup>

Later analysts agree. In 1950 James Parsons wrote that ' . . . as to piety and devotion, Antioqueños lead the way . . . the frequent occurrence of Biblical names of places such as Belén, Betulia, Jericó, Líbano, Palestina and Antioquia, attest to it'.<sup>4</sup> The most complete analysis continues to be the chapter dedicated to Antioquia in Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda's comparative study of cultural complexes in Colombia,<sup>5</sup> where she

<sup>1</sup> M. Pombo, 'De Medellín a Bogotá', *Obras Inéditas* (Bogotá, 1914), 32.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Torres Caicedo, 'Un paseo a Medellín, capital del Estado de Antioquia en la República de Nueva Granada', *Mis ideas y mis principios*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1875), 472.

<sup>3</sup> FAES, ACR, C/19/fols. 107<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> 'El pueblo antioqueño', *Revista Universidad de Antioquia*, 25/100 (August-October, 1950), 532.

<sup>5</sup> *Familia y cultura en Colombia*, 3rd edn. (Medellín, 1994), 373-402 (original edn., 1968). See also L. H. Fajardo, *La moralidad protestante de los antioqueños. Estructura social y personalidad* (Cali, 1966). For a more recent overview, see: B. Restrepo Gallego, 'Religiosidad y moralidad en Antioquia', in: Gobernación de Antioquia, *Realidad Social*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Tirado Mejía (Medellín, 1990), 161-92.

affirms that in this region, '... the priest controlled to the strictest degree the lives of everyone ... with active efficiency'.<sup>6</sup>

This section examines the ways that Antioqueño beliefs and religious attitudes provided integration and cohesion among the social classes. The structure of society was far from egalitarian, but religion worked to shorten social distances rather than to accentuate them.

#### A HARVEST OF RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS

Some evidence of the respectful atmosphere towards religion that prevailed in a great number of Antioqueño families may be inferred from the boom in religious vocations between 1850 and 1930.<sup>7</sup> These arose mainly in small towns, where the influence of parish priests and confessors was most direct, and mingling with clergymen and nuns more frequent, be it in the schools, hospitals, poorhouses, or in the charitable world. When an aspirant to the religious life emerged, relatives and the parishioners spread the news. In October 1930, the parish bulletin of San Pablo, Porce, proudly headlined '*Una Clarisa más*' as it noted the entry of Señorita Helena Yepes Sierra into that community's convent in Santa Rosa de Osos.<sup>8</sup>

Families with more than one vocation were common. Two daughters of Matilde Barrientos Zuláibar became Presentation Sisters,<sup>9</sup> and two daughters of the Bogotano Tomás Herrán, who in the 1870s had settled in Antioquia, entered the Good Shepherd Congregation.<sup>10</sup> Alejandro Correa Restrepo, born in the local town of Santo Domingo in 1875, and appointed parish priest there in 1910, had three sisters who became Presentation Sisters, living in Tours, France, Cundinamarca and Salamina, respectively, and two cousins who were priests.<sup>11</sup> Antonio

<sup>6</sup> *Familia y cultura en Colombia*, 388.

<sup>7</sup> Priests, friars, and nuns figure among those who posed individually, in groups, or with their families, in the studios of the photographers of Medellín between 1890 and the 1930s. Albums, guides, and monographs about Medellín and Antioquia published pictures where religious appear frequently, working in their schools and welfare institutions, or participating in all sorts of local celebrations.

<sup>8</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, 2/42 (San Pablo, Porce, Sunday, 26 October 1930), 192.

<sup>9</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia* (Medellín, 1919), 35.

<sup>10</sup> Tomás was the son of Pedro Alcántara Herrán, a general who fought under Simón Bolívar and was president of New Granada, 1842–5. Tomás was educated in Washington, and in the 1870s settled for some time in Antioquia as consul of the United States. See: E. Vergneau, *Vida de la Madre María de la Santa Cruz Herrán* (Barcelona, 1928), 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> F. Toro Saldarriaga, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán, doscientos años de vida parroquial* (Medellín, 1998), 96.

María Vélez, a peasant from Concordia, was ordained a priest, and his sister entered the French congregation of the Vincentian Sisters.<sup>12</sup>

Even more fertile in vocations was Ana Tulia Restrepo Roldán's family, from Campamento, a hamlet near Yarumal. She was born in 1898 in a humble household of twelve children, which 'began and ended the day praying', and every Tuesday handed out food to the poor. With the aim of educating all these children, her parents moved to Yarumal, a town where the Church was deeply rooted and where education and civic progress were highly valued. There, Ana Tulia joined the *Rebañito del Niño Jesús*, a confraternity for children, and on reaching the age of 19 she entered the noviciate of the Bethlehemite Sisters in Bogotá. This order came to Antioquia years later, in 1916, where the Sisters devoted themselves to teaching in San Pedro, north of Medellín. Two of Ana Tulia's sisters followed her into the order, and one brother entered the seminary in San Pedro, thanks to a scholarship granted because his family was numerous and poor, and because the rest of his brothers were all students. Later, two nephews also became priests, and three nieces became nuns.<sup>13</sup>

Similar examples can be found in the 1920s and 1930s. Ezequiel Velásquez Posada and Helena Medina, an upper-middle class couple living in Medellín, had thirteen children. One of them, shortly after hearing about the death in China of one of her uncles, a Jesuit missionary, joined the Presentation Congregation as Sister Albertina. In 1925 the community sent her to be trained as a nurse by working in the San Juan de Dios Hospital in Bogotá, as no infirmary schools existed yet in the country for this purpose. In 1934 she was transferred to a remote mission of the community in Tamara, Casanare. Soon news of the '*Hermana Doctora*' who cured the sick and wounded, extracted teeth and served as a midwife, were spread in the Llano. One of her sisters, who had joined the Sisters of the Poor, was sent, first to France and then to Baltimore, Maryland, where she became an expert dealing with providers and workers who built new houses for the congregation.<sup>14</sup>

The effectiveness and attractiveness of the congregations that settled in some thirty towns in Antioquia had a bearing on the choice of the religious life. Most of these communities came from abroad and were familiar with new methods in both teaching and charity. To be admit-

<sup>12</sup> A. M. Palacio Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa* (Medellín, 1968), 49, 150.

<sup>13</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, *Biografía de la Madre Magdalena Restrepo, Betlemita* (Bogotá, 1987), 9-30.

<sup>14</sup> G. Llano Posada, *Pendejadas mías* (Medellín, 1996).

ted meant the opportunity for travelling, and perhaps for learning another language.<sup>15</sup> They opened new horizons for men and women with spiritual and intellectual yearnings or with an inclination to social work, in times that offered few institutional alternatives for personal fulfilment. This was particularly true for women. In his visit to Medellín in 1898, the French traveller Pierre D'Espagnat observed:

Perhaps . . . a premature revulsion to life, possibly due to desires strayed off course, or to a nostalgia for a boyfriend . . . The life of the Antioqueño woman was so withdrawn, so faithful, so barely accessible, that a burgeoning religious conviction was the most easily perceptible aspect.<sup>16</sup>

Provisions were made to cover the convent expenses or seminary expenses of poor men and women with vocations. The *Sínodo Diocesano* held in Medellín in 1871 provided that eighteen scholarships should be paid from the rents of the seminary, to be distributed evenly among poor students from the different *vicariatos*.<sup>17</sup> The widow Matilde Barrientos de Gómez had supported a novice who was ordained in 1907, with whom she corresponded during the course of his studies. She helped him because she was conscious that many candidates came from ' . . . peasant families from the mountains, laborious, honest and pious—but poor—people, who almost always supply a contingent of priests'.<sup>18</sup>

Some devotional associations such as the *Fundación Santa Teresita de Jesús*, active in Medellín at the beginning of the twentieth century, collaborated.<sup>19</sup> In other cases, parishes gave grants out of the alms collected at Mass. In 1930, the parish priest of Porce, in union with his parishioners, offered Bishop Builes of Santa Rosa a peculiarly precise monthly grant of 7 pesos and 59 centavos, destined to the *Seminario de Misiones de Yarumal*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This is well documented in the case of Emma, a daughter of Tomás Herrán. Born in Medellín in 1876, she entered the Good Shepherd novice in Brooklyn, New York, at the age of 25. From 1904 to 1908 the community sent her to the house in Providence and afterwards to the one in Angers, France, place of origin and main seat of the Congregation, where years later she was appointed director. See: Vergneau, *Vida de la Madre María de la Santa Cruz Herrán*.

<sup>16</sup> P. D'Espagnat, *Recuerdos de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), 235–6.

<sup>17</sup> See Constitution no. 6, *Sínodo Diocesano del Obispado de Medellín y Antioquia* (Medellín, 1872), 103–4.

<sup>18</sup> Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, 'Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos? Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana de Medellín, 1890–1930', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993), vol. 3, 420.

<sup>20</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, 2/40 (San Pablo, Porce, Sunday, 28 September 1930).



Since religious vocations were open even to the humble and less educated, they fostered social mobility. Once peasants, labourers, and craftsmen took vows or were ordained, they could more easily climb the social ladder. This was particularly so for priests who rose to administer a parish, for they acquired a standing comparable, if not higher, with that of the municipal civil authority. Curates were better trained for their work and had more continuity than those in transitory political office. As one eulogy of a Granada priest proclaimed in 1933: 'His power overshadows all the others. The mayor orders and decrees some general things; the teacher instructs for a few hours on certain subjects; the physician attends the sick. But the priest is involved in all that . . .'.<sup>21</sup>

Yet persons of small means had to overcome numerous obstacles to enter a seminary or a convent. Besides the payment of a dowry, a matriculation fee, and boarding charges, those institutions required that a full set of personal effects be brought along. Religious life commanded widespread social respect, and the extended family and relations, in spite of any sadness for the impending separation, almost always approved of these vocations and supported the aspirant.

The autobiography of Antonio María Vélez describes the vicissitudes of a peasant with just two years of elementary schooling who wanted to become a priest. His uncle, Fernando Palacio, parish priest of San Pedro, brought him at the age of 7 to Uramita, where he worked on his parents' farm. Antonio was enrolled in school but had to help with errands and herding the cattle. He remained in school there for three years. In 1918, at the age of 21, having just acquired his own little farm in Concordia in the south-western region of Antioquia, Vélez started pondering 'what path to follow in life', and decided to embrace the priesthood. He consulted his clerical uncle, but the curate, having been disappointed in several nephews, did not pay him any attention. He then resorted to the parish priest of Jericó, who discouraged him because of his age and scant instruction: it was usual in seminaries to admit candidates between the ages of 11 and 14 who had finished elementary school.<sup>22</sup> A few months later some Eudist fathers from the seminary of Jericó went on a mission to his district, and impressed by his eagerness offered him a place in their community. His family and friends were

<sup>21</sup> *Bodas de Oro del Presbítero Clemente Giraldo, cura de Granada* (Sonsón, 1917), 29.

<sup>22</sup> This is evident in a series of photographs showing staff and students, among them several young boys, from the *Seminario Conciliar* in Medellín in the 1920s, kept in the CMV, FAES.

glad at the news, helped him to gather the money, clothing, and other things he needed, and supplied the horses for his trip to Jericó.<sup>23</sup>

#### PARISHES AS CENTRES OF SOCIABILITY

The basic structural unit of the Church was the parish, composed of the priest, the parish house, the parish office, and the church. The parish priest or *cura*, appointed by the bishop, was the main link between his flock and the Church. He accompanied them through every stage of life, from baptism to death. He resided in the parochial seat of the district, and his functions went beyond those of religious assistance. It was his task to celebrate Mass on all Sundays and holy days, and to perform all ordinary liturgical services, such as administering the Sacraments to the dying. He also managed the cemetery, collected tithes, kept a census of Catholics,<sup>24</sup> watched over the observance of ecclesiastical laws, and supervised the work of the *mayordomo de fábrica*. This official was entrusted with parochial finances, the care of sacred ornaments and the maintenance of Church buildings. Likewise, the priest had to promote and oversee devotional associations; provide relief to the poor; keep an eye on private and public schools so that they would not teach anything contrary to the Catholic faith and good morals; and impart Christian doctrine on holidays to his parishioners according to their age and condition. Finally, he was responsible for keeping the record of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and deaths in the Church registers.<sup>25</sup> All this was not easy, especially for priests living in small towns who often had also to visit parishioners in distant places. The *Sinodo Diocesano del Obispado de Medellín y Antioquia* held in 1872 in its eighth recommendation laid down that they have their own horse or mule.

Little is known about the operation of parishes in Antioquia, or how long priests served in particular places. Scattered references in local chronicles and monographs, and in reminiscences of the period, show that some remained for long years in the same parish. Clemente Giraldo, a native of Santuario, was the parish priest of Granada in eastern Antioquia from 1871 to 1933. With good reason, one of his biographers

<sup>23</sup> Palacio Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa*, 98–111.

<sup>24</sup> For each family living in the jurisdiction of his parish, the priest kept a record of the address, civil status, number of offspring, domestic servants, or any other workers or dependants. See: G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia. Prácticas y discursos, 1828–1885* (Medellín, 1993), 129–31.

<sup>25</sup> J. A. Bermúdez and J. V. Castro Silva, *Nociones de derecho eclesiástico* (Bogotá, 1919), 229–31; G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia*, 111, 123–9.

wrote that 'His name is joined to the history of Granada, like the shadow to the tree, like the bed to the river . . . it is easier to conceive substance without form, than Father Clemente without Granada, and vice versa.'<sup>26</sup>

The curate appointed to Aguadas in 1880 remained there for fifty-four years; priests assigned to Tamesis in 1867, to Andes in 1870, and to Copacabana in 1876, all resided for thirty-eight years in their respective parishes.<sup>27</sup> In clerical biographies, cases of curates who stayed for more than ten years in one place are abundant.

The parish priest was a central figure in almost all local events in close-of-the-century Antioquia, where most people lived in the countryside or in towns of 3,000–15,000 inhabitants. In this rural, intimate environment values were transmitted orally, and the curate relied on the pulpit and the confessional, two powerful means to exert his influence. According to Emiro Kastos (pen name of Juan de Dios Restrepo, 1825–94), the curate was seen by the ignorant and naïve farmers as,

their teacher, their protector, their friend; through him they get to know about politics . . . they turn to him for protection and alms . . . they look to him to settle their differences, to calm their fears and revive their hopes . . .<sup>28</sup>

Priests were often the butt of scandals and gossip, specially in times of strife between Church and state. They were not apolitical.<sup>29</sup> Examining the ecclesiastical trials of the archdiocese of Medellín, Gloria Mercedes Arango found cases such as that of Silverio Adriano Gómez, parish priest of Concepción, accused in anonymous writings of refusing to administer prompt extreme unction and to attend the funeral of an acknowledged Liberal, on the grounds that the deceased did not pay his tithes. Father Gómez's prejudice against the Liberals went back to the religious persecution of 1877, when as priest of Sonsón he had suffered the abuses of the troops commanded by General Tomás Rengifo.<sup>30</sup>

The active contribution of Antioqueño parish priests to the material progress of their flocks appears repeatedly in clerical biographies and local monographs, and has been emphasized in recent studies. Their enterprising character is seen as unlike what was the notion of priests in

<sup>26</sup> E. Castaño Giraldo, *Memoria y recuerdos del padre Clemente Giraldo* (Medellín, 1983).

<sup>27</sup> J. Botero Restrepo, Pbro., 'El clero diocesano del oriente antioqueño', unpublished paper (Medellín, 1988), n.p.n.

<sup>28</sup> E. Kastos, *Artículos escogidos* (Bogotá, 1972), 32.

<sup>29</sup> See Ch. 1, "'Una República de curas': Church and Politics'.

<sup>30</sup> U. Ramírez Urrea, Pbro., *Apuntes para la historia del clero. Persecución religiosa en 1877* (Medellín, 1917), 85, quoted by G. M. Arango, 'Religión y vida social en Antioquia en el siglo XIX', *Sociología*, 18 (Medellín, June 1995), 21.

other Colombian and Latin American regions. They did not act as representatives of a distant paternalism or of the authoritarianism of landlords, but were instead the intermediaries of collective effort.<sup>31</sup> In the words of Beatriz Restrepo Gallego: ‘. . . they made of their parishes . . . lively schools of communal participation . . .’.<sup>32</sup> No doubt the general acceptance of religious values in the region allowed parish priests to keep a close and less hierarchical relation with their flock. After his visit to Medellín in 1852, Manuel Pombo wrote, ‘They usually have—I do not know of any exceptions—good *curas* intent on the advancement of their parishes, constantly giving a good example by their righteous conduct, and earning the respect and affection of their flocks.’<sup>33</sup>

Evidence of the clergy’s involvement in material progress is the ‘monumental’ scale of Antioquia’s churches, many of them still under construction, and not always in the best architectural taste. Well into the twentieth century, these constructions surprised visitors. In 1852, Manuel Pombo praised the new and elegant church of Sonsón for its spacious front court, three-door façade, and public clock.<sup>34</sup> In his *Geografía General del Estado de Antioquia*, Manuel Uribe Ángel describes the main churches of all the municipal seats in the 1880s. His remarks on the church of Jericó could be extended to all the others: ‘. . . the final cost will be extremely high; but this is not to say it will not be completed, for the religious zeal of Antioqueño townsfolk overcomes anything’.<sup>35</sup>

Passing through Santo Domingo, Pierre D’Espagnat felt impressed too with ‘. . . the great church, the brick cathedral, in a somewhat shocking style, perhaps a bit too grand in view of the humble dwellings that cluster around it, but nonetheless attesting to a spirited expenditure of local creativity and money’.<sup>36</sup>

The Jewish immigrant Simón Guberek observed in the 1930s: ‘Religious monuments are found here in larger proportion than in any other region of the country. They leap to the eye and grab our attention.’<sup>37</sup> This resolve to have a large church was spurred by a certain

<sup>31</sup> Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia* (1994), 399–402; L. Fajardo, *La moralidad protestante de los antioqueños. Estructura social y personalidad* (Cali, 1966), 60–2.

<sup>32</sup> Restrepo Gallego, ‘Religiosidad y moralidad’, 171–3.

<sup>33</sup> Pombo, ‘De Medellín a Bogotá’, 32.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>35</sup> M. Uribe Ángel, *Geografía y compendio histórico del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia*, critical edition by R. L. Jaramillo (Medellín, 1985), 400.

<sup>36</sup> D’Espagnat, *Recuerdo de la Nueva Granada*, 218.

<sup>37</sup> S. Guberek, *Yo vi crecer un país*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1987), 150.

rivalry among towns. Frederick von Schenck perceived this rivalry during his stay in Santa Rosa de Osos in 1880: 'The inhabitants make great sacrifices for this colossal work, not only for religious reasons but for the desire—apparent even in the poorest villages—of having a bigger church than that of the neighbouring town.'<sup>38</sup>

When Medellín cathedral was begun in the 1880s, it was a colossal building for a city which was still only a town of some 40,000 inhabitants. However, Church building was more than just construction; it was an enterprise that surpassed any individual effort and fostered communal work. The co-ordination of the task made evident the control over human and material resources that the parish priest had in his power. Parishioners contributed with labour, money, or materials according to their means. Women organized bazaars to collect funds, and on Sundays and holy days throughout the year sold *empanadas* to the same end. During construction, work was allotted to commissions and parties, which were announced in the Sunday sermon or in leaflets, posters, and parish bulletins. Reports of episcopal visits published in the *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, the organ of the diocese of Medellín during the 1870s, described the present condition of churches and recorded the contributions of neighbours to building, maintenance, and ornamentation.

An example of how this happened can be traced through the history of Yarumal. On 20 December 1860, Father Julián Palacio summoned his flock to the town square and announced the construction of a new church. The old edifice of San Luis had become too small to hold them all. That very day he put up a first list of well-to-do neighbours, who were to be in charge of the works. Having drawn up the regulations, they started to gather funds through collections, alms, voluntary bequests, bazaars, raffles, and sales of lands and assets donated by benefactors. Ladies belonging to the *Hijas de María* and the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* made up commissions to collect contributions within the town and in the countryside. The new church was finished over eighty years later, in 1944.<sup>39</sup>

In Antioquia, the construction of churches took decades and demanded generations of active parish collaboration. On 20 July 1859, Joaquín Guillermo González, provisional priest of Santuario and future bishop of the diocese of Antioquia, summoned by a poster a 'last com-

<sup>38</sup> F. von Schenck, *Viajes por Antioquia en el año de 1880* (Bogotá, 1953), 29.

<sup>39</sup> O. Montoya Moreno, *Presencia histórica de la Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Yarumal* (Medellín, 1995), 85–122.

munal gathering to finish building the church'.<sup>40</sup> It took fourteen years for the people of San Vicente to raise their church. Finished in 1873, it cost 40,000 pesos, not counting the work of the parishioners who brought timber from the woods, prepared clay, and carried the firewood to bake the bricks and burn the lime.<sup>41</sup> In 1868 when the construction of the parochial church in Santo Domingo began '... men, women, children and old people ... attended the communal gatherings to carry bricks, to remove the excavated earth, to move or put in place the stones, or to carry to the brickyards the fuel needed to burn the *adobes*'.<sup>42</sup> In 1873, Eleázar Marulanda of Andes announced in the *Repertorio Eclesiástico* the raffle of thirty head of cattle on behalf of his parish church, at a price of 0.40 centavos the ticket. Passing through Sonsón in 1908, Hermes García observed some 'alms commissions', made up of trustworthy individuals collecting donations for the church: 'The church is being built with donations and alms. No one withholds his contribution. A matron and a señorita go out every Sunday to collect small pious donations from the peasants, at the stores and in the homes.'<sup>43</sup>

Throughout the years of Antioqueño colonization, building the church was one of the first communal enterprises undertaken in the settlements founded to the south and south-west of Antioquia during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even under the most precarious circumstances the new residents kept the precept of Mass.<sup>44</sup> In the 1860s, in the incipient hamlet of San Roque, Father Francisco Antonio Isaza celebrated the first Mass under a tarpaulin in the small square, using as an altar the trunk of a tree. In 1851, when Father Bernardo Ocampo was appointed parish priest of Manizales, his 'flock amounted to some three thousand souls', and

the first church. . . [was] a former liquor stall, thatched at first and tiled later on, located in the main square next to the front court of the present cathedral, and of such modest dimensions, eight meters by four, that parishioners had to hear Mass kneeling outside.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> FAES, Colección de afiches, D1.

<sup>41</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 1/12 (Medellín, 20 May 1873), 94.

<sup>42</sup> J. D. Monsalve, *El municipio de Santo Domingo* (Bogotá, 1927), 36.

<sup>43</sup> H. García, *En la tierra de Robledo* (Caracas, 1908), 108.

<sup>44</sup> There is a drawing from a traveller's account book which depicts a mass in 1869 in the new town of Salento, founded by Antioqueño settlers in the mountains of Quindío. See: *Geografía pintoresca de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1971).

<sup>45</sup> G. Duque Botero, Pbro., *Apuntes para la historia del clero en Caldas* (Medellín, 1957), 205.

Besides taking part in the construction, townspeople procured the ornaments and the religious images, and provided the furnishings. Parishioners of Amagá managed to provide a *melodium* and a public clock for the façade of the church, both financed through collections.<sup>46</sup> In their visits, bishops and vicars urged parishioners to look after the church and the cemetery. If these were found in bad condition, they were admonished and reminded that a population that kept these attractive and clean also nurtured the faith.<sup>47</sup>

Some of these priests founded not only churches but new towns. In Granada, Clemente Giraldo prompted his parishioners to colonize the valleys of some Magdalena river tributaries. When they founded San Luis in 1876, he offered them tools, seeds, medicines, and other relief, as well as his spiritual support. He hired the civil engineer who drew the plans for the new town and traced the horse-trail from Granada.<sup>48</sup> Maceo and San Rafael were founded by the initiative of the priest José de Jesús Correa Jaramillo.<sup>49</sup>

In towns such as Aguadas, Pácora, Salamina, Neira, and Manizales, created by Antioqueño settlers in the south of Antioquia, it was common for the clergy to get '... involved in the promotion of bridge and road building'.<sup>50</sup> In the 1830s, during the five years he served as parish priest of Cocorná, in eastern Antioquia, the future bishop of Medellín Valerio Antonio Jiménez, cut down forests, oversaw the construction of bridges over the Cocorná and Chorrera rivers, and encouraged the cultivation of sugar cane.<sup>51</sup> Ramón María Hoyos, parish priest of Sonsón, in 1856 started '... the clearing of pack-trails to the Magdalena river and to La Unión'.<sup>52</sup> Towards the middle of the century, Manuel Canuto Restrepo, priest of Salamina and future bishop of Pasto, busied himself with opening a road through the high plateau of Herveo, to communicate with the south of Antioquia and the departments of Tolima and Cundinamarca.<sup>53</sup> Ángel María Gómez, parish priest in Santo Domingo from 1878 to 1902, opened the first hospital, the first parish priest's

<sup>46</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 2/39 (Medellín, 1 March 1873), 311.

<sup>47</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 120-1.

<sup>48</sup> E. Castaño Giraldo, *Memoria y recuerdos del Padre Clemente Giraldo* (Medellín, 1983), 107-10.

<sup>49</sup> Botero Restrepo, Pbro., 'El clero diocesano del oriente antioqueño, n.p.n.

<sup>50</sup> R. Brew, 'Aspects of Politics in Antioquia, 1850-1865', B. Phil. thesis, Oxford University (Oxford, 1971), 51.

<sup>51</sup> J. de D. Uribe, Pbro., *Biografía del ilustrísimo y reverendísimo Sr Dr D. Valerio A. Jiménez* (Medellín, 1906), 5-6.

<sup>52</sup> Duque Botero, *Apuntes para la historia*, 192.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 213-14.

house, and a brickyard.<sup>54</sup> When Enrique Ramírez passed through Maceo in 1904, leading an expedition to Alicante and Cupiná in the north-eastern jungles of Antioquia, he was surprised to find that this five-year old settlement already had about 4,000 inhabitants, 96 houses of *bahareque* (plaited cane and mud) and palm leaves, a church of the same materials, and a permanent priest who said daily Mass. He praised the talents of Jesús María Giraldo, a young priest who

not only runs the parish and sets out over impassable trails to hear confessions, but also plows a deep and fertile furrow in moral matters; and, being no idler, he has raised two much-needed schools attended by seventy-nine boys and girls, where they receive lessons taught by two instructors and the tireless Father Giraldo himself.<sup>55</sup>

When Rufino Gutiérrez undertook a second tour of the municipalities of Antioquia in 1917—he had visited them previously in 1891—he marked the progress of Santa Rosa de Osos, seat of the new diocese, and credited it to the recently appointed Bishop Maximiliano Crespo. He praised him as

a person of a great, unselfish and progressive spirit, [who] has not only pioneered but also boosted the erection of new buildings. Moreover, many neighbours, on his advice, are beginning to take up farming with success, as is shown by the quality of the wheat they are starting to grow.<sup>56</sup>

Parish priests in Antioquia considered it their duty to teach and civilize.<sup>57</sup> They set up many schools and poorhouses. Of the 59 charity hospitals founded in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930, 24 were opened by diocesan priests.<sup>58</sup> Some parish priests printed parochial leaflets destined to instil in the faithful a love for reading, a sense of belonging to the native soil, and a spirit of solidarity, exalting all the while the agrarian life. In La Ceja, Father Jesús María Piedrahita Duque began publishing *La Espiga* in 1914. Martín Múnera Tobón published between 1929 and 1931 *Mi Primera Parroquia* in San Pablo, in the vicinity of Porce, one of the stations on the Antioquia railroad. Father Múnera mentions other

<sup>54</sup> F. Toro Saldarriaga, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán* (Medellín, 1998), 81.

<sup>55</sup> E. Ramírez G., *Colonización. Apuntaciones parciales de un viaje a Alicante y Cupiná* (Medellín, 1904), 4.

<sup>56</sup> R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 378.

<sup>57</sup> Luis González y González in his 'Esbozo biográfico de un cura de pueblo', portrays the career of Federico González Cárdenas, a rancher from Zamora, ordained in 1925, and curate of San José. Against and in favour of revolutions, all in one. See: *Relaciones: Estudios de Historia y Sociedad*, 13/51, El Colegio de Michoacán (Summer 1992), 177–93.

<sup>58</sup> See Ch. 5, 'A Plethora of Charity Societies'.



parochial periodicals that circulated at the time in the diocese of Santa Rosa de Osos: *El Adalid*, *La Cruzada*, *La Espada*, *Entre Sombras*, *El Remo*.<sup>59</sup> The diocese had its own monthly organ: *El Eco del Sagrario*. In 1931, in Santo Domingo, the *Hojita Parroquial* was issued under the direction of Father Antonio J. Gómez.

The contents of *Mi Primera Parroquia* give another perspective of the variety of affairs that came within the purview of a parish priest. This bulletin of four to eight pages, was sold at 1 centavo to some 200 subscribers. It announced religious events, and carried prayers, doctrinal explanations, poetry, and literary and moral extracts of foreign authors by instalments, for example from Samuel Smiles. It provided information about the history of the parish, listed the names of neighbours who gave alms or subscribed to the bulletin, gave the telegraph office hours and the phases of the moon. It advertised the sale of paintings, missals, books, scapulars, and medals. It published obituaries, denounced local scandals, gave advice on manners, and warned against drinking. It recommended who to vote for in elections, propagated new kinds of fertilizers and cultivation techniques, warned against slash-and-burn methods, and invited the faithful to join parties organized for the upkeep of the cemetery.<sup>60</sup>

The care of parish houses was usually assigned to some relation of the priest, a sister, a female cousin, or a niece. Father Fernando Palacio, parish priest of San Pedro, was accompanied by a 65-year-old female cousin who played the role of 'housekeeper', and by a maid and a 7-year-old nephew who ran errands and looked after the calves.<sup>61</sup> References to parish houses show that some also served as meeting rooms, hostels and shelters. Travelling from Medellín to the mines of Titiribí, around 40 kilometres south-west of Medellín, William Leay was 'put up at the hospitable abode of the kind *cura*, José Antonio Montoya' in Amagá.<sup>62</sup> Parish houses customarily served as community centres, especially in times of calamity or civil war, and additionally served as headquarters for charities and mutual aid activities promoted by devotional associations.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> J. Piedrahíta E., *Parroquia de La Ceja, sesquicentenario, 1815-1965* (Medellín, n.d.), 48; *Mi Primera Parroquia. Boletín Parroquial de San Pablo, Porce. 1929-1931*, compiled by G. Márquez Vargas (Medellín, 1995); J. Morales Henao, 'Una hojita parroquial excepcional', *Desde la Sala*, 3, BPP (Medellín October, 1997), 14-15.

<sup>60</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, Porce, 1929-1931.

<sup>61</sup> Palacio Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa*, 39-43.

<sup>62</sup> *New Granada, Equatorial South America* (London, 1868), 92.

<sup>63</sup> C. Abel, *Política, Iglesia y partidos en Colombia* (Medellín, 1987), 81-3.

In the case of an emergency or in extreme need, country people sought provisional refuge in the parish house. Manuel Baena, a black rural labourer who eventually became an engineer, remembered an incident in his childhood. His mother, a working woman who earned a living as a cook in the mining camps of Antioquia's north-east during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and who had just made the decision to leave her partner because of his excessive drinking, had to flee the town of Yalí taking Baena and his younger brother with her. After walking several days through the forest, during which they often loudly said the Rosary to scare away wild beasts, they arrived in Yolombó, where they asked for shelter at the parish house. Father Pérez provided them with food and lodging during the couple of weeks it took them to recover their strength. The mother helped in the kitchen, and the two boys ran errands. Later on, the priest found them employment with some rich peasants.<sup>64</sup>

The sizes and activities of parishes varied widely. Some were poor and small; others too large for the priest to be within easy reach of his parishioners. In Antioquia, as in the rest of Colombia, even though parishes had extensive rural districts, in practice strictly parish activity tended to be limited to urban areas. Town residents were those who socialized the most through the parish organizations, to which they had belonged from childhood.<sup>65</sup>

It was shown earlier in this chapter that the institutional presence of the Church flourished mainly in the central and most populated part of Antioquia, inhabited predominantly by whites and mestizos. The presence or absence of the Church was not simply a matter of distance or accessibility, but also had to do with the cultural and ethnic make-up of the population. The contrast between Turbo and Frontino suggests this.

Carlos Ferrer, after visiting several villages in Urabá in 1907, wrote in the daily *El Chocó*: 'Those hamlets do not have either a church or a school or a jail; that is to say, the indispensable trinity for the progress and moral improvement of communities.'<sup>66</sup> In the next decades, Catholic missions expressed repeated concern about the successful activities of Evangelicals, Presbyterians, and Pentecostals in this area.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> M. Baena, *Cómo se hace ingeniero un negro en Colombia* (Murcia, 1929), 175-9.

<sup>65</sup> Restrepo Gallego, 'Religiosidad y moralidad en Antioquia', 171-2.

<sup>66</sup> C. Steiner, 'Urabá antioqueño, 1900-1960', final report to the *Fundación para la Promoción de la Investigación y la Tecnología*, Banco de la República (Bogotá, 1990), part I, 18.

<sup>67</sup> Steiner, 'Urabá antioqueño, 1900-1960', part II, 21.

By contrast, Frontino was a spearhead for the colonization wave towards Urabá that originated from Antioquia. In the 1920s it marked the last frontier of the institutional presence of the state and the Church in the northern region of the department. Frontino was located on the ridges of the western mountain ranges, on the road that connects Medellín with the gulf of Urabá, started in 1926 and completed in 1955. Compared with Turbo, it had a population of settlers from the interior of Antioquia, rather than of blacks from Chocó or *costeños*. In 1911 Frontino became the seat of the missions of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, to whom the bishop of Antioquia entrusted the *Prefectura Apostólica de Urabá* between 1918 and 1942. The Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters arrived in 1925 to complement the task of their fellow religious. With the help of the departmental government, both congregations built churches, managed boarding schools and communal farms in Frontino, and constantly travelled around the countryside catechizing the natives. Their work seems to have been effective, and the reports sent in 1916 by the warden of the gaol of Frontino to the general director of prisons in Bogotá are in stark contrast with the preceding remarks of Ferrer about Turbo: 'The Carmelite Fathers assist the inmates . . . [who] have conducted themselves very well . . . they confess and receive communion often, regularly twice a month, and are taken to Mass on Sundays and feast days. . .'.<sup>68</sup>

Country people who lived in remote places received spiritual attention only rarely, when they presented their tithes at the *Altar de San Isidro*, when extreme unction was brought to the dying, and during missions or pilgrimages, which allowed them to receive the Sacraments, less accessible during the rest of the year. A note sent in February 1870 by the inspector of a district of Nechí to the secretary of government of the department, describes the activities of the priest Juan N. Cadavid, who preached, confessed, ministered Communion, and officiated marriages and baptisms:

for the so many wretches who dwell here on the lower margins of the mighty Cauca river, in need of such sanitary benefits . . . In this soil where corruption thrives, all because of the lack of priests to preach the gospel and help the destitute . . . if only the ecclesiastical and civil governments would appoint priests who will face the risks of perilous trails, of fevers and travel by canoe in the

<sup>68</sup> AGN, Fondo Ministerio de Gobierno, Sección Ramo de Prisiones, Cárcel de Frontino, años 1916, 1917, tomo 13 y 51, quoted by Steiner, 'Urabá antioqueño, 1900-1960', 16.

fulfilment of their duties . . . these villages would attain to the morality that for the scarcity of ministers is absent.<sup>69</sup>

Bishops had trouble finding priests ready to take charge of parishes in faraway, unhealthy, and sparsely populated zones. In the 1920s, Bishop Caycedo of Medellín attempted to fill a pastoral post in Puerto Berrío, a regional port on the Magdalena river and terminal station of the railway. The town had 1,200 inhabitants, while 10,000 people lived in the rural areas. The climate was noxious, and there was no '*Dios ni Ley*'. Puerto Berrío attracted all sorts of adventurers and idlers, and was full of gambling houses and prostitutes. At the end of 1925 the Claretians agreed to run the parish, on condition that the bishop authorized them to settle in Medellín, where they had for years unsuccessfully been trying to establish a house for their community. They undertook to maintain at least three priests in Puerto Berrío, who would also take care of the parish of Nare, the town of Caracolí, and the lands of these districts along the river and the railway.

The accounts of Father Fructuoso Pérez, one of the Claretians assigned to Puerto Berrío, make it clear that they faced a difficult task on their arrival. They set up a provisional chapel in one of the school classrooms, but the scarcity of funds forced them to use it for seven years. They had to embark on long trips, by canoe, horse, train, or on foot, to take the Sacraments to the dying, and hardly had any time to tend to the regular schedule of the parish, to supervise the construction of churches in Berrío, Caracolí, Nare, and Murillo, and to plan one or two rural missions every year. On First Fridays they rose at 3.30 a.m. to give Communion to the brakemen of the train that departed at 4 a.m. to Medellín.<sup>70</sup>

The Claretians spent years catechizing the population of the region. At first, none of the parishioners wanted to carry the effigies in Holy Week processions; they danced even on these holy days, and customarily left Catholic ritual out of their funerals. The school had only seventeen students, and in a single year had four different teachers. By 1930 it had 160 boys under the guidance of four teachers. When a parishioner asked one of the fathers 'how did you manage to round up so many boys?', he answered, 'I walked through town with my cow-whip, driving street urchins all the way to the school.'<sup>71</sup> The parish church was

<sup>69</sup> *Boletín Oficial*, 7/334 (Medellín, 6 March 1870), 54.

<sup>70</sup> Crónicas del Padre Fructuoso, in *Anales de la Congregación*, quoted by C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La comunidad Claretiana en Medellín, 1625-1925* (Medellín, 1976), 13-32.

<sup>71</sup> Mesa, CMF, *La comunidad Claretiana en Medellín*, 27.

inaugurated on 7 December 1930 in a ceremony which, according to Father Fructuoso, ‘. . . was rousing: the orders in formation, the girls like flocks of white doves, throwing flowers, the Guard of Antioquia with their gala uniforms and fixed bayonets . . . bells . . . cannons, fireworks: roaring sounds filling the air with thunder.’<sup>72</sup>

During one of his visits to Puerto Berrío, Bishop Builes, after watching the entrance to Sunday Mass, as the schools paraded and the band played, and everybody sang ‘*Tú Reinarás*’, exclaimed with enthusiasm that Puerto Berrío could now compete in religious fervour with towns in Antioquia’s interior.<sup>73</sup>

PIOUS PRIVATE PRACTICES COMMON TO ALL

The protagonist in Carrasquilla’s story *Entrañas de niño* summarizes the devotional routines that were customary in Santa Fe de Antioquia around 1860:

At home, besides following to the letter all the precepts of Mother Church, we practised as many devotions as the most deeply-rooted and monastic of pieties could inspire . . . Evening Rosary with all the mysteries and doxologies; prayers at dawn . . . scapulars and rosaries on the breasts of big and small alike; blessings before each meal and thanksgiving afterwards; Angelus in unison; Hail Mary when the church bells rang and Gloria at the stroke of every hour; on Tuesdays, candles for Saint Ann; the Holy Sacrament on Thursdays, and a perpetual lamp to the Virgin patroness of the family.<sup>74</sup>

From the middle of the nineteenth century to the turn of the next, life in Antioqueño households went by in a discreet and puritan atmosphere similar to that described by Carrasquilla. This provided a basis for identity that transcended social barriers. The case of Matilde Barrientos Zuláibar (1825–1910), matron of one of the most affluent and enlightened families of the time, fond of orderliness, hard work, and modesty, and benefactor of the needy, illustrates this mentality, which spread over most of Antioquia. She recollected that towards the middle of the nineteenth century ‘you could still notice a certain religious indifference among the upper echelons of society’, a situation changed by the Jesuits ‘. . . who so eagerly strove to propagate in all their scope the genuine Roman doctrines on the convenience of spiritual retreats according

<sup>72</sup> Mesa, CMF, *La comunidad Claretiana en Medellín*, 3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. <sup>74</sup> *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1952), 1164.

to Saint Ignatius' method, the authority of the Roman Pontiff, his supremacy over the Episcopate . . .'.<sup>75</sup>

In Doña Matilde's opinion, the efforts of the Company of Jesus bore much ' . . . fruit on behalf of the moderation of our customs, in the task of tempering our characters, and in the propagation of true charity.' The Jesuits were 'apostles of the Sacred Heart devotion, almost unknown before in our soil'. In 1862 and 1863, when the family fortune was diminished, they moved to a humble farm in Heliconia. In that 'exile', Doña Matilde became the confidante and friend of the *mayordomo's* wife, attracted by her goodness, ingenuousness, sincerity, and benevolence. Years later, her son, Estanilao Gómez, would evoke this sojourn in the country as beneficial for the family, for it put them in contact 'with the difficulties of life, with the poor and the helpless'.<sup>76</sup>

The character of Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar (1815–99), revealed in meticulous diary entries, complements Doña Matilde's experience. He summed up the virtues admired by Antioqueños of his times, that were also praised in the obituaries and eulogies honouring those personalities deemed worthy of a biography. He was charitable, civil, austere, methodical, and an excellent paterfamilias. He abhorred alcohol, gambling, material ostentation, vulgarity of customs, and moral laxness. His religion was the base of his philosophy. He rarely went out at night; his sons had to be at home by 9.30 p.m., when he locked the doors. In 1873, after he attended the wedding of his friend Santiago Santamaría's daughter, he wrote in his diary that he disapproved of the new fashions in nuptials, especially evening parties where both sexes drank and mingled with so much intimacy.<sup>77</sup>

During the second half of the last century, when more Colombians started travelling to Europe, those of a more Conservative and Catholic disposition, among them several Antioqueños, included Rome and the Holy Land in their itineraries.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia*, 12–14.

<sup>76</sup> Both quotes in this paragraph are from: Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia*, 17–23.

<sup>77</sup> J. A. Restrepo R., *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815–1899* (Bogotá, 1992), 282–4.

<sup>78</sup> Some of these, such as Doctor Andrés Posada Arango, *Viaje de América a Jerusalén, tocando en París, Londres, Loreto, Roma y Egipto* (Paris, 1869) and the priest Manuel Canuto Restrepo, *Viaje a Roma y Jerusalén* (Paris, 1871), wrote accounts of their pilgrimages with the clear intention of opposing the influence of Liberalism. Other Antioqueños who published similar chronicles were: E. Isaza, 'Viaje por Italia', *La Nación*, 25 (Bogotá, August 1885), and M. T. Arrubla, *Viajes por España e Italia* (Bogotá, 1886). See: F. Martínez, 'Representaciones de Europa y discurso nacionalista en los relatos de viajes colombianos,

Religious initiation took place at home. Youngsters learned to pray from early childhood, and shared in the daily prayers with grown-ups and servants. Housewives considered the teaching of Christian doctrine to the servants one of their domestic duties. The practice of the entire family saying an evening Rosary was widespread, and was maintained up to the middle of the twentieth century, so much so that the expression '*a la oración*' came to designate that hour of the day. Memoirs, correspondence, genre literature, and travellers' accounts provide abundant references to such popular religiosity. According to Tomás Carrasquilla, it was the custom to say the 'Rosary at bedtime, praises at dawn, plus short invocations at all times'. In his story *Entrañas de niño*, set in Santa Fe de Antioquia in the 1860s, he describes how

In the library . . . as soon as the men arrived from the fields and the children had gone to bed, my father grabbed his large bell . . . and summoned everyone. The neighbours and even some people from the town would often come, specially on Saturday afternoons, when wages were paid, doctrine taught, and a repast served for all . . . day labourers and *agregados*<sup>79</sup> occupied the porch; female servants, the inner galleries; the gentry knelt in the said room; the patriarch on a tabouret, the ladies on mats and the men on footstools.<sup>80</sup>

In his late nineteenth-century novel *Inocencia*, Francisco de Paula Rendón describes the household of a prosperous family of San Isidro, a fictional town in the mountains of Antioquia, and how its members and the servants say together every morning and night the *Bendito* and the Our Father. The young ask their parents' blessing before going to bed.<sup>81</sup>

Among the letters written by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez is one of 25 December 1869 that contains a list of fifteen friends and relations who gathered in the country house *El Diamante* and vowed to maintain, 'as long as God kept them alive', the devotion of the *Rosario Viviente*. This required each participant to lead prayers for the mystery that fell to each by lot.<sup>82</sup>

The Rosary was said even on journeys. One afternoon in 1852, at the summit of the *Páramo de Herveo* on the way from Medellín to Bogotá, Manuel Pombo was asked by Dionisio, head of the muleteers:

1850–1900', *Wars, Parties and Nationalism: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth Century Latin America*, ed. by E. Posada-Carbó (London, 1995), 55–70.

<sup>79</sup> Agricultural workers who receive a small plot in return for their labour.

<sup>80</sup> Carrasquilla, *Obras completas*, 1185.

<sup>81</sup> 'Inocencia', in: *Cuentos y novelas de Francisco de P. Rendón*, comp. by B. A. Gutiérrez (Medellín, 1954), 82.

<sup>82</sup> FAES, AMOR/C/3/fol. 99<sup>r</sup>.

'Patrón, what time is it?'

'Six o'clock.'

He and his companions bared their heads, knelt down and prayed the Angelus out loud.<sup>83</sup>

During the 1904 exploration of the jungles in Antioquia's north-east, Enrique Ramírez used to say the Rosary every night at camp, and to intone with his twenty-two companions the hymn expressly composed for the expedition. The companions included the engineer Luis G. Johnson, and a landscape painter, a photographer, two miners, several shareholders of the enterprise, and two cooks.<sup>84</sup> The priest Antonio M. Palacio relates in his memoirs how in 1915 he and two friends of his with whom he had been hunting in the woods around Concordia, spent the night in an abandoned house; after fetching some firewood and cooking, they sat down to smoke, chatted for a while, said the Rosary, and then with their saddles as headrests went to sleep.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from the Rosary and the daily prayers, there were some special dates when the family gathered to pray. One of them was Christmas, when together with the servants they recited the *Novena de Aguinaldo* around a *pesebre*, a miniature representation of the Nativity. Another was 3 May, the day of the Holy Cross, which enjoyed widespread devotion in Antioquia, as seen in the popular custom of making the sign of the cross before any surprise, fright, tragedy, or shocking event, and of swearing on the Holy Cross, crossing the thumb and index finger, and kissing them. The feast was celebrated with a solemn Mass, fireworks, and a procession.<sup>86</sup> On that date the devotees prayed in their homes the '*Mil Jesuses*', keeping count with a Rosary, or with grains of corn or beans. Humberto Ochoa Vélez, an entrepreneur born in Salamina, remembers that 'My father would gather us at three in the afternoon: we all knelt and prayed together with the maids . . . After a Confiteor and a Lord's Prayer . . . and making sure to cross ourselves, we began chanting: Jesus, Jesus, Jesus . . .'.<sup>87</sup>

Believers tried to dispel the rainstorm or '*borrasca*' that every year seemed to coincide with the day of the Holy Cross by means of burning blessed palm leaves stored away since the Palm Sunday procession.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Pombo, 'De Medellín a Bogotá', 158–9.

<sup>84</sup> Ramírez, *Colonización*, 56. <sup>85</sup> Palacio Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa*, 78.

<sup>86</sup> H. Restrepo, *La religión en la antigua Antioquia* (Medellín, 1972), 72–5.

<sup>87</sup> H. Ochoa Vélez, *La corbata de tres nudos* (Medellín, 1989), 80–1.

<sup>88</sup> Carrasquilla, *Obras completas*, 1708.



People from all social strata wore scapulars and kept in their homes images of saints lighted with candles. Among the devotions of the Blessed Virgin Mary, some preferred the Virgin of Chiquinquirá, others the Virgin of Perpetual Help, or those of Our Lady of Sorrows, of the Immaculate Conception, or of Mount Carmel. The image of the Sacred Heart and the picture of Saint Ignatius Loyola with the caption '*Al demonio: ¡no entres!*' (To the Devil: keep out!) were seldom absent, and can still be found in many peasant homes. Everybody uttered frequently expressions such as '*Ave Maria*', '*Virgen Santísima*', '*No lo quiera Dios*', '*Dios mío bendito*', '*A la mano de Dios*', and the like.<sup>89</sup>

Few Antioqueños evaded the observance, be it at least occasional, of the Sacraments. They celebrated baptism, Communion, confirmation, matrimony; and the priest administered the Holy Oils to the dying in the furthest of places. First Communion was a rite conducted with full ceremony even in small villages. In February 1873, in Medellín, at '... six in the morning, more than six hundred children of both sexes and from all social classes set out in small groups from all around the city towards the church of San José'.<sup>90</sup> Rufino Gutiérrez recorded that in Concordia in 1917, while he was touring around Antioquia,

on my arrival at the main square I stumbled upon a procession of more than two hundred children of both sexes, all dressed up in white, holding banners and bearing aloft an image of Saint Luis Gonzaga to celebrate their First Communion, received that day . . . They were singing the National Anthem.<sup>91</sup>

In 1930, boys and girls from the town schools of the parish of Porce who were about to receive their First Communion paraded from the chapel of Santa Ana to the parish church, and after the ceremony celebrated with a breakfast and a bazaar at the priest's house.<sup>92</sup>

First Communion day was announced from the pulpit by the priest. Weeks in advance, all parents who had children between the ages of 7 and 9 years were compelled to send them for preparation. In the main towns, First Communions took place in school chapels. In Medellín in 1911, the parish of San José rendered this service to the schools of San Ignacio, María Auxiliadora, and La Presentación. Previous instruction was provided by the parish priest himself, by teachers, or by the affiliates of sisterhoods such as the *Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* or the *Hijas*

<sup>89</sup> 'Ave Maria!', 'Blessed Virgin!', 'God forbid!', 'Dear Lord!', 'In God's hands'.

<sup>90</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 1/4 (Medellín, 1 March 1873), 28.

<sup>91</sup> Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 311.

<sup>92</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia*, 12 (San Pablo, Porce, Sunday, 16 June 1929), 52.

*de Maria*. To attract candidates, they were rewarded with meals, china dolls, and sweets; adults recited for their benefit the Creed, the Paternoster, the Salve Regina, the Confiteor (*Yo Pecador*), the works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and other elements of Christian doctrine they knew by heart.<sup>93</sup> As part of their preparation, children prepared *ramilletes espirituales* or cards they personally decorated for the sake of keeping the score of the sacrifices, fervent prayers (*jaculatorias*), and masses they had accumulated.

Another sacrament to which Antioqueño couples seem to have resorted to a greater extent than elsewhere in the country was marriage itself. There are no precise data on marriage rates in the various regions of Colombia for the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, but the impressions of different contemporary observers suggest that in Antioquia the usual thing was for couples to have their union blessed. Some isolated counts tend to confirm this. A survey of the number of marriages celebrated in 1892 shows that the proportion of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants was 1.9 throughout the country; Antioquia had the highest rate, 3.4, followed by Santander, with 2.2.<sup>94</sup> When the *Anuario General de Estadística* calculated the proportion of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants in 1918 and 1928, the highest rates were those of Antioquia, followed by Caldas and Tolima, two departments heavily influenced by Antioqueño culture. The *Anuario Estadístico General de 1933* revealed a similar profile, with Caldas in the first place, with 5.8, followed by Antioquia with 4.9, both above the national average of 3.7.<sup>95</sup>

As to the percentage of illegitimate births, in 1892 Antioquia had the lowest in Colombia, followed by Cundinamarca and Santander.<sup>96</sup> Between 1888 and 1928 the rate of illegitimate births per 1,000 inhabitants in Antioquia decreased from 36.79 to 4.61.<sup>97</sup> With good reason Camilo Botero Guerra observed in his *Anuario estadístico de 1888*, that 'In the rural areas . . . apart from that almost religious fervour for preserving the lineage, healthy and patriarchal customs predominate that dampen the passions and prevent the races merging through illegitimate links.'<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup> 'Lenguas y corazones' in: *Cuentos y novelas de Francisco de P. Rendón*, 216–17.

<sup>94</sup> F. J. Vergara y Velasco, *Nueva Geografía de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1892), DCLXI.

<sup>95</sup> *Anuario Estadístico General de 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 215; 94.

<sup>96</sup> Ministerio de Fomento, *Boletín Trimestral de Estadística de Colombia*, 5 (Bogotá, 1894), 5, 9.

<sup>97</sup> Elaborated from: C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 125; *Anuario de Estadística general, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 156.

<sup>98</sup> Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico*, 107.

However, within the limits of Antioquia there were sharp differences between the population of the cool highlands and temperate slopes in the western and central mountain ranges, which presented the highest rate of marriages and legitimate births in Colombia, and the peripheral and low-lying regions such as Cáceres, Zea, Remedios, Yolombó, Sopetrán, and San Jerónimo, where the Church was not particularly active. In the latter the percentages of illegitimate children were clearly higher.<sup>99</sup>

#### PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF FAITH

A routine existence and quiet social life in somewhat austere surroundings helped to turn religious feasts and events into well-attended opportunities for recreation. Regardless of social distinctions, both town and rural residents took part in them from the beginning of the painstaking preparations.

Sundays and holy days broke routine, for it was forbidden to work, and obligatory to go to Mass. Peasants took advantage of those days to go to market, and to do other shopping and errands after performing their religious duties. In 1868 the *Concilio Primero Provincial Neogranadino* promulgated a norm that banned markets on Sundays. This decision gave rise to protests, particularly in Antioquia, since the long distances and the mountainous terrain made it difficult for peasants to travel to town on two different days of the week. The *Sinodo Diocesano de Medellín y Antioquia* of 1871 asked for the revocation of the measure, but Rome's consent was obtained only in 1873.<sup>100</sup>

There are no figures available for the population that attended weekly Mass or habitually received the Sacraments, but it seems likely that anyone who was not too old, or too young, or too sick, or who did not live too far away from the church, did do so. In a series of stories 'Dominicales', Tomás Carrasquilla described the descent from the mountains and slopes of groups of peasants and miners, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, to attend Mass. Those who had relations in town went to their houses to change into better clothes before going to church.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> See: V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Familia y cultura en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1968), 260–332; and Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, table 7, 220–2.

<sup>100</sup> Arango, 182–92.

<sup>101</sup> Carrasquilla, 'Campesinos', *Obras completas* (1952), 1772–5. See also: N. Sylvester, *The Homilies and Dominicales of Tomás Carrasquilla*, Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, Monograph Series, 1 (Liverpool, 1970), 24–50.

Since 1871, the fifty-two Sundays of the year, the Holy Week, and twelve feast days were considered Feasts of Obligation.<sup>102</sup> The Monday after Pentecost and the feast of Corpus Christi fell on different dates every year. Additionally, there were the feasts of patron saints, celebrated as minor bacchanals. To those of Santa Rosa de Osos, in Tomás Carrasquilla's words, came

from El Peñol, classical Hincapié with his roulette . . . from Don Matías, 'caratejo' Gómez with his cocks that drive you crazy . . . from Remedios, black Marcelo with his dice . . . After them come the 'cachimona', 'bisbis', and bowls professionals . . . the best bandmen and singers in the state, improvisers from the Remedios mines, black female dancers from Yolombó, peddlers, horse traders and hawkers . . . and that motley, scary rabble of vagrants who come after the cocks, the dice, aguardiente and robbery.<sup>103</sup>

In 1926 José María Jaramillo published a pamphlet entitled *Por la moralidad pública en Santa Rosa*, that condemned the 'libertine atmosphere' that pervaded such popular events. He asserted that he counted up to thirty-six gambling tables where games of chance banned in the Police Code were played, set up right in the middle of the main square for the three days and nights of the festivities.<sup>104</sup>

The ceremonies and processions of Holy Week also congregated crowds of the faithful. During his stay in Bogotá in 1875, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez wrote in *El Tradicionista* that in the capital the Holy Week had lost its lustre in the course of the last forty years, whereas in Medellín it ' . . . is observed with more decorum, solemnity and retirement . . .'.<sup>105</sup> At the close of the century, Pierre D'Espagnat was surprised at the dramatic tone of the processions he witnessed in San Roque:

We people from the north can't get used to this pain-to-order, which seems to have been taken from the weepers of antiquity, to this fetishist pomp, these grotesque statues, the pitiful lamentations of processions. . . . At night, the torrent of thousands of candles borne along by the large crowd was a truly picturesque sight.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> 1 January Circumcision, 5 January, 6 January Epiphany, 2 February Purification of Our Lady, 19 March Saint Joseph, 25 March Annunciation, 29 June Saint Peter and Saint Paul, 15 August Assumption, 8 September Nativity of the Virgin, 1 November All Saints, 8 December Immaculate Conception, 25 December Nativity of Our Lord. See: Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 180–2.

<sup>103</sup> 'El zarco', in: *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1952) 1486.

<sup>104</sup> J. M. Jaramillo, *Por la moralidad pública en Santa Rosa* (Medellín, 1926), 38.

<sup>105</sup> *La Sociedad*, 4/146 (Medellín, 17 April 1875), 9.

<sup>106</sup> P. D'Espagnat, *Recuerdos de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), 256–8.

Faustino Echavarría Lotero, a footwear manufacturer from Salamina, remarked in his memoirs that in the 1920s Holy Week

was a very special time for traders in the towns and villages; people celebrated with great pomp and spiritual absorption, and, we would say, with great ostentation in their clothing, from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday. . . . There was a new outfit for each of the three main days, Thursday, Friday and Sunday . . . Naturally, if a woman were wearing a new dress, hat and shawl, and other garments as well, she just had to have new shoes; the blisters on the feet hurt, and it was common to see country girls arrive back home with their shoes under their arms. . . . Rich and poor alike wore new clothes, each according to his means, and this made trade busier than at any other time of the year.<sup>107</sup>

Besides Sundays, holy days, and Holy Week, parishioners attended the Church for baptisms, confirmations, marriages, funerals, and ordinations. They went to receive Holy Communion on First Fridays, to pray before the Blessed Sacrament during the Forty Hours' Devotion, to recite novenas, or to observe other devotions required by the pious associations to which they belonged. While churches in Antioquia welcomed people from all ranks of society, this is not to deny that hierarchies were maintained inside the Church by means of the seating order or by the quality of the seats some occupied. It is worth while to remember that this same mixture was not always permitted in other parts of the country. In Popayán, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the 'Rosario church was set aside just for aristocratic families, and according to the chronicles, when a mulatto woman dared to set foot inside that church, the highborn ladies set about her, pushing and shoving and cracking the whip.<sup>108</sup>

On Saturdays and Sundays parishes offered catechism sessions for children of both sexes, and sometimes for adults. It was essential to learn by rote the *Doctrina Cristiana*, the catechism of Father Astete, a sixteenth-century text with adaptations sanctioned by the Colombian Church. The doctrine was taught by a priest or by a lay person, usually a female *cófrade*.<sup>109</sup> For fifty years Señora Wenceslao Suárez taught Sunday catechism in La Veracruz Church in Medellín.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Recuerdos de mi vida* (Medellín, 1983), 54–6.

<sup>108</sup> J. M. Quijano Wallis, *Memorias autobiográficas histórico políticas y de caracter social* (Bogotá, 1983), 21.

<sup>109</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 1/33 (Medellín, 20 December 1873), 161.

<sup>110</sup> As Lisandro Ochoa, her pupil around 1870, remembers in *Cosas viejas de la Villa de la Candelaria* (Medellín, 1984), 91. (First printed in 1948).

In those times the calendar was conceived in liturgical terms. The *Almanaque Bristol*, published yearly since 1832—it nowadays still reaches many peasant homes—indicated the names of the saints for every day and the movable feasts, along with the phases of the moon for every month, and the eclipses. Many names of schools, hospitals, charity institutions, and even towns, were inspired by the calendar of saints' days. Likewise, it was customary for Christian names to be chosen according to the saints assigned to the day of birth or of baptism. At the *Sínodo Diocesano* of 1871, the Church of Antioquia forbade parents to christen their offspring with names that were obscene, ridiculous, or taken from those of philosophers or 'gentiles'.<sup>111</sup> Jaime Mejía Mejía tells that when in 1861 his father, a Liberal farm owner, went down to Salamina to baptize his son,

Upon reaching the church he slipped a gold coin into the sacristan's pocket . . .

'How are we going to christen the child?', said the priest.

'We shall call him Tomás Cipriano', my father answered.

'And the Mosquera, shall I throw it in too?'

'Yes, if that's possible.'

'Then, I won't baptize him.'

Holding the child's hand, my father exclaimed, 'Don't baptize him, he doesn't need it now! Come, Tomasito, let's go home.'<sup>112</sup>

Antioqueños of all social classes shared a series of popular devotions surrounding death. Belief in Purgatory prompted the cult on behalf of the souls in Purgatory—Holy Souls—which was related with the cult of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. During the month of November, *animeros* roamed the streets ringing a bell and begging for prayers for the souls in pain. In the countryside it was usual to make an offering of the first fruits of labour to the *Ánimas* (Holy Souls), and so protect possessions. In Francisco de Paula Rendón's novel *Inocencia*, ' . . . old Lorenzo was of the opinion that the first corncobs from every clearing should be given to the priest and the Holy Souls so they could ask San Isidro to free them from parching suns, hurricanes and hail'.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa*, 148–50.

<sup>112</sup> The *Caucano* Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera as president of the *Confederación Granadina* introduced Liberal reforms in the 1860s, among them the abolition of colonial privileges of the Church. His troops invaded Antioquia in October 1862 and ruled until January 1864, when the Conservatives regained local power. See Ch. 1, 'Una República de Curas'. Quote from: J. Mejía y Mejía, *Historias médicas de una vida y una región* (Medellín, 1960), 30–1.

<sup>113</sup> 'Inocencia', in: *Cuentos y novelas de Francisco de Rendón*, 88.

Numerous persons wore the scapular of the Our Lady of Mount Carmel, for the Church held that those who had received it from a priest empowered to bestow it and who died wearing it would not be hurled down into eternal fire.<sup>114</sup> At least eight towns in Antioquia chose as their patroness *La Carmela*, whose memorial was celebrated on 16 July.<sup>115</sup> In Medellín these festivities included a Novena in the cathedral, presided over by the archbishop, and another in the Iglesia del Carmen, led by the Carmelite fathers. On that date a Pontifical Mass with several sermons was officiated, followed by a procession; and if the *cófrades del Carmen* received Holy Communion and visited a church to pray for the intentions of the Pope, they earned a plenary indulgence.<sup>116</sup> ‘Mano’ Higinio, a rustic who appears in Carrasquilla’s novel *El Zarco*, in the 1870s took his wife, Romualda, to the festivities of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, along with ‘El Zarco’, an orphan they had taken in, so that the boy had the opportunity of visiting ‘la Villa’ (Medellín). ‘Mano’ Higuinio was eager to see again the image of the Virgin, since

I ain’t seen her since I was a lad, when Grandma Guadalupe set me up in the ‘*ermandad*’. There we can pay the wages and once ‘n for all buy our ‘*abits* for our shrouds, and new scapulars. But first we can enrol little Zarquito in the ‘*ermandad*’, so he can git to like the Carmela right from the start and become very devoted of the Souls in ‘*Eaven*’.<sup>117</sup>

According to descriptions in chronicles and reminiscences, the most colourful and popular feast celebrated in Medellín at the turn of the century was Corpus Christi. Intense activities started on the eve, raising altars decorated with paper flowers on the main corners of the city. Girls played the part of angels by these ‘celestial thrones’. Sofia Ospina de Navarro remembers that at the turn of the century to be chosen as an angel was an honour coveted by many young girls.<sup>118</sup>

The feast of Corpus was the main expression of the deeply-rooted devotion of the Holy Sacrament. Other manifestations were the *Trisagio Dominical*; the Blessing with the *Señor Sacramentado*, used on different occasions; the visiting of thrones set up around the Tabernacle during Maundy Thursday and Good Friday; and assistance to the Forty Hours’ Devotion. The last consisted of a ritual with candles and the singing of

<sup>114</sup> M. J. Caycedo, *El combate por la fe y por la Iglesia* (Medellín, 1931), 328.

<sup>115</sup> M. T. Arcila, ‘Diversion pueblerina’, in: *Colombia, país de regiones* 4, *El Colombiano*, 30 May 1993, 54–5.

<sup>116</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/8 (Medellín, 6 August 1921), 21.

<sup>117</sup> Carrasquilla *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1952), 1432.

<sup>118</sup> S. Ospina de Navarro, *La abuela cuenta* (Medellín, 1964), 71–5.

the *Pange Lingua* before the Eucharistic Host, which every parish tried to programme at least once a year, usually as the preparation for some religious event.<sup>119</sup>

Worship of the Eucharist was also kept up by the *Cofradías del Santísimo* and the *Asociaciones de la Adoración Nocturna*, also known as *Adoración Perpetua* or *Reparadora*. In the latter, active in several towns, members of both sexes visited the Holy Host by turns during the night hours and at dawn. A *Planilla para la Hora de la Oración*, dated 1840 and drawn up by Enriqueta Vásquez, has survived, in which she certifies that

I have taken upon myself to observe the hour for the Perpetual Adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and will spend it in prayer and supplication before the Holy Sacrament on the Altar, to make up in some way for the oblivion, the ingratitude, the profanation that this Sacred Heart has suffered and suffers every day in this adorable Mystery.

The worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus spread throughout the Catholic world from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the decade of the 1940s.<sup>120</sup> In Colombia, hundreds of municipalities, mostly in the central parts of the country, were consecrated to His name.<sup>121</sup> In 1898, a year before Leo XIII promulgated an encyclical in which he offered all humankind to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the government of Colombia issued a law acknowledging the 'social reign' of Jesus Christ.<sup>122</sup> At the close of Colombia's last civil war in 1902, the archbishop of Bogotá, Bernardo Herrera Restrepo, proposed a national vote for peace in the republic, and the idea was formalized in the Decree 820 issued in May of that year by President José Manuel Marroquín. In 1913 President Carlos E. Restrepo rendered solemn homage to the Sacred Heart on the occasion of the *Congreso Eucarístico Nacional* assembled in Bogotá. In 1920 President Marco Fidel Suárez enthroned the image of the Sacred Heart in the presidential palace.<sup>123</sup>

In Antioquia, devotion to the Sacred Heart had been cultivated since the eighteenth century, thanks to the Company of Jesus. The cult was

<sup>119</sup> Restrepo, *La religión en la antigua Antioquia*, 70–1.

<sup>120</sup> In Ecuador Gabriel García Moreno consecrated the country in 1873. See: R. Quintero, 'La cultura tradicional y la Iglesia en la sociedad ecuatoriana del siglo XIX', *Cultura*, 2/4 (Quito, May–August 1979), 132.

<sup>121</sup> C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón: Fantasía o realidad en la historia de Colombia', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1995), 65–78.

<sup>122</sup> *El Diocesano Antioqueño*, 1/6 (Medellín, 15 August 1849), 41; C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón', 86–92.

<sup>123</sup> C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón', 85–95, 184.



reinvigorated in 1844 with the return of the Jesuits, banished from the viceroyalty at the close of the previous century. In spite of further exiles imposed on them before they came back for good in 1885, the order managed to promote the creation of the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* in Medellín and some thirty other towns in Antioquia, and controlled the confraternities of the *Adoración Reparadora* and the *Sociedad Pequeña del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. In the 1880s they backed the groups of the *Coro Andante* and the *Apostolado de la Oración*, made up of lay persons of both sexes and of varied social standing. At the beginning of the twentieth century they fostered another series of organizations that combined the devotion to the Sacred Heart and the practice of the Catholic Social Action's principles, bodies such as the *Círculo de Obreros*, the *Juventud Católica*, the *Liga de Damas Católicas*, and the *Apostolado Doméstico*.<sup>124</sup>

Another instrument to instil devotion to the Sacred Heart was the *Cruzadas Eucarísticas*, a sort of papal militia recruited among the students of private and public schools, which had sprung up in the 1880s in several Catholic countries of Western Europe. During the second *Congreso Eucarístico Nacional*, which met in Medellín in 1937, *Cruzados* from the schools of La Salle, San Ignacio, and La Presentación paraded in their uniforms, simulating the Vatican Guard in impeccable military formation.<sup>125</sup>

The Jesuits inculcated devotion to the Sacred Heart with spiritual exercises and retreats. In the late nineteenth century and first three decades of the twentieth these were regularly planned in many parishes of Antioquia for people of all ages and conditions. Organized by parish priests, devotional associations, educational institutions, or by the owners of factories, they were of two sorts. In the first, the persons enrolled remained confined for three or four days in a particular place to isolate themselves from worldly distractions; in the other form, they attended daily sessions with fixed hours. The idea was that every participant should review his or her life in the light of the simple explanations on doctrine and morals put across by the priest, the chaplain, a missionary, or on special occasions by the bishop himself. In a letter addressed to her husband, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Enriqueta Vásquez described in detail the 'Method of life I intend to adopt beginning today, 10 June

<sup>124</sup> See Ch. 3, 'Proliferation of Devotional Associations'.

<sup>125</sup> The *Album del Congreso Eucarístico Nacional* (Medellín, 1935) published a picture of the *Cruzados Eucarísticos* from La Salle School in perfect formation. Other Francisco Mejía's photographs of *Cruzados* are kept in CMV, FAES.

1860, when I finish the exercises of Saint Ignatius': to rise at six in the morning; to offer God the works, actions, and thoughts of the day; to attend to the house chores until seven; at seven to hear Mass; from eight to nine to dress the hair and study something useful; from nine to two in the afternoon to sew, and fulfil domestic duties; and at two to read some pious book. At six to pray the Rosary, teach the doctrine to the servants, and afterwards visit the Holy Sacrament; to confess weekly and to receive Communion twice a week; and every month to examine her conscience with her confessor, and dedicate a day, or some hours at least, to retreat or meditation.<sup>126</sup>

Retreats might be conducted for parishioners in general, or be exclusively for a specific group, such as ladies, gentlemen, youth, boys, nuns and novices, seminarians, priests, servants, workmen, or prisoners. On 13 June 1873, the bishop of Medellín, José Joaquín Isaza, sent a letter to the president of the state, Pedro Justo Berrío, notifying him that the spiritual exercises with the prisoners confined in the town goal had been concluded successfully.<sup>127</sup> In the same year, in the closing session of the spiritual exercises open to the public and organized in El Retiro by the bishop of Medellín, a Pontifical Mass was celebrated by twelve priests, at which 6,000 people were estimated to have received Communion. Undoubtedly, many people from other places were present, given that Rionegro, the neighbouring town of greatest importance, had only some 8,000 inhabitants.<sup>128</sup> Towards the end, a special blessing was given to the town, with the benefit of a plenary indulgence granted by the Pope.<sup>129</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s, factory owners used to programme retreats for their workers at least once a year.<sup>130</sup>

The parish of Envigado was the first in Antioquia to be consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The ceremony took place on 16 November 1884, during the feast of Saint Gertrude. Two days before the event the *Cuarenta Horas* started, and on the night before there was a solemn Mass with chants of the *Trisagio* and *Panegirico*, while fourteen priests heard confession at the end of a long line of repentants. This was followed by a procession of 6,000 votaries. The curate of Envigado tells that on the day of consecration

<sup>126</sup> FAES, AMOR, letters sent by E. Vásquez, C/19/fos. 4<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 1/15 (Medellín, 20 June 1873), 117.

<sup>128</sup> *Anuario Estadístico de Colombia, 1875* (Bogotá, 1875), 28-9.

<sup>129</sup> *Repertorio Eclesiástico*, 1/23 (Medellín, 11 September 1873), 186.

<sup>130</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 418-19.

Here you used to see an old man with his numerous offspring . . . over there an honest peasant . . . further away, a rich man with his lavish and opulent family; over yonder a poor man in the company of his simple and innocent children; all of them inspired by the same sentiments, illuminated by the same faith, and drawn together by the holy links of charity.<sup>131</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was traditionally displayed in every home, all institutions, and in work places by rich and poor alike, even in the smallest of parishes.<sup>132</sup> In San Pablo, Porce, the Sunday leaflet published in 1930 asked: 'Have you already consecrated the Divine Heart as sovereign of your home, enthroning Him in the main room?', followed by the announcement that badges of the Sacred Heart were being sold in the parish house at a price of 0.15 centavos each.<sup>133</sup> On 20 March 1922, the governor of Antioquia, Manuel María Toro, issued Decree 269, ordaining the installation of an image of the Sacred Heart in the government palace. On 8 August of the same year the Departmental Assembly resolved to support this act.<sup>134</sup>

From 1887 onwards, the Jesuits instituted the practice of a yearly procession in Medellín on 7 June, the feast day of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It became a major city event for the next half century. In 1920, a total of forty-six communities and educational institutions paraded in a procession viewed by some 25,000 spectators.<sup>135</sup> Agustín Jaramillo Londoño recalls the event in the 1930s, when he was a student of the Jesuit school: it was from amongst us that the Company recruited the majority of its troop of halberdiers, dressed in the uniform of the Swiss Guards at the Vatican . . . besides, the whole school had to turn out for the procession in full uniform: dark blue suit, white shirt and black tie. With the 'white-fronts', in other words the Christian Brothers, and people from all the schools in Medellín . . . and every single human being that could be found anywhere in the Aburrá valley, from the Archbishop, with his very long purple robe, surrounded by dozens of priests and hundreds of seminary students, all wearing cassocks and rochets, and the governor, the mayor and the secretaries, all dressed in full pomp, down to the humble, simple people: labour unions, workers and housemaids.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> *Fiesta de Santa Gertrudis y consagración de la parroquia de Envigado al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, año de 1884* (Medellín, 1884), 3–4.

<sup>132</sup> This may be observed in many photographs taken by Benjamín de la Calle, Francisco Mejía, and Rafael Mesa, kept in CMV, FAES, and of Melitón Rodríguez, kept in AF, BPP.

<sup>133</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia* (San Pablo, Porce, 6 April 1930), 144.

<sup>134</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 2/15 (Medellín, 10 April 1922), 72.

<sup>135</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 7 (Medellín, 2 July 1921), 23.

<sup>136</sup> *Un espejo en la montaña* (Medellín, 1990), 233.

Until the 1960s, on 7 June activities in Medellín came to a standstill, as the primary and secondary schools, private and public, along with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, marched along the main streets. Antioqueños also observed the Novena of the Sacred Heart, another practice spread by the Jesuits. In January 1930, Bishop Builes decreed that it be recited in all the parishes of the diocese of Santa Rosa for the relief of the needs of the country.<sup>137</sup>

The devotion of novenas, introduced by the Spaniards, was widespread in Antioquia until the first decades of the twentieth century. In spite of the name, these could last seven, eight, nine, and even up to thirty consecutive days. They were dedicated to God or to the Virgin, others to the Souls of Purgatory; but above all to the numerous saints of the Catholic pantheon, whose feast days were distributed throughout the liturgical year. In Antioquia Saint Rose of Lima, Blessed Juan Grande, Saint Roch, Saint Jude, Saint Lucy, and Saint Francis Xavier were among the favourites.<sup>138</sup> The most popular novenas were those addressed to the *Inmaculada*, *Nochebuena*, *La Candelaria*, *Semana Santa*, *La Santa Cruz*, *Corpus*, *San Isidro*, *San Juan*, and the patron saint of each locality.

Novenas were observed by men and women of all ages and conditions, on the occasion of some celebration or thanksgiving, in case of urgent need, illness, or death. The ritual usually followed a similar procedure: an act of contrition, an offering, and a plea, according to the special favours associated with each saint. The rites and rules of intercession, the magical connection between saint and devotee, and the way a pact was closed by pressing the saint with promises, and even with symbolic reprisals if he did not 'deliver', mixed Hispanic, black, and native cultural legacies. Due to such promises, the annual calendar and the daily life of the faithful were continually interrupted by prayers and other tasks that sometimes crossed the limits of superstition; hence the vigilant eye of the Church and civilian authorities. Novenas were available in pamphlets brought from Spain, Bogotá, and other cities. Some were printed locally: in the 1870s by Gutiérrez Hermanos; in the 1890s by Pineda Hermanos; and in the 1920s by the Imprenta de San Antonio, the Tipografía del Estado, and the Tipografía de los Salesianos.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia* (San Pablo, Porce, 1929 and 1930).

<sup>138</sup> FAES, novenas collection, unclassified.

<sup>139</sup> C. Arboleda, 'El politeísmo católico. Las novenas como expresión de una mentalidad religiosa. Colombia, siglos XIX y XX', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Medellín, 1996).

Another manifestation of popular religious culture were rogations and pilgrimages. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most Antioqueños had a Biblical, pre-Darwinian, view of the cosmos. Impotence in the face of illnesses and natural disasters such as floods, droughts, plagues, and epidemics, or of wars and social, economic, and political upheavals, left no other resource for rich and poor alike than to beg and hope for God's compassion. In case of any urgent collective need, neighbours repaired to churches, or took part in pilgrimages to implore divine help.

In Antioquia, favourite icons carried in the *romerías* or pilgrimages were Our Lady of Sopetrán; Our Lady of Chiquinquirá, patroness of La Estrella;<sup>140</sup> the Fallen Christ of Girardota; the Lord of Miracles in San Pedro; the icon of the San Antonio in the chapel of San Antonio de Pereira, on the outskirts of Rionegro; and, since Bishop Builes's times, Our Lady of Mercy of Santa Rosa de Osos. Manuel Uribe Ángel, passing through San Antonio de Pereira in 1862, remarked: '... devout pilgrims can frequently be seen in the road with a handful of candles and other offerings, on their peregrination to pay the promised visit'.<sup>141</sup> Every year at the end of the school term, groups of students left on foot from Medellín to fulfil promises made to Our Lady of the Rosary of Chiquinquirá in La Estrella.<sup>142</sup>

Sometimes, as mentioned earlier, the bishop of Medellín and the parish priests led pilgrimages. One occasion was a visit to the Fallen Christ of Girardota in 1874, with the purpose of praying for peace, then threatened by the Church-state conflict, rekindled by the educational reforms of the *Radicales*. Through posters printed at the Imprenta del Estado under the title of *Una Súplica*, the bishop urged the faithful to behave with due devotion, since the *Diario de Cundinamarca* had predicted disturbances and had criticized the gathering as 'an act of backwardness, immorality and corruption promoted with devious ends'.<sup>143</sup> The procession, from the Llano de San Esteban on the outskirts of the town to the church, proceeded in an orderly way. A witness, Estanislao Gómez Barrientos, watched

<sup>140</sup> Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 284; H. Escobar Escobar, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Chiquinquirá de la Estrella en su coronación canónica* (Medellín, 1959), 92.

<sup>141</sup> C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Iglesia y Antioquia* (Medellín, 1983), 28–38; M. Uribe Ángel, 'Recuerdo de un viaje de Medellín a Bogotá, 1862' in: *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, 2/19 (Bogotá, March 1904), 296.

<sup>142</sup> Escobar Escobar, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Chiquinquirá de la Estrella*, 92.

<sup>143</sup> FAES, Poster collection, D. 11.

pilgrims . . . from different regions in the State of Antioquia, people from all walks of life, from the honourable Head of State and the President of the Legislature and many other important officials to the most eminent ladies from the capital . . . from the rich estate owner from the valley to the humblest farm labourer and beggar . . . all the onlookers animated and possessed by sincere feelings of faith, hope and love!<sup>144</sup>

Missions and religious journeys were other sporadic events that succeeded in strengthening the faith. The general missionary effort that took place in a score of parishes in Antioquia on the penultimate Sunday of October 1925, under the banner of *Propagación de la Fè*, drew large numbers of parishioners. Sermons in Medellín Cathedral were delivered by the most popular Carmelite and Claretian preachers.<sup>145</sup>

Another religious festivity very popular in Antioquia—and still observed in some rural areas—was the *Altar de San Isidro Labrador*, a country festival of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth. This celebration was inherited from the Spaniards. In the liturgical calendar it falls on 15 May, but in practice it used to be attached to the feast of Corpus Christi. On the chosen date a rich sample of local produce—plantains, maize, cassava, and other fruits and vegetables—and livestock—hens, pigs, horses, mules, cows—of the region, were decked with flowers and ears of corn. These were exhibited in front of the parish church, or carried on parade behind an image of San Isidro handling a plough drawn by two oxen, with the accompaniment of the local band and the ringing of bells.<sup>146</sup> It was up to the priest to consume, raffle off, or auction these goods and use the proceeds to finance social works. They supported houses in Santa Rosa for ‘*baldados*’—disabled who could not work and had no relatives or income.<sup>147</sup>

Pastoral visits, funerals of parish priests and bishops, the anniversaries of ecclesiastic authorities and religious conventions were among other motives for celebration that assembled the faithful, and they were conducted with grand solemnity. Such was the case on 21 September 1873, when the diocese of Antioquia, closed since its removal in 1868 to Medellín, was reinstated. The newly appointed Bishop Joaquín Guillermo González received his investiture in Medellín Cathedral, and

<sup>144</sup> E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1918), 191.

<sup>145</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 7/84 (Medellín, September 1929), 1318; 8/86 (November 1929), 1354.

<sup>146</sup> Arboleda, ‘El politeísmo católico’, 291–3.

<sup>147</sup> Jaramillo, *Por la moralidad pública en Santa Rosa*, 23.

set off on horseback for Santa Fe de Antioquia. In San Jerónimo he was greeted with fireworks, music, and a welcome speech recited in verse. The chief residents invited him to a dinner with more speeches. Next day he officiated Mass, and departed with his retinue to Sopetrán. On the banks of a stream close to the town his group met a 'tope' or delegation of people both mounted and on foot, waiting to escort him. Sopetrán's streets were decorated with arches made of palm fronds and moss, and the houses with flowers and banners. The bishop's entrance was enlivened by the band, the peal of bells, and fireworks. Under an awning in the main square, a student of the school of San Fernando read a welcome speech. Next came the inevitable banquet. On the third day the bishop arrived in Santa Fe, where festivities went on for three more days: 'the choicest people from the city of Antioquia were there, and all the social classes were mixed up together in a common joy, a common happiness, and a common hope'.<sup>148</sup>

Festivities did not always celebrate local happenings. Sometimes they had to do with an event in the Vatican or which involved the Church in other parts of the world. Thus, the 18th anniversary of the coronation of Pope Leo XIII was celebrated on 3 March 1895. The bishop of Medellín presided over a solemn Mass in the cathedral, with a *Te Deum* chanted by a choir conducted by Maestro Gonzalo Vidal. Next, schools, universities, corporations, institutions, and religious communities paraded in full regalia, and with allegorical floats, followed by fireworks in the evening.<sup>149</sup>

Some departmental celebrations promoted national events, as occurred when the first *Congreso Eucarístico Nacional* took place in Bogotá from 12 to 14 September 1913. Since the beginning of that year, Archbishop Caycedo had planned the Antioqueño response. He appointed a *Comité Diocesano del Congreso Eucarístico Nacional*, made up of forty-five members, including a select group of priests, and some prominent personalities from Medellín society such as Alejandro Echavarría, Apolinar Villa, Gustavo de Greiff, Eduardo Zuleta, Paulino Londoño, and Nicanor Restrepo. The committee organized a *Comité de Señoras*, and several *Comités Parroquiales* throughout the department. The Departmental Assembly also participated and appointed Laureano Gómez and Antonio José Uribe to represent the Assembly at the event.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> *Viaje y recepción del Ilustrísimo Señor Obispo de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1873), 3-17.

<sup>149</sup> *Celebración en Antioquia del 18º aniversario de la Coronación de León XIII* (Medellín, 1896), 19-21, 31-6.

<sup>150</sup> *El Mensajero Eucarístico*, 6 (Medellín, 13 August 1913), 84.

In May 1919 the first *Congreso Mariano Nacional* took place in Medellín. Jesús Jaramillo, a participant, marked the occasion by establishing a *Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes de la Inmaculada*. The first social activity of the new congregation was to take part in the procession at the closing of the Congress, bearing a standard delicately embroidered by the nuns of the convent of La Enseñanza of Medellín. The Congregation officially started functioning on 25 July 1919, and it still existed in 1961.<sup>151</sup>

Popular religious mobilizations continued beyond our period. Two occasions deserve special mention, as the massive audiences they attracted were a product of pastoral efforts exerted in previous years.

The second *Congreso Eucarístico Nacional* was organized in Medellín from 14 to 18 August 1935, with the presence of hierarchies of the Colombian Church. According to one of the participants, the priest Marco Tulio Amaya who was the author of a commemorative album of the event, some 250,000 pilgrims turned up from all over the country. The Discalced Carmelite Fathers brought a group of Cuna Indians from Urabá, for the christening of Chief Capilele. On the eve of the inauguration, a multitude gathered to greet the aeroplane that carried the Eucharist from Bogotá. The parade to the cathedral took four hours through the overcrowded streets. A halt was made at the Plaza Berrío, where Archbishop Caycedo addressed the faithful and the troops presented arms. On the following days, different commissions debated doctrinal, moral, educational, and social topics. Both the clergy and the laity took part. During the general assembly in the Teatro Junín, the poet Rafael Maya, the journalist Juan Zuleta Ferrer, and the businessman and politician Gonzalo Restrepo Jaramillo made speeches.<sup>152</sup>

The spectacle offered by the crowd at the Templo Eucarístico, built near the Bosque de la Independencia park, was imposing. Marco Tulio Amaya describes the colourful sight of the purple robes of bishops and archbishops from all parts of the country, together with the archbishops of Perú, Ecuador, and Panamá; the impeccable vestments of vicars and prefects apostolic, members of diocesan seminaries, and the missionaries of Yarumal; and the habits of the Franciscans, Carmelite Fathers, Dominicans, Capuchines, Jesuits, Salesians, Augustinians, Presentation Sisters, Vincentians, Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians, *Terciarias Dominicanas*, *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*,

<sup>151</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 1/13 (Medellín, November 1920), 1-4.

<sup>152</sup> M. T. Amaya, Pbro., *Impresiones de un peregrino en el Congreso Eucarístico de Medellín* (Medellín, 1935), 21 pages.



Carmelite Missionary Sisters, and Capuchine Sisters, and the gala uniforms of the students, the army, and the Boy Scouts.

The first Pontifical Mass was attended by some 25,000 people—it is worth bearing in mind that Medellín was then a city of about 170,000 inhabitants.<sup>153</sup> On Thursday 15 August, declared the *Día Blanco*, 40,000 children received First Communion. There was a special day reserved for men, and another for women. The night before the closing ceremonies there was an all-male procession during which 70,000 men marched bearing torches and singing. It spanned some thirty blocks. On Sunday 18 August, at the closing session presided over by Archbishop Perdomo, primate of Colombia, a multitude of 300,000 faithful gathered. At the end all sang the national anthem, the bells of all the churches pealed, and pigeons were released, while a three-engined aeroplane scattered religious propaganda leaflets, Eucharistic pennants, and flower petals. The event was described by the press as '*apoteósico*', grandiose. In Father Amaya's words, events like it

purify the social atmosphere, apart from regenerating souls, awakening faith . . . they do an incalculable amount of good . . . amongst other things, the direct acquaintance of orators from the most distant parts of the country, encouraging a strong and closely-knit brotherly link through the exchange of ideas and feelings, a link that strengthens the bonds that make up nationality, with incalculable advantages for the patriotic ideal, and to its immense benefit.<sup>154</sup>

The other event which shows that religious leaders were central figures in public life, was the funeral of Manuel José Caycedo, archbishop of Medellín from 1906 to 1934. His funeral rites on 22 June 1937 were a multitudinous act, as the photographs taken by Jorge Obando witness.<sup>155</sup> While civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities headed the march of schools and devotional associations from the city and the towns in the archdiocese, the ever-popular aeroplane dropped a shower of flowers over the procession.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries civic celebrations included almost always some religious act. Mass was indispensable. For example, on 23 November 1875, during the celebration of Medellín's bicentennial, there was a religious service at the cathedral, decorated for the occasion by a commission of ladies headed by the wife of the president of the state. At dawn on 24 November, the clergy escorted the

<sup>153</sup> C. Toro, 'Medellín: desarrollo urbano, 1880–1950', in: *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 299.

<sup>154</sup> Amaya, *Impresiones de un peregrino*, 18–19.

<sup>155</sup> Kept in the CMV, FAES.

bishop from his residence to the cathedral, while government officials accompanied the president. There, a group of magistrates, lawyers, doctors, and other officials participated in Mass. This was followed by a parade organized by professions, associations, and educational institutions, each exhibiting its banner. In front marched the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Bringing up the rear were the bishop, the clergy, the president, his officials, and the police.<sup>156</sup>

In Antioquia, between 1850 and 1930, men and women, rich and poor, peasants and townspeople alike, shared a set of beliefs about the existence of supernatural rewards and punishments, and a series of devotional habits that were central to their private and family lives. People from all social classes congregated during religious events. Their faith promoted works of charity, and kept the richer families concerned with the needs of the poor and helpless. Religion was lived as a domestic activity; parishes brought together associations that fulfilled diverse spiritual and secular expectations. It was difficult to draw any separating line. Being part of the Church provided Antioqueños with a social identity which in turn brought them emotional security. In Christopher Abel's words, in Antioquia, people

were characterized by a felt—if not an economically tangible—egalitarianism. Priests reinforced the prevalent view that status was defined not by an economic but by a spiritual differential: presence at religious rites and quality of performance in sacred duties towards the family and in work.<sup>157</sup>

Considering only evidences from Catholic sources, the results probably would depict Colombians in most regions as notably religious during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. What distinguishes the case of Antioquia is that the religiosity of its people is confirmed by testimonies of a varied nature: from all sorts of Antioqueños as well as from other Colombians and foreigners; from Liberals and Conservatives alike; from official sources, and from more personal and disinterested accounts, such as diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies, as well as travel journals, family correspondence, and *costumbrista* literature.

<sup>156</sup> M. Ospina Rodríguez, *Escritos sobre economía y política* (Bogotá, 1969), 220–7.

<sup>157</sup> C. Abel, 'Conservative Politics in Twentieth-century Antioquia, 1910–1953', Occasional Papers, 3, Latin American Centre, St Antony's College (Oxford, 1973), 9.

## *A Plethora of Charity Societies*

In Antioquia, before the mid-nineteenth-century assistance to the sick, the collection of alms for the needy, the protection of widows, orphans, and the aged, and the burial of the poor were to a large extent in the hands of religious confraternities, congregations, and lay individuals. However, from 1850 to 1930 numerous philanthropic associations and entities were founded for those purposes. A total of 215 have been identified for Antioquia, of which 62 are charity hospitals and 153 other institutions and associations which rendered a variety of services.<sup>1</sup> Due to the the volume and dispersion of evidence about these societies, and to the current state of the local historiography on the topic, it is not possible to offer a complete survey, and the figures here presented may vary with further research.

The number of charity hospitals and welfare societies in Antioquia began to multiply in the 1860s, experienced growth in the 1880s, and went on increasing even more through the 1910s and 1920s, in direct response to the demands resulting from the rapid urbanization and industrialization of the Aburrá valley—see Table 18.

The multitude of reports, regulations, and references in periodicals and miscellaneous texts attests to the interest of contemporaries in social assistance.<sup>2</sup> In the 1870s, when welfare associations were beginning to flourish, it was not rare to find remarks such as this one, made by one of the characters in Tomás Carrasquilla's novel *Luterito*: ' . . . other people either rich or comfortably off, were not willing to give alms; she knew that well, having seen better than anyone else, the grime and meanness of our towns'. A decade later, when nearly forty welfare entities had been established in Antioquia, Camilo Botero Guerra wrote in

<sup>1</sup> The information on the number, opening date, location, founders, sources of funding, administration, and aims of charity hospitals and on philanthropic entities is disseminated in numerous local chronicles, monographs, periodical publications, and reports, mentioned in the tables of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Antioqueños' pride in their organizations for social assistance is evident in the numerous pictures of premises, staff, and of the activities of the inmates and benefactors, taken from the 1890s onwards by the most renowned photographers in Medellín, kept in CMV/FAES, AF/BPP, and *Archivo Carvajal*.

TABLE 18. *Date of foundation (by decades) of charity hospitals, welfare institutions, and associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Date	Charity hospitals	Welfare institutions and associations	Total
before 1850	3	0	3
1850	1	2	3
1860	4	8	12
1870	9	8	17
1880	20	23	43
1890	6	22	28
1900	2	14	16
1910	15	44	59
1920	1	31	32
1930 <sup>a</sup>	1	1	2
Total	62	153	215

<sup>a</sup> Refers only to the year of 1930.

Sources: AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, vols. 1918, 1960, 1969, 1980, 2151, 2054, 2139, 2157, 2860, 2806; Serie Eclesiásticos, vol. 2512; G. Angulo M., *Yarumal 200 años* (n.p., n.d.); *Antioquia por María* (Medellín, 1925); *Anuario Estadístico General 1933* (Bogotá, 1935); L. G. Arango, *Mujer, religión e industria, Fabricato, 1923–1982* (Medellín, 1991); Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicanas de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos, Bogotá; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia. Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948); *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 1885); C. Botero Guerra, *Ensayo de estadística . . . 1888* (Medellín, 1888); H. Bronx, *La Veracruz de Medellín* (Medellín, n.d.); P. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín 1880–1930', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994); Dirección Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística 1936* (Bogotá, 1937); Enriqueta Sofia, OP, *Hermanas Dominicanas de la Caridad. Provincia de Medellín 1930–1980* (Medellín, 1980); FAES, AN y E/C/5 y 6, 9, 15, 19, 24; poster collection; A. Farnsworth-Alvear, 'Gender, the Limits of Industrial Discipline in Medellín, Colombia, 1905–1960', Ph.D. thesis, Department of History (Duke University, 1994); J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografías de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1925); F. Gómez Pérez, *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1955); R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920); *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 6/62–3 (Medellín, October 1915), 744–57; L. Londoño, *Manizales: contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936); A. López, *Monografía estadística de este departamento* (Medellín, 1915); *El Luchador* (Medellín, 1919); C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Madre Elisa fundadora de la Congregación de Siervas de la Madre de Dios* (Medellín, 1984); *Medellín en 1932* (Medellín, 1932); J. Mejía, *Resumen histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Medellín* (Medellín, n.d.); D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929); J. Piedrahíta Echeverri, *El templo y la parroquia de San José, 1720–1991* (Medellín, 1992); *Reglamento de la primera sociedad de mutuo auxilio* (Medellín, 1887); C. C. Restrepo, *Mensaje que el Gobernador de Antioquia dirige a la Asamblea en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1930* (Medellín, n.d.); J. Restrepo V., *Medellín: su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981); C. Reyes, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos? Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana de Medellín (1890–1930)', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993); *La Sociedad* (Medellín, 1875); Sociedad Central de San Vicente de Paúl de Bogotá, *Memoria histórica. Obra arreglada por el socio Antonio José Uribe* (Bogotá, 1908); H. D. Villegas O., *La formación social del proletariado en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1990).

his *Anuario Estadístico de 1888*: 'All social classes, even the poorest, contribute in a timely and efficient way to the succour of those considered worse off than they . . .'. And he added, 'Rare are now the towns in Antioquia that do not have some charitable association, and even in those that do not have any, the destitute can find safe and spontaneous succour.'<sup>3</sup> In 1920 Luis Tejada, with his customary irony, noted that, the plethora of charity organizations . . . is becoming truly alarming. So much so that they are threatening to bring to an end the real spirit of charity, as very soon now we will be in a situation where there are no poor people left in the Department. And if all the poor people have gone, how are we going to show charity?<sup>4</sup>

Several philanthropic institutions were created to provide instruction to children and youths, to teach skills to delinquents and the needy, or to offer them shelter, food, or medical treatment. Some looked after the orphaned or abandoned; collected funds for the poor or distributed alms; hospitalized the sick or housed the aged; housed beggars or the insane; taught the catechism to indigent children and prepared them for First Communion; searched for employment and promoted savings among the workers, and provided them with housing as well as 'useful and instructive' recreation. Others supplied free rations to people in prison; trained adult men and women in crafts and industrial skills; gave succour to the victims of calamities and epidemics; fed poor students; financed modest burials; and offered day-care for working mothers' children.

The 62 charity hospitals existing in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930, were located in 56 different towns. Each named locality had one hospital, except Medellín, which had four, and La Ceja and Copacabana, with two each. The other 153 welfare entities and associations were not so evenly distributed: 80, more than half of them, were established in Medellín, in contrast with the number of entities opened in the other towns: 7 in Manizales, 6 in Yarumal, 5 in Jericó, Santa Fe de Antioquia and Sonsón, 4 in Santa Rosa de Osos, and 3 in Envigado and Rionegro.<sup>5</sup>

Among the founders, sponsors, and administrators of entities and institutions for social assistance in Antioquia figured bishops, diocesan priests, groups of neighbours, confraternities, religious communities, as

<sup>3</sup> (Medellín, 1888), 342.

<sup>4</sup> 'Los masones', *Mesa de redacción* (Medellín, 1989), 151. Article originally published in 1920.

<sup>5</sup> As may be observed in Appendix 4: 'Location of charity hospitals, welfare institutions, and associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930.'

well as local, departmental, and national government officials.<sup>6</sup> Part of the funding came from *'mandas'*, or donations in goods or cash made by individuals. Neighbours contributed with their work in communal gatherings.<sup>7</sup> The Church collected alms and requested donations through parish priests and religious congregations. Among the latter, the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were most active.

#### PRESENCE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN CHARITIES

One quarter of the 210 charity hospitals and philanthropic entities and associations opened in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 were run by female congregations: the Presentation Sisters, the Sisters of the Poor, the *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*, the Good Shepherd Sisters, the *Siercas del Santísimo*, the Salesian Sisters, the Daughters of Wisdom, and the Vincentian Sisters. Only a few were under male counterparts: the Christian Brothers, the Salesian Fathers, and the Eudists. The charities run by nuns and friars, already mentioned in the chapter on religious communities, are listed in Table 19, indicating their location and the date when the congregations took charge of them.

In the terrain of welfare, the Presentation Sisters were not only pioneers in Antioquia, but also had a larger presence in towns outside Medellín and performed a wider range of tasks than other congregations. Altogether, the Presentation Sisters served in thirty-two philanthropic entities: fourteen were charity hospitals and the rest were orphanages, homes for the elderly poor, lunatic asylums, shelters for beggars, and dormitories for female industrial workers. Nearly half of these entities were established in Medellín, and the others in Abejorral, Envigado, Girardota, Jericó, Manizales, Marinilla, Rionegro, Salamina, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sonsón, Sopetrán, and Titiribí; towns where, with the exception of Sopetrán, the Sisters also had schools. On the national level the Presentation was also the most active congregation. From 1873 to

<sup>6</sup> The promotion of social assistance cut across partisan divisions. *Sábado* (Medellín, 7 July 1923), published several pictures of the Liberal politician Alberto Jaramillo Sánchez delivering a speech on charity in the predominantly Conservative town of Santa Rosa de Osos, while some ladies distribute food to the poor.

<sup>7</sup> Most information about charity hospitals comes from local monographs, especially from R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920) and from documents in AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, volumes for the years 1865–90. Also from *Archivo de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos*, Bogotá, and the list of welfare entities published in *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 6/62–3 (Medellín, October 1915), 744–57.

TABLE 19. *Charities run by religious communities in Antioquia, 1876–1930*

Community	Location	Date when congregation took charge <sup>a</sup>	Institution
Presentation Sisters	Medellín	1876	State of Antioquia's charity hospital
	Medellín	1880	Nazareth Orphanage—annex to the Presentation School—
	Medellín	1900	<i>Casa de Mendigos</i> or <i>Casa de Pobres</i>
	Medellín	1904	<i>Manicomio Departamental</i>
	Medellín	1915	<i>Orfelinato de San José</i>
	Medellín	1917	<i>Gota de Leche</i>
	Medellín	1918	<i>Salas-cunas</i>
	Medellín	1921	<i>Dormitorio Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes</i>
	Medellín	1923	<i>Patronato de María Immaculada y San Francisco Javier</i> or <i>Patronato de Medellín</i>
	Medellín	1923	<i>Casa de la Misericordia</i>
	Medellín	1923	<i>Casa Jesús, María y José</i>
	Medellín	1923	<i>Clinica Noel</i>
	Medellín	1924	Lourdes Orphanage
	Medellín	1930	<i>Hospital la María</i>
	Abejorral	1888	charity hospital
	Envigado	1891	charity hospital
	Envigado	1891	orphanage
	Manizales	1892	charity hospital
	Girardota	1893	<i>Hospital de San Rafael</i>
	Salamina	1893	charity hospital
	Santa Fe de Antioquia	1897	charity hospital
	Sonsón	1898	charity hospital
	Manizales	1906	home for beggars
Sonsón	1909	<i>Orfelinato de San Antonio</i> (for girls)	
Santa Fe de Antioquia	1910	Sagrado Corazón de Jesús Orphanage	
Rionegro	1910	home for the elderly poor	
Rionegro	1910	charity hospital	
Jericó	1912	<i>Jesús, María y José</i> Orphanage	

Community	Location	Date when congregation took charge	Institution
	Jericó	1914	charity hospital
	Sopetrán	1915	charity hospital
	Titiribi	1916	charity hospital
	Marinilla	1918	orphanage
<i>Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	1918	home for the elderly poor
	Santa Fe de Antioquia	1918	charity hospital
	Támesis	1918	hospice and charity hospital
	Sopetrán	1927	<i>Sagrado Corazón</i> Orphanage
Christian Brothers	Medellín	1890	<i>Casa de Huérfanos</i> (boys' section)
	Medellín	1905	boy's school soup programme
	Medellín	1927?	arts and crafts workshop
Salesian Fathers	Medellín	1902	<i>Lazareto San Pedro Claver</i>
	Medellín	1910	<i>Casa del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús</i>
	Medellín	1914	<i>Dormitorio de Limpiabotas o de Niño Desamparado</i>
Sisters of the Poor	Medellín	1913	<i>Casa de Asilo</i>
	Medellín	1913	<i>Casa de Refugio</i>
	Medellín	1913	<i>Casa de Jesús, María y José</i>
Good Shepherd Sisters	Medellín	1912	<i>Casa de Arrepentidas</i>
	Medellín	1914	<i>Escuela Tutelar</i>
<i>Siervas del Santísimo y de la Caridad</i>	Medellín	1921	<i>Casa de la Misericordia</i>
	Medellín	1923	Municipal Hospice
Salesian Sisters	Medellín	1906	<i>Casa Taller María Auxiliadora</i>
Eudists	Medellín	1910	Sunday lectures for servants



TABLE 19. *cont.*

Community	Location	Date when congregation took charge	Institution
Vincentine Sisters	Andes	1915	home for the elderly poor and charity hospital
Daughters of Wisdom	Medellín	1920	Institute for Blind and Deaf-and-Dumb Girls

<sup>a</sup> The date indicates when religious communities either assumed the direction or joined each entity, which in some cases differs from the year of foundation.

Sources: *Antioquia por María*, 8/94 (Medellín, July 1930), 1500; *Anuario de la Iglesia católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); L. G. Arango, *Mujer, religión e industria. Fabricato 1923-1982* (Medellín, 1991), 139-59; Archivo Provincial de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Presentación, 'Libro de establecimientos'; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia, Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948), 74-112; J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografías de Antioquia*, 109; J. Gaviria T., *Monografía de Medellín, 1675-1925* (Medellín, 1925), 151-5; Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952), 266; 'Informe de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús' *Familia Cristiana*, 831 (Medellín, 21 July 1922), 444; *Informe presentado al Sr Gobernador Dr Ricardo Jiménez Jaramillo sobre la marcha del ramo de Instrucción Pública en el año de 1925* (Medellín, 1925), 307; R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920); Monsalve, *Monografía estadística*, 61-3; L. E. Pardo C., *Consideraciones sobre las Gotas de Leche* (Bogotá, 1920), 16; C. A. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900-1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, March 1986), 145-6; M. C. Restrepo and C. Restrepo Londoño, *Protección del menor* (Medellín, 1953), 111; H. D. Villegas, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890-1930* (Medellín, 1990), 221-31, 597; '100 años de F.M.A. Colombia. Primeras casas en Antioquia', unpublished leaflet no. 7.

1930 it was involved in at least 19 institutions in Cundinamarca, 12 in Boyacá, 12 in Santander, and, on a smaller scale, in various towns in Huila and Tolima as well as Barranquilla, Ciénaga, Santa Marta, and Quibdó.<sup>8</sup> It is worth recalling that these Sisters had been invited to Colombia to fill the urgent need of 'Sisters experienced in looking after the sick, as physicians say that many die for lack of intelligent care

<sup>8</sup> Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicás de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos, Bogotá; *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938). Hermana M.C. Gaitán R., 'Salud, política y religión. Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicás de la Presentación de la Santísima Virgen en Colombia, 1873-1929', Master's thesis, Faculty of Education, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia (Tunja, 1997), 84-92, 142-53; *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 6/62-3 (Medellín, October 1915), 744-57 lists several welfare entities in Antioquia.

...<sup>9</sup> The *Junta de Beneficencia* de Cundinamarca had tried to attract other foreign congregations for this purpose, without success, as the country had a bad reputation with the anticlerical measures adopted by Liberal governments of the time. The Presentation community, which had been in charge of hospitals, some of them during the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, sent a first group of Sisters to Bogotá in 1873.<sup>10</sup> When the 1876 civil war broke out, the government asked the mother superior of the Presentation in Bogotá to send some Sisters to care for the wounded soldiers in Bogotá; and, after the battle of Garrapata, to send another group to the state of Tolima to attend the ‘ambulances’, or field camps for wounded or sick soldiers.<sup>11</sup> In January 1877, the president of the state of Antioquia requested Mother Octavie, director of the state’s hospital in Medellín, where the Sisters had arrived in July 1876, to dispatch a group of Sisters to Manizales. One of them left a written account of the difficulties they went through, intensified after the Conservative defeat of 5 April 1877. She recalls how they recited the Rosary every evening with the soldiers, Liberal and Conservatives alike. The Sisters also assisted the wounded during the civil war of 1895 and the Thousand Days’ war, 1899–1901.<sup>12</sup>

Besides these wartime tasks, the Presentation Sisters contributed to the general advance of health care and nursing in Colombia. They administered the lepers’ hospital in Agua de Dios, Cundinamarca, and various charity hospitals in several departments. The president of the *Junta de Beneficencia de Cundinamarca* in a letter of June 1874 to the president of the state of Cundinamarca, acknowledged that the arrival of the Sisters had greatly improved order, cleanliness, surgical operations, and the provision of food and medicine in the San Juan de Dios Hospital in Bogotá.<sup>13</sup>

By number of philanthropic entities run in Antioquia, the Presentation Sisters were followed by the *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*, in charge of four welfare institutions. Next came the Christian Brothers, the Salesian Fathers, and the Sisters of the Poor,

<sup>9</sup> Letter sent in 1871 by Pedro Navas Azuero, trustee of the *Junta General de Beneficencia de Cundinamarca*, to Manuel Vélez Barrientos, consul of Colombia in France. *Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicas de la Presentación*.

<sup>10</sup> Gaitán R., ‘Salud, política y religión’, 68–72.

<sup>11</sup> The letters sent by the mother superior in Bogotá to the superior general of the congregation in Tours describe the piles of burned bodies, ranches with no water where the wounded lay on the floor with worms in their wounds, and the cries of the wounded transported in ox-carts. See: Gaitán R., ‘Salud, política y religión’, 95–102.

<sup>12</sup> Gaitán R., ‘Salud, política y religión’, 102–5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

with three entities each; the *Siervas del Santísimo* had two, and, finally, the Salesian Sisters, the Eudist fathers, and the Vincentian Sisters were each in charge of one entity. The Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver conducted charity works in Santa Fe de Antioquia and Tamesis, and the Vincentian Sisters worked in Andes. The other congregations limited their charities to Medellín.

#### CHARITY HOSPITALS

Most charity hospitals outside Medellín, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and Rionegro were relatively small, with an average capacity of ten beds. A few were built on land donated by the priest or by wealthy neighbours,<sup>14</sup> and some in houses that were built by neighbours.<sup>15</sup> More often they functioned in houses bought with alms collected among local residents.<sup>16</sup> Up to the 1910s some charity hospitals not only admitted the sick or wounded but also gave shelter to the elderly poor and the destitute. In the opening record of the one in Remedios it is referred to both as a hospital and a 'charity home'.<sup>17</sup> Well-to-do families preferred to look after their sick at home rather than send them to the '*hospital del común*'.<sup>18</sup>

According to the description of hospitals included in Rufino Gutiérrez's report on Antioqueño municipalities published in 1917, the one in Yarumal was one of the best furnished. It occupied a large house with a small chapel, its rooms had clean beds and could accommodate twelve persons, and it had a section for private patients, an operating table, a medicine cabinet, kitchen, and flower gardens. Others, like the one in Santa Rosa de Osos, were poorly equipped.<sup>19</sup>

Among the founders of hospitals that have been identified, twenty-four were parish priests, eight were local inhabitants; in three hospitals

<sup>14</sup> As those of Jericó in 1872 and Segovia in 1917. See R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 418.

<sup>15</sup> As happened in Fredonia 1870; Santa Bárbara 1875; Anorí, 1887; San Andrés 1888; Andes 1915. See: Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 324, 366, 368-9, 392.

<sup>16</sup> This was the case of those of Titiribí 1872; Jardín 1888; Remedios 1888; Amagá and San Roque 1890; Carolina 1900; Caramanta and Valparaiso 1913. See: AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, vol. 1969, doc. 2, 1869; Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, 303, 307, 328, 342, 345, 405, 425.

<sup>17</sup> AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, vol. 1980, doc. 2, 1870.

<sup>18</sup> During the 1897 smallpox epidemic in Medellín, when the governor ordered the ill to be sent to the charity hospital to avoid contagion, wealthy families requested permission to look after them at home. *Repertorio Oficial*, 11/2975 (Medellín, 12 July 1897), 4878-9.

<sup>19</sup> R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 380-4.

the initiative came from the government, in two from the *Ferrocarril de Antioquia*, and in one from the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Fifteen charity hospitals were run by the Presentation Sisters; the one in Andes from 1915 onwards, by the Vincentian Sisters; from 1918 the one in Támeis was in the hands of the *Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver*; and the Lepers' Hospice in Medellín was managed by the Salesian Fathers from 1902 onwards.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE INSTITUTIONS

Leaving aside charity hospitals, one-third of the other 153 welfare entities and associations established in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 were in the hands of lay associations. The largest in scope and services was the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Medellín, followed by the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Next came 25 orphanages, 16 asylums, and 11 workshops to teach crafts. There were also, in decreasing number, homes for the aged, schools, *Gotas de Leche* which provided milk for poor infants, food charities, help for unmarried women, night schools and Sunday schools, health charities, savings banks, houses for young women 'in disgrace', dormitories, housing institutions, 'patronatos', a centre for legal assistance, an employment agency, and an insane asylum.

The Saint Vincent de Paul Society of Medellín, founded in 1882, followed the regulations of the original society of Paris, founded in 1834 by a group of young laymen to provide material and spiritual aid to those who, although poor, were not vagrants, beggars, depraved, or who misbehaved.<sup>20</sup> Soon, similar societies were established all over France, in other European countries, and in America.<sup>21</sup> In Colombia, the first Saint Vincent de Paul Society was founded in 1857 in Bogotá.<sup>22</sup> By the 1920s similar societies existed in Cali, Tunja, Bucaramanga, Cartagena, Barranquilla, Popayán, Ibagué,<sup>23</sup> and eight more towns in Cundinamarca.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Frank McCourt in *Angela's Ashes. Memoir of a Childhood* (London, 1997) alludes to the aid his family received from the Saint Vincent de Paul Society while he grew up in Limerick, Ireland.

<sup>21</sup> *Manual de la SSVF* (Medellin, 1963).

<sup>22</sup> M. A. Urrego, *Sexualidad, matrimonio y familia en Bogotá, 1880-1930* (Bogotá, 1997), 289-90.

<sup>23</sup> B. Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza urbana en Colombia, 1869-1922', unpublished research report, Sociology Department, Universidad del Valle (Cali, 1998), ch. 3, 16-27.

<sup>24</sup> On the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Bogotá, see Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza', ch. 3.

The idea of establishing a Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Medellín came from the physician and businessman Ricardo Escobar, and was backed, among other prominent citizens, by Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Abraham Moreno, Wenceslao Barrientos, and Estanislao Gómez.<sup>25</sup> Only laymen over 18 years old, concerned with the practice of charity ‘. . . as defined and understood by the Catholic Church’, were admitted as members.<sup>26</sup> Promising young lawyers, physicians, teachers, politicians, and businessmen soon joined. Years later, many of them occupied important entrepreneurial and political positions.<sup>27</sup> Although by its statutes the Society was apolitical, members tended to belong to the Conservative party; and by the turn of the century some of them were concerned about the imbalance of partisan allegiance within the Society.<sup>28</sup>

A key principle for the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was that ‘. . . in order to feel affection towards the poor . . . and to exert a powerful influence over them, it is necessary to frequent them, to go and visit them in their homes . . .’.<sup>29</sup> According to Antonio J. Mejía, president of the Society in 1897, the individual solution of each case created a

powerful . . . bond between the rich and the poor; and the good it does, benefits everybody: the poor because it soothes their physical and spiritual pains, educates them, provides them with an occupation, instils in them the love of work, and teaches them to cherish the well off people who indirectly succour them; and the latter benefit because . . . by giving away a small share to satisfy the needs of others, they win the rewards offered to those who practice charity, and by the constant reminder of other people’s miseries, learn to be cautious with their unstable riches . . .<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> M. P. Castro Hernández, ‘Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880–1930’, undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994), 117–18.

<sup>26</sup> *Estatutos y reglamento general de la Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín* (Medellín, 1884), 1–9.

<sup>27</sup> Among them Camilo Botero Guerra, Jorge Luis Arango, Félix de Bedout, Gonzalo Restrepo Jaramillo, Tulio Ospina Pérez, Rafael Navarro y Eusse, Nicanor Restrepo, and Apolinar Villa. See: Castro Carvajal, ‘El tratamiento de la pobreza’, ch. 3, 11–12.

<sup>28</sup> The following became governors: Abraham Moreno, Baltasar Botero Uribe, Abraham García, Rafael Giraldo Viana, Eduardo Vásquez, Pedro Nel Ospina, Carlos Cock. Pedro Nel Ospina and Carlos E. Restrepo reached the presidency of Colombia. F. Botero, ‘La Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl y el mal perfume de la política, 1882–1914’, *Historia y Sociedad*, 2 (Medellín, December 1995), 60.

<sup>29</sup> Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín, *Memoria del presidente y discurso del socio D. Carlos E. Restrepo leídos en la sesión solemne celebrada el 27 de julio de 1890* (Medellín, 1890), 10.

<sup>30</sup> Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín, *Primer decenario de su fundación. Reseña histórica. Discurso en los exámenes de los Talleres de la Sociedad* (Medellín, 1892), i–ii.

Individuals and families aided by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were subject to a rigid moral and social control. Education and occupational training were considered 'preventive alms' against vagrancy, laziness, and idleness. Alluding to the *Escuelas Nocturnas*, Carlos E. Restrepo, by then in charge of the *Sección Docente* of the Society, in 1897 wrote: '... let us build in advance barriers against Socialism, for it cannot be contained once it overflows'.<sup>31</sup> The Society advised the municipal and departmental governments on policies for the eradication of poverty.

The Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Medellín received contributions from members and other citizens, from the state, and from bishops, parish priests, and several religious communities, especially from the Jesuits.<sup>32</sup> Its gatherings usually included Mass, corporate communion, and collection of alms. In small towns donations were received in food, clothes, domestic fowl, and livestock.<sup>33</sup>

A few years after its creation, the Society diversified its activities with the support of municipal and departmental governments as well as other private entities. Each one formed a different 'section', to ensure a more efficient service. As may be observed in Table 20, which summarizes the starting date and aims of the activities sustained until the turn of the century when the Society was reorganized, its assistance to the poor covered a wide range of forms: direct financial aid, shelter and housing, free daily food rations, evening schools, occupational training for printers, bookbinders, tailors, and domestic servants; weaving workshops,<sup>34</sup> the promotion of savings among workers, Sunday recreation, job hunting; the dissemination of Christian doctrine in schools, gaols, military battalions, and hospitals; Sunday catechism sessions, and spiritual retreats.<sup>35</sup> Beneficiaries included men and women of different conditions: orphans, delinquents, prisoners, artisans, industrial workers, students, and the aged.

<sup>31</sup> Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín, *Memoria del presidente y socio Antonio J. Mejía leída en la sesión solemne celebrada el 20 de julio de 1897* (Medellín, 1897), 26.

<sup>32</sup> Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza', ch. 3, 9-15.

<sup>33</sup> *Ideales*, 7/29 (Copacabana, 15 December 1918), 115.

<sup>34</sup> According to F. Botero, the 'golden years' of the workshops—sponsored by the owners of the larger textile factories created in the early twentieth century—coincide with the need to explore the technical feasibility of the emerging textile industry, the market reaction, and the need to train labour. The workshops could not face the competition of the factories once they were opened. See: 'Los talleres de la Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín, 1889-1910', *BCB*, 33/42 (1997), 3-21.

<sup>35</sup> Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza', ch. 3, 15-29.

TABLE 20. *Saint Vincent de Paul Society activities in Medellín, 1882–1901*

Date	Activity	Administration and sponsors	Aim
1887	Evening schools	<i>Sección Docente</i> SSVP	to teach religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and lineal drawing to male artisans
1887	Economic kitchens	Jointly with the <i>Asociación Sagrado Corazón de Jesús</i> 1893: financial aid from the department	to give a free daily food ration to the poor and the incarcerated
1889	San Vicente workshops	<i>Sección Docente</i> SSVP 1893: Financial aid from the department	to shelter, train in an occupation, and catechize orphaned boys, 6–15 years old
1890	Agency for the poor	<i>Sección de Amparo</i> SSVP	to search for employment
1890	Savings account	<i>Sección de Amparo</i> SSVP 1919: Catholic Social Action	to promote savings among poor workers
1894	San Vicente's houses	<i>Sección Limosnera</i> SSVP	to provide a house to poor families at no cost
1896	Sunday reading rooms	<i>Sección Catequista</i> SSVP	to provide 'useful and instructive' Sunday recreation to workers
1897	Secretariat for the poor	<i>Sección de Amparo</i> SSVP	find defence lawyers for the poor involved in criminal trials
1897	Workshops for young destitute women or Nuestra Señora de la Merced dormitories	<i>Sección de Amparo</i> SSVP 1921: <i>Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús</i>	to educate in a boarding school young girls, 14–20 years
1898	Shelter for repentant women		to provide shelter to abandoned women and to formerly incarcerated women

Date	Activity	Administration and sponsors	Aim
1899	<i>Externado Industrial de San Vicente</i>	Under the <i>Sección de Amparo</i> SSVP 1899: <i>Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús</i> 1918: Administered by the <i>Obra de los Tabernáculos</i>	to qualify women workers in arts and industries
1901	Spiritual exercises	<i>Sección Catequista</i> SSVP	moral education

*Sources:* F. Botero H., 'La Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Medellín y el mal perfume de la política, 1882-1914', in: *Historia y Sociedad*, 2 (Medellín, December 1995) and 'Los talleres de la SSVP de Medellín, 1889-1910', *BCB* 33/42 (Bogotá, 1996), 3-21; M. P. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880-1930', undergraduate thesis, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994); 'Memorias anuales de la Sociedad de San Vicente de Paúl', 1884-1930; H. D. Villegas O., *La formación social del proletariado en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1990).

The Society followed the orientations of the mother organization in France, but was administered independently until 1911, when the general council in Paris began to supervise the superior councils created in Colombia. Internally, the latter supervised the central councils, which in turn kept an eye on the local conferences.<sup>36</sup> In Medellín the Society was divided into twelve 'conferences', classified by neighbourhoods. In 1919 three more were established in the *Escuela Normal de Varones*, the *Escuela de Minas*, and the San José school. The existing sections were placed under the new conferences set up in the *barrios*. During these years some of the activities of the Society were quite successful. The savings account, for instance, increased from 5,061 pesos deposited in 1910 to 118,434 pesos in 1919. This extraordinary growth led to its shared administration with the Catholic Action, controlled by a board presided over by the archbishop of Medellín.<sup>37</sup> According to the annual reports, in the 1920s the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Medellín obtained more funding from the state, and gave assistance to a larger

<sup>36</sup> Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza', Ch. 3, 15-17.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-2.



number of individuals and families than the Bogotá branch.<sup>38</sup> By then the Society was established in seventeen towns in Antioquia.<sup>39</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century lay women, especially those from well-to-do families, enrolled in larger numbers in philanthropic societies.<sup>40</sup> The widest in scope was the female confraternity *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, with branches in forty-five towns all over the department. Besides its pious duties, it carried on the charitable activities described in the chapter on devotional associations, since one of its aims was to 'reform the ways and alleviate the corporal needs of the poor by practising works of mercy'.<sup>41</sup> It taught Christian doctrine to the needy and ignorant, including domestic servants, poor children, and inmates of gaols. Members raised funds for charity hospitals in Titiribí (1872), Sonsón (1879), Santa Fe de Antioquia (1883), and Santo Domingo (1887). In Medellín this confraternity collaborated with many entities.<sup>42</sup> In 1875 the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* and the *Sección de Beneficencia* of the *Sociedad Católica* subscribed an agree-

<sup>38</sup> Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza', ch. 3, 130-4. In 1925 a third part of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society from Medellín came from municipal and departmental aid. See: *Boletín de la Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl*, 193 (Bogotá, January 1927), 82.

<sup>39</sup> Abejorral, Barbosa, Caldas, Cauca, Copacabana, Ebéjico, Envigado, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Santa Rosa de Osos, Margento, Marinilla, Nariño, Rionegro, San Vicente, Sonsón, Sopetrán, and Yarumal. See: C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 343; *El Temperante* (Sonsón, 20 January 1906), 98; Sociedad San Vicente de Paúl de Yarumal, *Memoria del Presidente*, Yarumal, 1907; Sociedad Central de San Vicente de Paúl de Bogotá, *Celebración del quincuagésimo aniversario, 1857-1907. Memoria arreglada por el socio Antonio José Uribe* (Bogotá, 1908), 266; *Ideales*, 5/22 (Copacabana, 27 October 1918), 85; AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, vol. 12, Doc. No. 470, Personerías Jurídicas, 1925; B. Castro and M. A. Urrego, 'Formas asistenciales y política en Bogotá, 1830-1886', unpublished paper, VII Congreso de Historia (Popayán, 1990), 25.

<sup>40</sup> Some, like the following, operated on a small scale: the *Hermanas de la Caridad del Pueblo de Andes* was created in 1863 in Andes by 47 volunteers to collect alms for the needy. The *Sociedad de Matronas*, founded in Remedios in 1869, helped the local hospital. In Sonsón a *Escuela Dominical para Sirvientas* was opened in 1899. In Medellín the *Club Noel* was established in 1916 to protect and aid children of the poor; in 1920 Laura Toro and Sofía Correa de Uribe founded the *Internado de Escuela Modelo o Protección a la Joven* as a boarding house and school for poor girls. See: *Boletín Oficial*, 2/112 (Medellín, 24 August 1865), 361.

<sup>41</sup> R. de la Pedraja, 'Women in Colombian Organizations: 1900-1940. A Study in Changing Gender Roles', unpublished paper, 45 Congreso de Americanistas (Bogotá, July 1985); 'Reglamento de la Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús', *La Sociedad*, 9 (Medellín 1873), 295.

<sup>42</sup> *Casa de Asilo* (1873), *Casa de Refugio* (1881), *Casa de Jesús, María y José* (1893), *Escuela de Artes Domésticas* (1896-1910) and *Dormitorio del Niño Limpiabotas y Niños Desamparados* (1912), and also with the *Cocinas Económicas* (1887), *Externado Industrial* (1899), *Dormitorio de la Merced* (1921) created by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society. In Yolombó it sponsored the *Gota de Leche* (1920).

ment to eliminate beggary in Medellín. The municipality was to forbid beggars, and both associations were to feed and clothe paupers with funds collected among the citizenry.<sup>43</sup>

Another important institution founded by lay women was the *Patronato de María Inmaculada y San Francisco Javier* or *Patronato de Medellín*, opened in 1912 by Leonor Gaviria and Ana Raquel Isaza, two upper-class ladies, to aid female industrial workers recently arrived from the countryside. Its purpose was to protect these young women from 'following the path of perdition . . .'.<sup>44</sup> It started by offering Sunday lectures on discipline, charity, chastity, and obedience given by the Jesuits in the San Ignacio church.<sup>45</sup> In view of the difficulties in recruiting an audience, various incentives such as the distribution of tickets for raffles, clothing, and goods vouchers were introduced. In 1912 the *Patronato* opened two restaurants that offered lunches at moderate prices, and an infirmary section with medical and pharmacy services; in 1914, a savings account section and several workshops to teach women how to make sweets and pasta, weave fabrics, do wickerwork, and fringe shawls. That same year the recreation section programmed 'healthy' activities on Sundays, and the exercises section organized spiritual retreats and opened a dormitory for workers who were ill or temporarily unemployed. From 1923 onwards the dormitory was run by the Presentation Sisters, who supervised dress, hygiene, and behaviour. In 1915 the Sunday circles section offered training in dressmaking, arithmetic, reading, spelling, writing, and cooking. The *Patronato* was funded by the benefactors, and with donations from devotional associations, industries, shops, and banks. The Jesuits Germán Montoya Fernández and Rafael Duque, respectively director and second director of Catholic Social Action, provided spiritual guidance and oriented the work of the *Patronato*.<sup>46</sup>

In the 1910s and 1920s several Antioqueño towns saw the emergence of the *Gotas de Leche*, which attended mothers who could not breast-feed their children. Originally created in France in 1894, this institution soon spread throughout Europe and Latin America. In Colombia, the

<sup>43</sup> *La Sociedad* (Medellín, January, 1875), 297 and (19 July 1875), 81.

<sup>44</sup> *Medellín en 1923* (Medellín, 1925), 164–5.

<sup>45</sup> A. C. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900–1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, September 1986), 145–6

<sup>46</sup> J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografía de Medellín 1675–1925*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1925), 165–73; Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín', 145–6; A. Farnsworth, 'Gender, the Limits of Industrial Discipline in Medellín, Colombia, 1905–1960', Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Duke University (1994), ch. 2.

first one was established in Medellín in 1917. It followed the recommendations issued by the National Medical Congress of 1913 to reduce the high infant mortality rates. The task, backed by Archbishop Manuel J. Caycedo and the *Madres Católicas*, was undertaken by the Presentation Sisters. They assisted preferably infants under 6 months whose mothers had died, or who could not be nourished properly. By 1930, Andes, Jardín, Pueblorico, Santo Domingo, San Roque, Sonsón, and Yolombó also opened *Gotas de Leche*. In Medellín milk was donated by the municipal government; in other towns, by neighbours. In 1918 the *Gota de Leche* in Medellín was complemented with a series of day-care centres for children of working mothers.<sup>47</sup>

CHARITY AND PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATIONS: MORE BRIDGES  
BETWEEN CLASSES

The list of founders and sponsors of philanthropic associations created in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 indicates that one-quarter of them was started by private citizens, and a similar proportion corresponds to a combination of private, official, and ecclesiastical effort. In 1875 Mariano Ospina Rodríguez expressed what became a widespread view of welfare during the period under study: 'The larger the freedom given to individual charity to open lasting institutions . . . and the greater security offered to the wealth destined to that end, the stronger will be the effects of this sublime virtue. Bureaucratically exercised, official charity has everywhere proven to be inept and impotent.'<sup>48</sup>

The Church founded almost one-third of the welfare entities. Its influence was greater than this suggests through its direct involvement in founding, running, or helping to finance philanthropic institutions, as bishops, priests, devotional associations, friars, and nuns usually also helped in official and private initiatives in this field. Moreover, many secular foundations were inspired by the general notion of Christian charity. The seven corporal works of mercy, which exhorted feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, visiting the sick, clothing the naked, harbouring the stranger, ministering to prisoners, and burying the dead,

<sup>47</sup> L. E. Pardo Calderón, *Consideraciones sobre las 'Gotas del leche'* (Bogotá, 1920), 14–15; de la Pedraja, 'Women in Colombian Organizations, 1900–1940', 6–7; F. Gómez Pérez, *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1955), n.p.n.; AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, Personerías Jurídicas 1919, 6/276.

<sup>48</sup> 'Los hospitales y las Hermanas de la Caridad', *La Sociedad*, 4/164 (Medellín, 21 August 1875), 153.

were constantly repeated from the pulpit, in devotional associations, during the preparations for First Communion, in schools, in Father Astete's Catechism, and at home. In his *Anuario estadístico* of 1888, Camilo Botero Guerra begins the chapter 'Welfare' by saying that among the '... Christian virtues here observed, the love of Antioqueños for their destitute fellowmen stands out splendidly'.<sup>49</sup>

The close collaboration for welfare purposes that existed in Antioquia among the laity, the Church, and the government differs from the conflictive or competitive atmosphere frequently evident among the three in other parts of the country. In Bogotá, secular control of welfare was introduced in 1869 with the *Junta General de Beneficencia de Cundinamarca*, entrusted with the administration of charitable institutions. It was in charge of finding and allocating resources, supervising accounts, issuing regulations, and paying monthly visits to every organization. The *Junta* signed agreements with religious communities for them to run the San Juan de Dios Hospital, the *Hospicio* or *Casa de Refugio*, and other institutions. In the 1920s it still supervised social assistance in Cundinamarca.<sup>50</sup> In Cali, between 1851 and 1853, and later in the 1860s, radical Liberals attempted to transfer the care of philanthropic institutions, like the San Juan de Dios Hospital, from pious confraternities and individual initiative to the government. The budgetary shortages and political instability of the 1870s forced them to return these tasks to parishes and *Sociedades Católicas*, who raised funds successfully and assigned the administration of the main entities to the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul and other experienced foreign congregations trusted by the population.<sup>51</sup> In Barranquilla, from the 1860s to the 1880s, philanthropy was predominantly in the hands of lay associations such as the *Sociedad Hermanos de la Caridad*, founded in 1867—the following year it admitted women—which opened a hospital, built a church and a cemetery, and issued a newspaper.<sup>52</sup> In 1876 the first Presentation Sisters were brought in to run the charity hospital. By the turn of the century, the Catholic revival advocated by Father Pedro María Revollo, appointed to the parish of San Nicolás in 1894, promoted the *Madres Católicas*, *Juventud Católica*, and *Hijas de María*,

<sup>49</sup> C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico: Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 342.

<sup>50</sup> B. Castro Carvajal, 'El tratamiento de la pobreza urbana', ch. 2, 1–43.

<sup>51</sup> B. Castro Carvajal, 'Caridad y beneficencia en Cali, 1848–1898', *BCB*, 27/22 (Bogotá 1990), 67–80.

<sup>52</sup> M. C. Márquez Salas, 'Iglesia e iniciativa privada en Barranquilla: 1875–1882', *Costa Atlántica Colombiana, VII Congreso de Antropología en Colombia* (Medellín, 1994), 151–9.

societies integrated mainly by upper- and middle-class women, who organized 'costureros', 'sewing parties', like the one of Santa Rita, to collect alms for the poor.<sup>53</sup> In the 1910s the *La Estrella de la Caridad*, the *Gota de Leche*, the *Comité de Protección a la Infancia*, and the *Salas Cunas*, implemented other welfare activities.<sup>54</sup>

The recipients of charitable assistance in Antioquia were expected to benefit from wholesome moral influences and to imbibe the principles and values that their upper- and middle-class sponsors considered essential for the health of society. These included respectability, deference, order within the family, work discipline, and thrift.<sup>55</sup> Many philanthropic entities required beneficiaries to present recommendations, certificates of baptism, or written proof that their parents had been married by the Church.

According to contemporary witnesses, welfare institutions did not always practise the standards of conduct they preached. In his autobiography *Cómo se hace ingeniero un negro en Colombia*, Manuel Baena recalls the humiliating treatment received at the free lunches served by the Jesuits in the Plazuela de San Francisco.<sup>56</sup> On 24 October 1918, *El Luchador*, in an article entitled 'Hunger Rations' also criticized the deficient meals—the article says a pound of meat for seventy boys—served by the Christian Brothers in the *Sopa Escolar* they had established a decade earlier in Medellín in the *Plaza de Flórez*. According to the author, the boys were shouted at, and he saw the supervisor 'hit a boy in the eye with a lemon. It is sad to see how the needy are humiliated there . . . if someone even whispers, they force him to have his soup kneeling down.'<sup>57</sup>

Another key purpose in most welfare entities that dealt with children and young adults of both sexes was to train them in an occupation that would help them to earn a living. Besides the workshops run by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society and by the *Patronato de Medellín*, many other efforts on a smaller scale were undertaken. The *Casa de Beneficencia*

<sup>53</sup> On Father Revollo see: *Memorias del presbítero Pedro María Revollo, primera parte, de 1806 a 1906: La Ciénaga, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Roma, Italia, Barranquilla*. Barranquilla, 1956; and J. Becerra Jiménez, *Historia de la Diócesis de Barranquilla a través de la biografía de padre Pedro María Revollo* (Bogotá, 1993).

<sup>54</sup> R. Vos Obeso, 'La religiosidad en la vida de las mujeres barranquilleras', *BCB*, 33/42 (Bogotá, 1996), 58–60.

<sup>55</sup> Similar questions are addressed in: S. Woolf, 'Pauperismo en el mundo moderno: estamento, clase y pobreza urbana', *Historia Social*, 8 (Autumn, Valencia, 1990), 89–100.

<sup>56</sup> (Murcia, 1929), 314, 316, 328.

<sup>57</sup> *EL Obrero Católico*, 2/123 (Medellín, 28 May 1927), 2.

cia in Medellín, opened in 1855, trained orphan teenage girls in domestic service, sewing, embroidery, sweet-making, washing and ironing clothes, and chocolate grinding.<sup>58</sup> The *Casa de Mendigos*, founded in Medellín in 1891 by the municipal council and administered by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, by 1894 had vegetable gardens and raised hens, pigs, and cows.<sup>59</sup> In the *Casa Taller de María Auxiliadora*, founded in 1906 in Medellín by Concha Restrepo to shelter female workers, inmates contributed to their own maintenance by washing, ironing, sewing, and embroidering for others.<sup>60</sup> In 1908 Domingo A. Henao, parish priest of San Benito, Medellín, opened the *Escuela de Enseñanza de Sombreros de Paja* sponsored by the municipal council.<sup>61</sup> In the *Escuela de Artes Domésticas* opened in 1910 with the support of the *Dirección de Instrucción Pública* and of the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, young girls learned cooking, dressmaking, domestic accounting, appliqué work, and to dye clothes, laces, feathers, and hats.<sup>62</sup> Some of Francisco Mejía's photographs show groups of boys working in the vegetable garden of the Casa de Pobres, adjacent to the Villanueva Cathedral in Medellín in 1938.

As in other parts of the country, charities assumed the task of protecting, teaching, training, and controlling the behaviour of the poor and of workers in an increasingly urban and industrial society, before the Liberal reforms of the 1930s entrusted some of these duties to the state. The peculiarity of Antioquia resides in the degree to which charitable work was socially valued. The dense sociability that emerged around welfare, inspired in the strong religiosity of its people and made possible by the relatively open social structure, created more bridges among classes, thus helping to ameliorate social conflict and ease the transit to a modern society.

<sup>58</sup> J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 597; H. D. Villegas Gómez, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890-1930* (Medellín, 1990), 221-2.

<sup>59</sup> Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín', 105-6.

<sup>60</sup> F. Gómez, *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1955), n.p.n.

<sup>61</sup> Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas, *Medellín el 20 de julio de 1910*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>62</sup> *Informe del Director General de Instrucción Pública, correspondiente al año de 1910, presentado al Sr. Gobernador del departamento* (Medellín, n.d.), 32.



## **Part II**

# **Education and Culture as Factors of Cohesion**





## *Developments and Achievements in Education*

The stagnation and decline of public education has been part of the diagnosis of the social crisis experienced by Medellín in the late 1980s and early 1990s. From 1930 to 1960, primary and secondary education had grown rather slowly in Antioquia. From the 1960s to 1980, the region's educational coverage increased, but its quality and technical and cultural pertinence left much to be desired. As Jorge Orlando Melo, presidential advisor for Medellín in 1995, has said, 'Medellín's budget allots more resources for the mowing of stadium and sports grounds than for the development of libraries.'<sup>1</sup>

This used not to be so. In the late nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth, on a national scale Antioquia fared comparatively well in education. Conservatives and Liberals showed consistent concern for the improvement of public and private instruction, especially in the towns. Nevertheless, some disdain towards intellectual achievements persisted throughout the period: several entrepreneurs whose riches placed them among the 'pride and honour' of the region, had not gone beyond the 'three Rs'.<sup>2</sup> José María 'Pepe' Sierra—the Millionaire Peasant—who grew up as a manager of pack trains, replied to someone who corrected his spelling of the word 'hacienda': 'Look here, young man. I have seventy haciendas without an "h". And you, how many do you have with an "h"?'<sup>3</sup>

In the early 1840s Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Pedro Alcántara Herrán's *Secretario del Interior y Relaciones Exteriores*, had organized and expanded primary and secondary instruction in Colombia. He had also brought back the Jesuits, and he continued to pursue educational improvement as governor of Antioquia from April 1845 to July 1847. In those years Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, a teacher at the *Colegio*

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Melo, 'Education in Antioquia', unpublished conference, Twentieth Anniversary of Proantioquia (Medellín, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> A. Mejía Robledo, *Vidas y empresas de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1951), 174–8.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by L. F. Molina Londoño, 'Don Pepe Sierra, prototipo del empresario antioqueño', *Credencial Historia*, 16 (Bogotá, April 1991), 8.

*Provincial* and a brilliant parliamentarian, recorded in his diary how the Provincial Chambers commonly gave priority to educational expenditure.<sup>4</sup>

In 1856, when the state of Antioquia was created, Governor Rafael María Giraldo set out both to improve the roads and to expand education so as to 'amend customs', until the civil wars of 1860–4 upset these plans. Once the conflicts ended, the progressive local Conservative government of Pedro Justo Berrío took advantage of peace and relative prosperity and again assigned revenues to the improvement of public instruction and the roads. In 1865, the state's secretario de gobierno, the Caucaño Néstor Castro, argued unreservedly for government intervention in education: it should be '... made as readily available to the people as the water from the public fountain'.<sup>5</sup> That year the state of Antioquia adopted a general plan for primary education, requiring families to send at least one child to school.<sup>6</sup> To convince parents of the benefits of such a measure must have been as hard a task as it was in the neighbouring regions.<sup>7</sup>

Many children received their first lessons from their mothers or from some other relative. Julián, brother of the Liberal leader Rafael Uribe Uribe, wrote in his memoirs: 'Elementary education started so early in the life of children, that we were able to write and read before the age of six'.<sup>8</sup> Jaime Mejía y Mejía recalls that around the same years, in a farm near Pereira, 'Despite the rusticity of our childhood, some civilizing sparks penetrated our brains, thanks to the titanic and praiseworthy work of our mother.'<sup>9</sup>

In that epoch the influence of the Church in the education of Antioqueños was notorious. Devotional associations such as the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* for women, and the *Sociedades Católicas* for men, supported parish schools; and parish priests used to

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815–1899* (Bogotá, 1992), 62.

<sup>5</sup> L. J. Villegas B., 'Un siglo de altibajos en la educación en Medellín, 1786–1886', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1996), 273.

<sup>6</sup> L. J. Villegas B. offers a comprehensive view on education during this period in *Aspectos de la educación en Antioquia durante el gobierno de Pedro Justo Berrío, 1864–1873* (Medellín, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> From 1871 to 1880 parents in schools in Boyacá argued that they had managed to live their lives without ever going to school. Others claimed that if children knew more than their parents, they would become their enemies, or that teaching to read and write was like teaching how to rob. See: A. Álvarez Gallego, 'La escuela: expresión y parte de las culturas populares', *Historia y culturas populares. Los estudios regionales en Boyacá*, comp. by P. Mora Calderón and A. Guerrero Rincón (Tunja, 1989), 166–9.

<sup>8</sup> J. Uribe Uribe, *Memorias* (Bogotá, 1994), 76.

<sup>9</sup> *Historias médicas de una vida y de una región* (Medellín, 1960), 29.

channel donations to that end.<sup>10</sup> In 1857, the governor of Antioquia warned, 'Do not forget that a truly industrious people, who pay little heed to moral and religious principles, may also be a people of thieves and bandits . . .'.<sup>11</sup> The synod for Medellín and Antioquia, convened in 1871, implemented the proposals put forth by the *Primer Concilio Provincial para la República de la Nueva Granada* for weekly catechism lessons in parishes. Priests who did not follow this dictate were to be fined.<sup>12</sup>

On 1 November 1870, the Organic Decree issued by the radical president Eustorgio Salgar opened a remarkable era for education in Colombia, bringing public instruction into a system supervised by the federal government. It sought to extend primary education and to divulge the modern pedagogic methods of the European 'Active School', to standardize textbooks, and to train professional teachers.<sup>13</sup>

The decree intensified the debate over the control of public instruction. Supporters, among them the Archbishop of Bogotá Vicente Arbeláez, saw in it a means to improve popular education, essential for 'civilizing' Colombians. Critics objected to its centralism; to the exclusion of compulsory religious instruction; and to the mandatory schooling of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years. Carlos Bermúdez, bishop of Popayán, backed by the bishops of Medellín and Pasto and with some popular support, led the most intransigent opposition. For many Conservatives an education programme that turned its back on religion would inexorably lead to chaos and corruption. The *Sociedades Católicas* mobilized public opinion against the decree. The president of Antioquia, the Conservative Recaredo de Villa, seized the occasion to urge his fellow partisans in Antioquia, Cauca, and Tolima to combat federal rule.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> At least those of Itagüí, La Ceja, Marinilla, Santa Rosa, and Yarumal did so. E. Mosquera and M. D. Barrera, 'Aspectos institucionales y sociales de la educación en Antioquia, 1830-1870', unpublished paper, Programa Formación de Formadores, FAES/Seducu, n.p., n.d.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by J. C. García, *Historia de la instrucción pública en Antioquia*, 2nd edn. (Medellín, 1962), 108 (first published 1924).

<sup>12</sup> G. M. Arango, *La mentalidad religiosa en Antioquia. Prácticas y discursos, 1828-1885* (Medellín, 1993), 68.

<sup>13</sup> M. C. Herrera, 'La educación en la historia de Colombia', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1992), 66.

<sup>14</sup> J. M. Rausch, *La educación durante el Federalismo. La reforma escolar de 1870* (Bogotá, 1993), 35; J. Meyer Loy, 'Primary Education during the Colombian Federation: The School Reform of 1870', *HAHR*, 51/2 (May, 1971), 278-80.

None the less, having already made some headway themselves towards educational improvements, the states of Antioquia and Santander made the best use of the reform. Initially, the bishop of Antioquia followed the zealous opposition line of his Popayán counterpart. Under Berrío's rule, Antioquia, unlike the other states, rejected the national Organic Decree and issued its own modified version in December 1870. This included religion and morals in the official curriculum, thus avoiding the clash with the Church that the decree generated in other regions, and enabling the state to make some progress in public instruction.<sup>15</sup> In 1874 there were 1,627 schools in Colombia. The highest number, 417, a quarter of the national total, were located in Antioquia, followed by Cundinamarca with 347. Antioquia also had the highest number of pupils, 19,791, out of a total of 80,718 for the country, followed by Cundinamarca with 16,656.<sup>16</sup>

For the educational reform, the central government hired nine German educationists, one for each state, who were entrusted with the creation of Normal Schools for the training of teachers by the Pestalozzi method. In Antioquia this measure encouraged teaching vocations, particularly of young women, who came to see teaching as an attractive profession.<sup>17</sup>

The reform came to a sudden but temporary halt in July 1876, when civil unrest in Cauca and Tolima brought the closure of public schools. In the early 1880s the reform lost momentum, and it finally succumbed to the attack of the Regeneration movement, headed by the Cartageno president, Rafael Núñez, backed by a group of Conservatives and independent Liberals. Both the 1886 Constitution, with its orthodox Catholic base, and the Concordat signed with the Holy See in 1887, reflected Núñez's view of education, under the proper supervision of the Church, as a source of stability and social cohesion. Six articles of this Concordat, in effect until the constitutional reform of 1936, aided the expansion of Catholic education in Colombia. Articles 10 and 11 dealt specifically with religious congregations. Article 12, inspired by article 41 of the national Constitution, stated that all levels of public instruction were to be organized according to Catholic dogma and morals. Parish priests were an important aid to this end: they could supervise local teachers and make sure that Catholic views prevailed in the school

<sup>15</sup> R. Silva, 'La educación en Colombia, 1880-1930', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 4 (Bogotá, 1989), 65-6.

<sup>16</sup> *Anuario Estadístico Nacional*, 1875 (Bogotá, 1875), 78.

<sup>17</sup> Meyer Loy, 'Primary Education during the Colombian Federation', 275-94.

system, in accordance with Article 14 of the Concordat. Bishops could exert pressure on the government to remove unsuitable teachers. Several laws issued after the Concordat made it a requisite for any official grant that a school should operate in accordance with the Church's precepts.<sup>18</sup>

In some Colombian cities, civilians, government officials, bishops, and parish priests continued to invite foreign teaching religious congregations.<sup>19</sup> The most important efforts came from Medellín, Popayán, and Pasto. Besides contributing with their expertise, these communities required lower salaries than lay teachers and usually supplemented their income from the Church's coffers or from other activities.<sup>20</sup>

The majority of teaching religious communities established in Colombia opened their own schools, and were dedicated mostly to secondary education or to training poor children in various arts and crafts. Law 89 of 1888 authorized the official funding of secondary schools run by religious communities.<sup>21</sup>

Camilo Botero Guerra's *Anuario Estadístico* of 1888 confirms Antioquia's first place in schooling in the country, and shows the department's interest in educating women. The yearly expenditure on public and private primary education for girls surpassed that for boys, for there were more schools for girls. Besides, a third of the teachers were women.<sup>22</sup> Manuel Uribe Ángel wrote at the same time that the people of Santa Rosa were passionate for learning, 'so much, that there are few who can not read and write'.<sup>23</sup> The proportion of primary school pupils in the top ten departments in Colombia in 1893 was 3.6 per cent,

<sup>18</sup> R. V. Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education, 1886-1930. In Search of a Tradition', Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University, 1974), 29.

<sup>19</sup> Some of the invitations to settle in different countries of the world received by European religious communities during the second half of the nineteenth century came at a timely hour considering the impressive growth of some of these congregations, especially of the female ones. See: M. L. Anderson, 'The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *The Historical Journal*, 38/3 (1995); F. Lannon, '1998 and the Politics of Catholic Identity in Spain', Nineteenth-Century History Workshop Conference 'The Politics of Religion', *Institute of Latin American Studies* (London, 22 May 1998). In 1823-4 the 25 largest female congregations in France had 7,765 members, in 1861 they had increased to 37,800; and by 1878 had reached 76,000. See: C. Langlois, *Le catholicisme au féminin. Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXème siècle* (Paris, 1984), 334-5.

<sup>20</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 46-50.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-32, 40, 123-33.

<sup>22</sup> C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico: Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 303.

<sup>23</sup> M. Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia*. Critical edition by R. L. Jaramillo (Medellín, 1985), 219-20 (first published 1885).

whereas in Antioquia it was 5.8 per cent.<sup>24</sup> By 1930, Antioquia still had the highest number of students in the country, 70,798, enrolled in 833 private and official schools for both sexes.<sup>25</sup>

Antioquia emerged less damaged than other regions from the fierce partisan civil wars of 1876, 1885, 1895, and 1899–1902; this last known as the Thousand Days' war. None the less, each of these conflicts forced it to moderate its educational aspirations. Classes were interrupted in wartime, through the recruitment of teachers and pupils, or because schools were closed, often to be turned into barracks.<sup>26</sup>

Law 89 of 1892, implemented in the following year and known as the 'Zerda plan', outlined what were to be the nation's educational policies until the 1920s. The plan separated primary, secondary, and higher education.<sup>27</sup> By 1914, 50 per cent of Antioquia's funding of secondary education went to schools run by religious congregations, parishes, or priests. In his report for 1920, the director of public education noted that in Antioquia official aid to Catholic schools was on the rise.<sup>28</sup> As in the field of welfare, in education there were more nuns than male religious. In addition, several devotional bodies, in particular the señoritas of the *Sociedad del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*, gave some teaching to the destitute and to convicts, while their male counterparts in the Saint Vincent de Paul Society also taught and trained some of the poor.<sup>29</sup>

Antioqueño elementary and secondary schools, both religious and lay, all had a Catholic atmosphere. Most female establishments chose religious names: *Colegio de la Merced, de Santa Teresa, de Los Dolores, del Rosario, de la Concepción, de Maria, del Sagrado Corazón, de Santa Bárbara, de Santa Gerturdis, de La Inmaculada*.<sup>30</sup> This was also the case for male schools: San Ignacio, San José, San Juan Bautista, San Luis. Every institution had to dedicate a number of classes to catechism and religion, and to provide weekly or daily masses, prayers and rosaries, annual spiritual retreats, and special feast days. All schools were closely watched by the Church, which supervised the textbooks and the morals

<sup>24</sup> L. J. Ortiz and L. J. Villegas, 'Aspectos de la educación en Antioquia, 1860–1915', *Ciencias Humanas*, 11 (Medellín, August 1988), 52.

<sup>25</sup> A. López and J. Rodríguez, *Estadísticas de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1915), 78–9.

<sup>26</sup> J. Mejía y Mejía recalls '... the compulsory recruiting of young lads who came to market, or who were even hunted like animals in their dwellings in the countryside' in his autobiography *Historias médicas de una vida y de una región* (Medellín, 1960), 46.

<sup>27</sup> M. C. Herrera, 'La educación en la historia de Colombia', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1992), 67.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 143.

<sup>29</sup> See: Ch. 3 on devotional associations.

<sup>30</sup> F. Duque Betancur, *Historia del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1967), 1091–6.

of teachers and directors. It was reasoned that private schools dealt with the public, and therefore had also to teach in accordance with the Concordat and the Constitution. A school's application for a government authorization to issue official diplomas had to be accompanied by the written approval of the corresponding ecclesiastical authority.<sup>31</sup> The group pictures of teachers and students, much in vogue in those times, clearly show the religious ambience of these schools.<sup>32</sup>

Law 39 of 1903, drawn up by Antonio José Uribe, in charge of the new *Ministerio de Instrucción y Salud Pública* created by national President José Manuel Marroquín, embodied the Antioqueño aspiration for progress and order under the aegis of Catholicism. The law ratified control of the Church, as well as the ban on co-education. It also provided for a more pragmatic and technical instruction.

The renovating pedagogical movement of the New or Active School, with its sights set on the formation of an individual better adapted to an industrial and urban environment, received a somewhat shy welcome in Colombia in the first decades of the century. In 1911 the *Colegio de María*, founded five years earlier in Yarumal, Antioquia, by the young lawyer Pedro Pablo Betancour, under the direction of María Rojas Tejada, opened the first kindergarten in Colombia. The theories of the German pedagogue Fröebel were put into practice there and a commendation by the internationally prominent educator Ovidio Delacroly attested to its success.<sup>33</sup> In 1914 the Gimnasio Moderno in Bogotá adopted the methods of María Montessori and the New School.

At the end of the 1910s, a handful of keen young Colombian intellectuals identified themselves with the objectives of the student movement of Córdoba, Argentina, which strove for university autonomy, uncensored teaching, religious tolerance, and an approximation to the modern expressions of the arts and letters. In the mid-1920s, a group of doctors, educators, and politicians from both parties, among them the Antioqueños Luis López de Mesa and Tomás Cadavid Restrepo, stressed the urgency of adapting education to the new realities of the country. They saw the need to form more socially involved citizens and

<sup>31</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 123-36, 153.

<sup>32</sup> In 1934, Francisco Mejía photographed the students of the San José School, founded in Medellín in 1890 by the French Christian Brothers, while they stoically knelt on a cobble yard.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted by S. Gallego Fernández, *Dejad a los niños . . . Una larga jornada de amor a la niñez, 1908-87* (Medellín, 1987), 19-21.



to meet the demand for new professionals and workers for factories, offices, shops, and other modern establishments.<sup>34</sup>

In 1903 the central government decreed that all departments were to have two Normal Schools, one for each sex. It took four years to obtain a teacher's diploma. In 1913, according to the statistics of Alejandro López and Jorge Rodríguez, Antioquia led the country in the number of pupils and schools, taking private and public instruction together. Out of the total of 291,663 pupils, a quarter, 70,798 corresponded to Antioquia. The department had 833 schools, almost a fifth of the national total of 4,372.<sup>35</sup>

During the early decades of the twentieth century the number of literate artisans and workers in Antioquia was high for Colombian standards. In the list of artisans—classified by occupation—that could read, published in the *Anuario Estadístico de Medellín* for 1916, the lowest literacy rate (66 per cent) corresponded to masons. Carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, barbers, and silversmiths were above the 90 per cent figure. Among women workers, those who worked in processing had the lowest rate (42 per cent) and cigarette-makers the highest (95 per cent). These percentages compare advantageously with the 1912 national rate of 30 per cent of literacy.<sup>36</sup> Of course, literacy did not entirely depend on school attendance as many children were educated informally. According to the national census of 1918, the literacy level of Antioqueños surpassed by 30 per cent the national average. Antioquia's increased spending on education until at least 1930, coincided with the expansion of the coffee-growing industry.<sup>37</sup>

In the first decades of the century, growing numbers of middle-class Medellín students, and students arrived from the smaller towns of the department, were obtaining university degrees. In 1917 Medellín had 73 lawyers, 61 engineers, 56 physicians, and 37 dentists.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Herrera, 'La educación en la historia de Colombia', 67–9.

<sup>35</sup> *Estadísticas de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1915), 78–9.

<sup>36</sup> H. D. Villegas Gómez, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890–1930* (Medellín, 1990), 130–1. For comparison, in Argentina the literacy rate in 1899 was 45% and in Cuba 1895, 36%. See: C. Newland, 'La educación elemental en Hispanoamérica desde la Independencia hasta la centralización de los sistemas educativos nacionales', *HAHR*, 71/2 (1991), 335–64.

<sup>37</sup> Paul McGreevy noted the relation between coffee and literacy in: *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930* (Cambridge, 1971), 234.

<sup>38</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, 'Vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890–1940', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 426.

## EDUCATION WAS SOCIALLY VALUED

The budgets assigned to education provide a measure of the degree of attention it received. In 1880, Manuel Uribe Ángel calculated that private and public expenditure on education in Antioquia amounted to 161,000 pesos, approximately 0.34 pesos per capita.<sup>39</sup> By 1910, this figure was 0.73 pesos per capita compared with 0.42 for the national mean, and 2.56 pesos for Germany and 1.09 for France.<sup>40</sup>

Education brought pride along with it. Posing with a book was common in early twentieth-century pictures, particularly for señoritas, as may be seen in the photographs of Benjamín de la Calle. During President Rafael Reyes's visit to Medellín in 1909, the schools of the city were prominent, and pupils paraded before him in their gala uniforms.<sup>41</sup>

But instruction, private or official, lay or religious, also meant formalities and strict codes of discipline. Early twentieth-century photographs of groups of students and teachers in Medellín depict the strict sense of orderliness and discipline of those times. Teaching aids were meagre. Almost everything was learned by loud repetition by the whole class until it was memorized, and slow students were helped with the cane. Jaime Mejía y Mejía remembers his 'first encounter with civilization' when, as a 12-year-old boy, his father sent him to the public school in Salamina. He savoured the 'city splendour' of living in a 'town house' and even wearing 'badly broken-in boots', but tasted the rigours of Don Joaquín Vásquez's Lancasterian school. He recollects the only classroom, where children of all ages were taught; the teacher's table on the low platform, the blackboard, the crucifix, the maps, and a placard that read, 'La letra con sangre entra. José Lancaster' ('The ABC has to be learned with blood').<sup>42</sup> Monitors directed their groups simultaneously:

And, as if to a command, the three hundred voices present in the schoolroom would burst aloud in unison. You studied at full bellow, and from a distance of eight blocks you could hear something like a constant thunder, the uproar of this concert or, better still, of this schoolboys' unconcert.<sup>43</sup>

Whatever its effects, education was socially valued above any political creed. Through the 1860s and 1870s the *Boletín Oficial* published

<sup>39</sup> Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general*, critical edn. by R. L. Jaramillo, 426.

<sup>40</sup> A. López and J. Rodríguez, *Estadísticas de Antioquia*, 88.

<sup>41</sup> P. A. Pedraza, *Excursiones presidenciales. Apuntes de un diario de un viaje* (Norwood, Mass., 1909), 160-1.

<sup>42</sup> *Historias médicas de una vida y de una región* (Medellín, 1960), 39-40.

<sup>43</sup> Mejía y Mejía, *Historias médicas*, 40-1.

monthly lists of truant pupils in the *Colegio del Estado*, as well as academic records, exam dates, disciplinary faults, and expulsions. At mid-term and year-end it published a more detailed table with the name, course, attendance, conduct, and grades of all the pupils. Sometimes there appeared tables and lists of the conduct and performance of those attending elementary parish schools in rural towns. Final examinations were solemn public events.<sup>44</sup> Those of the first graduate class from the *Escuela Normal de Antioquia*, created in 1873 by two Catholic educators brought from Germany by the state, were presided over by the president of the state and his *secretario de gobierno*.<sup>45</sup>

The lists of virtues produced in acts of homage to, or on the death of, local notabilities, preserved in travellers' accounts and in the reports of prefects and inspectors, usually mention the Antioqueños' love of instruction. Contemporary city guides and albums included pictures taken by the most prestigious local photographers, portraying scenes from educational institutions: groups of pupils and teachers, new buildings, libraries, dormitories, and classes.

The number of teachers, particularly female teachers, rose during the period. And the status of teaching also improved, even though the poverty of some districts, usually manifest in a chronic delay in paying wages, meant that many a teacher lived and worked in difficult conditions.<sup>46</sup> The dignified poses and airs of the female teachers photographed by Benjamín de la Calle at the turn of the century, like the one he took of Dolores Uruburu, from Santa Rosa de Osos, suggest how proud they were of their profession.<sup>47</sup> Among the academics of the University of Antioquia, that 'torch of knowledge', were the 'most conspicuous people of their times'.<sup>48</sup> Some taught because they had the leisure; others through necessity or a strong sense of duty. In the newspapers *El Monitor*, the 'official journal of public instruction' issued weekly from 1872 to 1876, and *El Preceptor*, a fortnightly from 1877 to

<sup>44</sup> *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 1870-6).

<sup>45</sup> O. Agudelo Arenas, 'Las Escuelas Normales en el Estado Soberano de Antioquia durante gobierno de Pedro Justo Berrío, 1864-73', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993), 140.

<sup>46</sup> Teachers' working conditions are described in P. Cardona Zuluaga P. and A. Rendón Álvarez, 'Las maestras en Antioquia, 1870-1900', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Kept in CMV, FAES.

<sup>48</sup> Among them Pedro Justo Berrío, Marceliano Vélez, Rafael Uribe Uribe, Fidel Cano, Román de Hoyos, Carlos E. Restrepo, Pedro Nel Ospina. See: V. M. Álvarez, 'La educación superior en Medellín, 1803-1990', in *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 594.

1885, both printed in Medellín, teachers published articles that showed how up to date they were in the literary, philosophical, and pedagogical innovations introduced in other countries, especially in Europe.

#### RELIGIOUS TEACHING COMMUNITIES

According to the *Anuario de la Iglesia en Colombia*, issued in 1938, 83 per cent of secondary schools in Colombia, 76 per cent of commercial schools, and 40 per cent of arts and crafts training centres in the country were under the direct influence of religious teaching communities.<sup>49</sup>

The number of educational institutions under religious orders mentioned in a miscellany of sources adds up to a preliminary total of 217 for the whole country, of which 151 were run by nuns, and 66 by male religious. Antioquia had a total of 101 of these establishments, with proportions of 57 directed by nuns, and 24 by male religious, which put it ahead of the other departments in this field. It was followed by Cundinamarca with a total of 36, the Santanderes with 22, and Boyacá with 17.<sup>50</sup>

Eleven of the twenty female religious communities and seven of the ten male communities that settled in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930 were in charge of educational establishments scattered in thirty-nine different towns. Medellín concentrated the highest number of teaching congregations, nine, followed by San Pedro and Santa Rosa de Osos

<sup>49</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 174.

<sup>50</sup> Since the survey was done in more detail for Antioquia, the figures for other regions are probably incomplete. The thesis '¿Quién ha educado la mujer colombiana?' submitted by Sister Teresa de la Inmaculada to the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, published in Bogotá in 1960, and the Ph.D. thesis 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education: 1886-1930, in Search of a Tradition' submitted to Columbia University, New York, in 1974 by Robert Vincent Farrell, both provide a panoramic view of schools opened in Colombia by religious communities. However, other contemporary sources show that the number of schools was larger. See: *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927); *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); *Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Presentación*, 'Libro de establecimientos'; F. Duque Betancur, *Historia del departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1967); A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952); Hermanos Florencio Rafael Andrés Bernardo, *Bodas de diamante, 1890-1965* (Bogotá, 1965); C. González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria 1880-1950', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2, (Medellín, 1996); 'Hace 90 años llegaron a Antioquia las Salesianas', *El Colombiano* (Medellín, 4 August 1996), 10B; *Instrucción Pública*, 2/23 and 24 (Medellín, May 1919), 773-4; Sor V. Parra Pérez, FMA, *Memorias. Inspectoría San Pedro Claver, 1897-1946* (Bogotá, 1998); Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y en Centroamérica después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896).

with four each, Jericó with three, Concordia, Marinilla, and Yarumal with two each. Another thirty-two towns had one teaching religious community each.<sup>51</sup>

With the opening of the Presentation School in Medellín in 1880, the Sisters of Charity became the first congregation to assume teaching duties in Antioquia during the second half of the nineteenth century. Next came the Jesuits, who opened the San Ignacio School in 1886 to some 200 students. During the same decade the Eudists established a seminary in Santa Fe de Antioquia, and in the 1910s they took charge of three other seminaries in Santa Rosa de Osos, San Pedro, and Jericó. In the 1890s the Company of Mary founded the Enseñanza School for upper-class girls and a free school for poor girls in Medellín; and the Christian Brothers their first two schools in Antioquia. In the 1900s it was the turn of the Salesian Sisters, who instructed girls of lower strata. In the following decades the list of congregations teaching in Antioquia grew longer: in the 1910s the Salesian Brothers, the Capuchine Sisters, the Vincentian and Bethlehemite Sisters; in the 1920s, the Daughters of Wisdom, the *Terciarias Dominicanas*, and the Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters; and in 1930, the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society. Some of the institutions were free schools for low-income children; some sponsored by the government; others by private initiative. They included boarding schools and day schools, and offered elementary or secondary education.<sup>52</sup>

At the national level, the French Presentation Sisters, already pioneers in the terrain of welfare, were not only the first but the most influential in education. By 1930 they were teaching in at least 76 institutions, located in Cundinamarca, the Santanderes, Tolima, Boyacá, the Caribbean coast, and the territory of San Martín.<sup>53</sup>

In Antioquia the Sisters opened 25 schools located in 20 towns, which placed them ahead of the congregations teaching in the region. They were followed by the Christian Brothers with 15 schools, the Salesian Sisters with 7, the Capuchine Sisters, the Carmelite Missionary Sisters,

<sup>51</sup> See: Appendix 5: 'Educational institutions under female religious communities in Antioquia, 1880-1930' and Appendix 6: 'Educational institutions under male religious communities in Antioquia, 1886-1930'.

<sup>52</sup> A. Helg, *La educación en Colombia, 1918-57* (Bogotá, 1987), 67.

<sup>53</sup> Sources: *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de Presentación, 'Libro de establecimientos'; A. J. Gómez, *Monografía eclesiástica y civil de Medellín por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952); Hermana T. de la Inmaculada, *¿Quién ha educado la mujer colombiana?* (Bogotá, 1960); V. Parra Pérez, *Inspección San Pedro Claver, 1897-1946* (Bogotá, 1998).

and the Eudist Fathers with 4 each, the Company of Mary with 3, the Vincentian Sisters, the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society, and the Salesian Brothers with two each. The Jesuits, the Bethlehemite Sisters, the Daughters of Wisdom, the *Terciarias Dominicanas*, and the Claretians, each had one school in Antioquia.<sup>54</sup>

From the turn of the century onwards, the wealthy and comfortably-off families of the main towns of Antioquia were accustomed to educate their daughters in the *María Auxiliadora*, or in other schools run by the Presentation Sisters.<sup>55</sup> These included a choice of boarding or day schools, which offered an elementary course and four years of superior, later called secondary, school, with commercial and normal programmes.<sup>56</sup> The curriculum in the Presentation Schools had emphasis in *puericultura*, 'paediatrics': the girls received sewing lessons, learned to embroider delicate samplers, and were taught notions of modern hygiene, and 'arts and decoration'.<sup>57</sup> In 1912 the Sisters opened in Medellín the *Pensionado Francés* for the French and English languages. In 1924 they moved it to the barrio Los Angeles, site of the novitiate. These Sisters also ran free schools for the poor, such as the Santa Inés School, founded in the same neighbourhood in 1930.<sup>58</sup>

The contract signed in 1885 between the Jesuits and the department for the opening of the Saint Ignatius School in Medellín was particularly generous to the order. The government paid for the salaries and the equipment, and awarded a monthly allowance to the school, and the order enjoyed complete educational independence.<sup>59</sup> By 1934 this school had enrolled a total of 15,639 pupils and had awarded degrees to 729, ranking second in Colombia after the 1,190 degrees from another Jesuit school, San Bartolomé, in Bogotá.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See: Appendices 5 and 6. <sup>55</sup> Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 67–8.

<sup>56</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 113–15.

<sup>57</sup> Helg, *La educación en Colombia*, 68; C. González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria, 1880–1950', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 751. When Vicente Restrepo was 14 years old, he was admitted to the Christian Brothers' school in Passy, France, where he studied during the next four years. In his autobiography he recalls: 'There I received teachings and examples that moulded my character, in such a way that neither time nor events had erased them.' See: *Don Vicente Restrepo. Apuntes autobiográficos con cometarios y notas del padre Daniel Restrepo, SJ*, (Bogotá, 1939), 12–14.

<sup>58</sup> González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria', 751.

<sup>59</sup> García, *Historia de la instrucción pública en Antioquia*, 160–6; Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 65.

<sup>60</sup> J. M. Fernández and R. Granados, SJ, *Obra civilizadora de la Iglesia en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1936), quoted by Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 65.

Among the male teaching congregations active in Colombia, the French *Hermanos Cristianos de la Congregación de Juan Bautista de la Salle* stand out. Inviting the Brothers to Medellín began in 1883 with the creation of the *Instituto de Educación Cristiana*, a society promoted by Bishop Ignacio Montoya, an admirer of the normal and technical schools run by the La Salle Brothers in France. The efforts of the Institute, Bishop Montoya, and Colombia's representative in Rome, Joaquín Vélez, led to the signing of a contract on 20 December 1887 between the bishop and the Christian Brothers, who agreed to send a director and six brothers to Medellín. Three of them were French, two from Pasto and Ipiales in southern Colombia, and one from Ecuador. The Brothers were provided with travel expenses and a grant for settling in, customs exemption for the import of their equipment, and metal and wood for the workshops where they were to teach smithery, carpentry, tailoring, agriculture, printing, and mechanics.<sup>61</sup> Most other contracts with religious communities during the period were between Colombian government officials and the congregations. Funding for the Institute and to bring the Christian Brothers to Medellín came mainly from the Church. Educational and administrative independence were guaranteed, travel expenses covered, and each Brother was offered a monthly salary of 32 pesos.<sup>62</sup>

In 1890 the Christian Brothers opened the San José School, with 173 students, and the Beato Juan Bautista de la Salle free school for lower-class boys, the latter sponsored by the departmental government.<sup>63</sup> The San José School started in an old house located in calle Girardot, and a year later moved to a larger house on the corner of calles Bolívar and Caracas, where it remained until the 1950s, when a modern school was built in the hills to the east of Medellín. The school prided itself on the intellectual, scientific, moral, religious, and social instruction it gave.<sup>64</sup> According to the school's bulletin, issued quarterly from 1919, it aspired to produce Christian 'caballeros', 'men of action with a love of work and public peace', instead of 'charlatans' and 'free-riders of progress'.

In the Lasallista schools, mathematics, sciences, and commercial subjects were important, along with the study of English and French. The

<sup>61</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 68–84; J. F. Córdoba Restrepo, 'Las comunidades religiosas masculinas en Antioquia, 1885–1950', research report Fundación presented to the Fundación para la Promoción de la Investigación y la Tecnología, Banco de la República (Bogotá, April 1999), ch. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 68–71.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Boletín del Colegio de San José*, 1/1 (Medellín, July 1919), 3, quoted by Córdoba Restrepo, 'Las comunidades religiosas masculinas en Antioquia', ch. 2.

congregation brought from France their *bachiller moderno*, or high-school science diploma, which came to be accepted as the equivalent to a secondary education certificate. From 1904 the Brothers had government authorization to award the *Bachiller en Ciencias* and the *Bachiller en Filosofía y Letras* high-school degrees. The San José School became famous for its Natural History Museum, opened in 1913 by Brother Nicéforo María. By the time he left in 1922 the museum had a rich collection of birds, insects, fungi, minerals, and plants he had gathered on excursions with his pupils. The museum was visited by national and foreign naturalists, among them members of the American Museum of Natural History of New York.<sup>65</sup> Several Christian Brothers became influential authors in the fields of zoology, botany, and geography. Physical and natural sciences were taught in the museum, in the physics and chemistry labs, on outings to the countryside, and on visits to mines and factories.<sup>66</sup> Students created the *Academia Cuervo* for the study of philosophy and literature, and a *Sociedad de Idiomas Anglo-francesa*. The school's bulletin announced in 1925 the acquisition of twelve Remington typewriters.<sup>67</sup>

Discipline was strict. Boarding students were not allowed to become day pupils in mid-term. All students were obliged to hear Mass at school, and to attend processions and other religious ceremonies in which the school took part. The opening of the spiritual exercises was presided over by the archbishop. Every student had a special notebook for homework. Emulation was prompted through honour lists, and weekly, monthly, and yearly prizes. The curriculum included physical education—the football and basketball teams all had English names. President Pedro Nel Ospina's visit to the school in 1922 was marked by a gymnastic display, a flag parade, and a choir that sang in English, French, and Spanish, the three languages taught at the school.<sup>68</sup> The San José School stood for literary taste, proper usage in the spoken and written language, wholesome posture and personal hygiene, and taught boys to abstain from 'anything that might vex their fellow men'. In 1910 its 554 enrolled students made it the largest school run by a religious

<sup>65</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 72, 82.

<sup>66</sup> Helg, *La educación en Colombia*, 81; D. Obregón, 'Academias científicas', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1992), 120–2; Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 82.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted by Córdoba Restrepo, 'Las comunidades religiosas masculinas en Antioquia', ch 2.

<sup>68</sup> Córdoba Restrepo, 'Las comunidades religiosas masculinas en Antioquia', ch. 2.



community in all Colombia, followed by the La Salle School in Bogotá, with 247 students.

By 1930 the Christian Brothers had three other educational establishments in Medellín: the Juan Bautista de la Salle school; the Sagrado Corazón free school; and the Plaza de Flórez workshops, besides schools in eight other Antioqueño towns. In 1895 the San José School in Sonsón, aided by the department, began issuing a 'modern high-school and commercial studies' diploma. By 1935, a plaque hung in one of its classrooms listed the names of 18 engineers, 14 priests, 13 lawyers, and 6 physicians graduated there. The Brothers ran at least another fifteen schools in Cundinamarca, Santander, Tolima, Atlántico, and Bolívar.<sup>69</sup>

In 1899, a group of nuns from the Enseñanza School in Bogotá, run by the Company of Mary, travelled to Medellín to open a school under the same name.<sup>70</sup> The local press praised their innovations, their amicable 'student debates' or literary events, and their annual closing ceremonies. The curriculum included piano, cooking, accounting, and sewing. The best students were rewarded with weekly 'tickets' and a place on the quarterly honour rolls. Besides the Enseñanza School, the nuns kept a free Sunday School for poor girls and maintained a novitiate.<sup>71</sup>

The second largest number of schools founded in Antioquia during the period under study, after those of the Presentation Sisters, were run by Italian Daughters of Mary, well-known educators locally called the Salesian Sisters.<sup>72</sup> In 1906 they founded in Medellín the *Casa Taller de*

<sup>69</sup> *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927); *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); R. V. Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education'; A. J. Gómez, *Monografías eclesiástica y civil de Medellín por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952); C. González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria 1880-1950', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1996); Hermanos Florencio Rafael and Andrés Bernardo, *Bodas de diamante, 1890-1965* (Bogotá, 1965); R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y en Centroamérica después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896).

<sup>70</sup> After several decades of negotiations, the Company of Mary, of French origin, authorized the santaferenaña doña Clemencia de Caycedo to open the Enseñanza convent and school in Bogotá in 1783. The foundation was made exclusively with local novices who adopted the rules of the Company of Mary, an order which had previous teaching experience in Europe, Haiti, and the Viceroyalty of New Spain. See: P. Foz y Foz, ODN, *Mujer y educación en Colombia, siglos XVI-XIX. Aportaciones del Colegio de La Enseñanza, 1783-1900* (Bogotá, 1997), 187.

<sup>71</sup> Foz y Foz, P., ODN (ed.), *Fuentes primarias para la historia de la educación de la mujer en Europa y en América. Archivos históricos de la Compañía de Nuestra Señora, 1607-1921* (Roma, 1989), 582, 1061; Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 75.

<sup>72</sup> Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias*, 70-5.

*María Auxiliadora*, which provided shelter and instruction in useful arts to poor girls.<sup>73</sup> In that same year the Sisters took charge of a free girls' school in the barrio Gerona, on the eastern slopes of Medellín.<sup>74</sup> By 1918 it had 320 students.<sup>75</sup> One of the most notable works of the Salesian Sisters in Antioquia was the opening of the *María Auxiliadora School* in Medellín in January 1915. It had a nursery school for both boys and girls, six levels of elementary school, three levels of domestic economy, besides giving lessons in music, languages, and manual arts and crafts. Some years later the school offered the *Certificado de Educación Suficiente*, a degree similar to the one issued by the *Escuela Normal de Señoritas*.<sup>76</sup> Sor Honorina Lanfranco, proclaiming that 'to have effect upon a society you start by taking hold of its children', began to introduce the Montessori method for kindergartens.<sup>77</sup> The nursery school programme adopted in the school received recognition from the Director of Public Instruction in Antioquia; the *Revista Departamental de Instrucción Pública* in March 1919 published her account of it.<sup>78</sup> An exchange of letters between the Sister and Archbishop Caycedo some years later shows her receiving severe reprimand for allowing 'modern' notions into her teaching theories and methods.<sup>79</sup>

By 1930 the Salesian Sisters were running other secondary schools for girls in La Ceja (1912), Santa Rosa de Osos (1915), Santuario (1922), and Concordia (1923),<sup>80</sup> and in at least nineteen more in Colombian towns outside Antioquia.<sup>81</sup>

The Salesian Brothers, entrusted by their founder with the training of poor boys in some craft, figure among the main educators in Colombia during the Regeneration, not so much for their numbers but

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 75; Helg, *La educación en Colombia*, 80–1.

<sup>74</sup> P. Castro Hernández, 'Las comunidades religiosas femeninas en Antioquia, 1876–1940', research report Fundación to the Fundación para la Promoción de la Investigación y la Tecnología, Banco de la República (Bogotá, April 1999), ch. 4.

<sup>75</sup> Castro Hernández, 'Las comunidades religiosas femeninas en Antioquia', 122.

<sup>76</sup> *Informe del director de Instrucción Pública al señor gobernador para la Asamblea de 1918* (Medellín, 1918), 178.

<sup>77</sup> Sor Honorina Lanfranco quoted in *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 1/7 (August 1918).

<sup>78</sup> González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria', 753.

<sup>79</sup> See: Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 324–5.

<sup>80</sup> See: Appendix 5: 'Educational institutions under female religious communities in Antioquia, 1880–1930'.

<sup>81</sup> *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); Archivo Privencial de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia, Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948); Hermana Teresa de la Inmaculada, *¿Quién ha educado la mujer colombiana?* (Bogotá, 1960).

for providing technical and general instruction to the working classes.<sup>82</sup> In 1915 the Salesians founded in Medellín the Sufragio Institute, a technical school that offered printing, bookbinding, photography, mechanics, carpentry, and tailoring courses. After the creation of the Sufragio parish, which was entrusted to them, the Salesian Brothers established the *Oratorios festivos*: Sunday and holiday lessons to educate the poor in religion, games, and sports, and the theatrical arts. These soon involved as many as 2,000 working-class students. The Brothers extended their influence as chaplains in various other schools.<sup>83</sup>

In the 1910s the Spanish Capuchine Sisters, previously established in Riohacha, Guajira, founded the *Colegio de la Merced* in Yarumal, and in the next decade Sagrada Familia Schools in Urrao and in Santa Rosa de Osos. The Vincentian Sisters founded girls' schools in Andes and Caramanta. The Bethlehemite Sisters, who had established schools in Santander, Nariño, Cundinamarca, and Cauca in the early 1900s, opened one school in Antioquia, in San Pedro. The Madre Laura Missionary Sisters opened several schools in their missions in north-western Antioquia during the 1910s and 1920s: a school for Indian children in Dabeiba, home lessons for Indians in El Pital and Antadó, free schools in Rioverde and Turbo, and a boarding school for Indian children in San Pedro. The latter moved to Santa Fe de Antioquia in 1927.<sup>84</sup>

From 1920 to 1930 the Daughters of Wisdom opened a school for blind and deaf-and-dumb girls in Medellín. The Discalced Carmelite Sisters took over the school for Indian children previously established by the Lauritas, opened a noviciate and the Santa Teresa School in Frontino, a free school for girls in San José de Urama, two frontier towns in the north-west, and in 1930 they started another girls school in San Jerónimo. The Spanish Claretians founded yet another free school in Puerto Berrío; and the *Terciarias Dominicanas* ran a school in Valparaíso, a town founded by settlers to the south-west. In 1930 the

<sup>82</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 85.

<sup>83</sup> A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952), 62-4.

<sup>84</sup> L. Montoya Upegui, *Autobiografía de la Madre Laura de Santa Catalina ó Historia de las misericordias de Dios en un alma* (Medellín, 1991) and *La aventura misional en Dabeiba* (Madrid, 1962), 338; M. T. Lopera M., Hermana, 'Reseña histórica de la Congregación de María Inmaculada y Santa Catalina de Siena', *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Historia Eclesiástica*, 34 (Medellín, 1976); J. Botero Restrepo, 'La Sierva de Dios, Madre Laura de Santa Catalina, 1874-1949', *Los diez grandes evangelizadores de Colombia* (Caracas, 1987), 104.

French Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society opened the Sagrado Corazón School for upper-class girls in El Poblado, a fashionable suburb in the outskirts of Medellín.<sup>85</sup>

Several generations of Antioqueño boys and girls were exposed to French culture through secondary schools, as some of the most prominent religious congregations teaching in the region were French: the Presentation Sisters, the Good Shepherd Sisters, the Enseñanza Nuns, the Vincentian Sisters, the Daughters of Wisdom, and the Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Society, as well as the Eudists, the Christian Brothers, and the Marists. Students received some of their classes in French, some from native French teachers. The pupils used French textbooks and some at the end could carry on a conversation in that language. In the cultural events at the San José School, they sang *La Marseillaise*.<sup>86</sup> French culture also filtered through the manners taught in school, with special emphasis put on neat handwriting, although calligraphy techniques mostly came from England. A fondness for reading and careful expression were also encouraged.<sup>87</sup>

In 1929, former president Carlos E. Restrepo extolled the educational work of the Presentation Sisters in Antioquia in a letter he wrote on the death of Sor María del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, Sister Sagrado. This French nun had arrived in Medellín with the first group of sisters in the 1870s, when she was aged 25. Restrepo notes that in 1883, when Roberto MacDouall ridiculed the pedantry and shallowness imparted in the Normal Schools in his famous poem 'El joven Arturo',<sup>88</sup> the Presentation School in Medellín was offering, under Sister Sagrado's guidance and in a strict atmosphere of discipline, religious instruction that did not fail to pay attention to intellectual development, urbanity, and manual dexterity. According to Restrepo,

Criticisms can be made, without being unfair, of the women of our Mountain, particularly those of the last century . . . it cannot be denied that they were somewhat rough and deficient . . . in their manners, movements, voices, and conversation . . ., in their whole appearance. From the start, the profound and wholesome modification that Sister Sagrado instilled into . . . our countrywomen could be seen [. . .] From austere, indeed, but sometimes not very agreeable virtues, she created pleasant, merry, communicative, and luminous ones. She

<sup>85</sup> *Antioquia por María*, 89 (Medellín, February 1930), 1408.

<sup>86</sup> *Boletín del Colegio de San José*, 5/17 (Medellín, July 1923), 292.

<sup>87</sup> Helg, *La educación en Colombia*, 82.

<sup>88</sup> See: P. Londoño, 'Educación femenina en Colombia, 1780-1880', *BCB*, 31/37 (1994), 57-9.

even taught us to change the medieval idea of sainthood—one of her favourite sayings was: 'A sad saint is a sad saint'.<sup>89</sup>

And, 'Carlosé' concluded, 'Thus understood and practised, immigration ceases to appear as a problem with some worrisome angles concerning our tranquility and sovereignty, and turns out to be a phenomenon of incalculable benefit.'

To ascribe to those times the current distinction between official and private schools would be misleading, since enrolment in the official ones was not free, and the state commonly placed the direction of publicly-founded schools in the hands of private individuals or religious communities.<sup>90</sup> The national, state, and local governments gave financial aid to religious teaching congregations through donations, and gifts of land, buildings, and materials in remission of custom duties on educational materials, and most importantly in grants and in scholarships.<sup>91</sup> In 1914, over 50 per cent of Antioquia's aid to secondary education went to schools directed by religious communities or by priests. The 1920 report of the director of public education indicated that in Antioquia aid to Catholic schools was on the increase as new schools were opened. Many of these schools received monthly sums from municipal governments and in departmental aid.<sup>92</sup>

The warm and multitudinous welcomes given to the religious communities on their arrival in Antioqueño towns gave proof of the high expectations raised by them. Regarding instruction, congregations left a deep imprint in the region, even though the number of establishments run by sisters, nuns, monks, and fathers was relatively low.<sup>93</sup> In their schools they paid special attention to the spiritual, moral, and intellec-

<sup>89</sup> 'Un santo triste es un triste santo', see: 'Correspondencia referente a la mujer en el Archivo Carlos E. Restrepo', intro. by J. C. Vélez R., *Estudios Sociales*, 8-9 (Medellín, June 1995), 261-2.

<sup>90</sup> Helg, *La educación en Colombia*, 73-4.

<sup>91</sup> Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 139-40.

<sup>92</sup> Table in: *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 5/56 (December 1914), 441; *Informe del Director General de Instrucción Pública presentado al señor gobernador del Departamento con motivo de la reunión de la Asamblea Departamental de 1920* (Medellín, 1920), 37-42, 23-5, 109-10. In 1908 state aid to the Church in exemptions from customs duties in the diocese of Antioquia amounted to 517.45 pesos, for the Archdiocese of Medellín 510.77 pesos, the latter being third at national level, after Bogotá and Cartagena. See: Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education', 143-8.

<sup>93</sup> This is particularly evident when compared with the high numbers reached in France and other European countries during the Catholic revivals of the nineteenth century. See: M. L. Anderson, 'The Divisions of the Pope', and F. Lannon, '1908 and the Politics of Catholic Identity in Spain', Nineteenth-Century History Workshop Conference 'The Politics of Religion', Institute of Latin American Studies (London, 22 May 1998).

tual growth of students, and inculcated respect for the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION

The history of Antioquia's higher education institutions starts with the *Colegio de Antioquia*, which opened in 1822. It closed down in 1828, to reopen in 1834 as the *Colegio Académico*. The following year, governor Juan de Dios Aranzazu declared himself 'convinced . . . that the studies which are most important to progress in the civilization and industry of Antioquia are chemistry, mineralogy and mechanics', and hired a teacher from Paris to teach those subjects in the *Colegio*.<sup>94</sup>

After interruptions caused by the 1840 civil war and other political upheavals, the *Colegio* enjoyed one of its best periods after Pedro Justo Berrío took over the presidency of the state in 1864, particularly after 1869, when he set his educational reforms in motion. He promoted the study of law and of medicine focused on treating the most commonly-found illnesses and diseases of the natural sciences and of arts and trades that were useful in mining and manufactures, all combined with Catholic doctrine and good manners.<sup>95</sup>

The *Colegio* took the title of University of Antioquia in 1871, and two years later Berrío became rector. Recalling the time he spent studying there in *Hace Tiempos*, Tomás Carrasquilla wrote: 'Until then the University had been un muguero [a dump], a hive of boorishness and vulgarity, but when Berrío came along, he held all the unruly elements in check.'<sup>96</sup>

After Berrío's death, in 1875, and the civil war of 1876, the university was closed down again on a number of occasions by the Radical governments, and forced towards a more secular approach. The disagreements between Liberals and Conservatives were echoed in its classrooms. Enrolment dropped off dramatically. The diary of Justiniano Macía Vélez, who was a judge in several towns, mayor of Medellín, and a magistrate of the court of Antioquia, illustrates the fear that Conservative families felt at the prospect of enrolling their children

<sup>94</sup> H. Restrepo Toro, 'La educación superior', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 369.

<sup>95</sup> By the 1870s, the University was offering professional training in the schools of literature and philosophy, engineering, jurisprudence, and political science, natural sciences, and medicine. See: Pedro Justo Berrío, 'Rector's Report to the Secretary of State, 6 July 1874', transcribed in M. T. Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia, Historia y Presencia* (Medellín, 1998), 120.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted by K. Levy, *Vida y obras de Tomás Carrasquilla* (Medellín, 1958), 190.

in that 'liberal factory'. When his father visited Bishop José Ignacio Montoya, a relative of his mother, to tell him that Justiniano had won a scholarship to go to the university, the bishop answered that he would be exposed to certain moral perversion. It would be far better to enrol him in the seminary, which had good teachers of medicine, law, and engineering.<sup>97</sup>

As a result of the Liberal defeat in the 1885 civil war and the Regeneration that followed after, the university came to be supervised once more by the Catholic Church. It adopted strict rules which banned students from getting involved in politics; criticizing public officers, teachers, and directors; producing periodicals; or attending literary circles.<sup>98</sup>

The triumph of Republicanism, a movement which enjoyed widespread support in Antioquia, during the first twenty years of the twentieth century brought a breath of fresh air to the university. According to one of its most outstanding rectors, the Republican leader Carlos E. Restrepo, whose guidelines on further education were followed for almost half a century, the university should 'train men, citizens who would be capable of developing private initiative, who were endowed with practical knowledge that they could use to tame nature, cultivate it, and make it progress'.<sup>99</sup> The university's premises on the *Plazuela San Ignacio* were refurbished, and the 'beautiful *Paraninfo*' or auditorium, was built, a place which, in the words of the rector of the day, was 'somewhere where we can welcome intellectuals from other places'.<sup>100</sup>

Although the vast majority of the students came from Medellín, around the 1870s some began to come from other Antioqueño towns and to a lesser extent from the states of Cauca, Bolívar, Cundinamarca, and Santander.<sup>101</sup> The memoirs of several graduates recall the jokes and the

<sup>97</sup> R. García Estrada, 'La Universidad o el seminario', *Universidad de Antioquia, Historia y Presencia*, ed. by M. T. Uribe de Hincapié, 152.

<sup>98</sup> Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia*, 160–8.

<sup>99</sup> Quoted by J. C. García, *La Universidad de Antioquia. Bocetos biográficos de los rectores* (Medellín, 1945), 376.

<sup>100</sup> Words by rector Miguel María Calle (1913–21), a naturalist and physician well known for his studies on uncinariasis, quoted by L. F. Molina Londoño, 'Aspectos histórico-constructivos del Edificio de la Universidad de Antioquia en la Plazuela de San Ignacio', unpublished paper (Medellín), 60.

<sup>101</sup> The following towns figure as birthplaces of prominent alumni between the 1870s and 1920s: Abejorral, Amalfi, Andes, Angostura, Bello, Concordia, El Retiro, Envigado, Fredonia, Jardín, Jericó, La Ceja, Marinilla, Remedios, El Retiro, Rionegro, Salamina, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Santa Rosa de Osos, Santo Domingo, Sopetrán, Sonsón, Tamésis,

conflicts that arose between *raizales* (those who were Medellín born and bred) and *puebloños* (students who had come in from the villages).<sup>102</sup>

It is not known how many scholarships were available for university students, who financed them, or how they were granted. They no doubt fluctuated with the ups and downs of the economy and politics, and the judgement of public leaders and officers. In September 1873 Mariano Ospina Rodríguez requested that the Union government scholarships created so that less well-off Antioqueños could enrol in the National University in Bogotá be used so that they could attend the University of Antioquia. He stressed the difficulties these students had in meeting the expense of travelling and living in Bogotá, the dangers of their 'being perverted in the capital . . . surrounded by serious temptations' and by the utilitarian ideas there in vogue.<sup>103</sup> It seems official scholarships were available in Antioquia some years later. In 1883, Justiniano Macia Vélez recorded in his diary the day when his father told him that 'his relative Francisco Escobar Bonilla, a high employee in the Government Secretariat, offered you a scholarship . . . and I decided to accept it'.<sup>104</sup>

Until 1930 the main professional studies available in the University of Antioquia were jurisprudence, natural sciences, medicine, agronomy, and veterinary medicine.

In 1853 the *Colegio Provincial* awarded its first Doctor of Jurisprudence diploma, but the following year war again brought academic life to a standstill. The School of Jurisprudence reopened in 1857 and, despite civil wars, it managed to keep up a relatively good academic level until the turn of the century. Many of its teachers and graduates shone in various areas of regional life. The foundation of the Antioquia Jurisprudence Society in 1898 and of the Medellín School of Lawyers in 1926 reflects the status ascribed to the legal profession.<sup>105</sup>

Although the 1842 educational reforms established schools of mathematical, physical, and natural sciences in the country's universities, the *Colegio de Antioquia* offered very few courses in these disciplines before

Titiribí, Urrao, Valparaíso, and Yarumal. See: A. C. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900-1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, September 1986), 165; and Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia*, 179-92, 309-26.

<sup>102</sup> J. Mejía y Mejía, *Historias médicas de una vida y de una región* (Medellín, 1960), 55-75

<sup>103</sup> *La Sociedad*, 76 (Medellín, 6 December 1873).

<sup>104</sup> R. García Estrada, 'La Universidad o el seminario', *Universidad de Antioquia*, ed. by Uribe de Hincapié, 152.

<sup>105</sup> See my previous section 'Academic, pedagogical, and scientific societies'; and J. O. Melo, 'Historia del derecho', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 400.



1869. Berrío recognized the need to train professionals who would be capable of 'scientifically studying the composition and intrinsic nature of metals and the way these could be assayed, replacing bad routines by rational processes'.<sup>106</sup> Pedro Herrán, a graduate of the Paris *École Centrale*, was hired to give a chemistry and mineralogy course; other teachers taught metallurgy, mining, and agricultural chemistry. The School of Mathematical, Physical, and Natural Sciences operated with only slight changes until the mid-1880s. Notable among the students and monitors were Pedro Nel and Tulio, the sons of Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, who were later to found the School of Mines.<sup>107</sup>

In medicine, the provincial government set up the Council of Examining Teachers in 1852, so that certificates could be granted to those who had passed the examinations, normally after studying at their own expense or outside Antioquia. The *Colegio* extended its range of subjects in medicine over the coming years, but it had few students until the 1860s. The School of Medicine was founded in 1871, when the university was reorganized. It began with just seventeen students, from various towns in Antioquia; later students were to come from other parts of Colombia. In the 1880s, a group of students formed the Medellín Medical Academy. Both the school and the academy promoted a medical practice that was oriented towards solving the main local and regional health problems, in contrast to the dominant lack of such local pragmatism in Bogotá's Society of Medicine and Natural Sciences. It was around the same time that the San Juan de Dios charity hospital was set up, to teach and train medical students. In the 1920s the medical school began doing research with the Rockefeller and the Ford foundations on tropical diseases, mainly on yellow fever and uncinariasis. The rector Tulio Ospina had temporarily closed down the law and medical schools at the beginning of the century, but after numerous protests they were reopened, in 1906. Both schools were to become a source of pride to the university between 1910 and 1930, under the guidance of Republican rectors.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Berrío's words to the Legislative Assembly in the state of Antioquia in 1869, quoted by Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia*, 104.

<sup>107</sup> Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia*, 104–5; L. Atehortúa, 'Las ciencias naturales', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 415–20.

<sup>108</sup> Uribe de Hincapié (ed.), *Universidad de Antioquia*, 106–12, 169–74; N. Miranda, 'Aspectos destacados de la medicina', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 409–14; T. Álvarez Echeverri, 'La Academia de Medicina y el desarrollo de la salud', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 1, ed. by J. O. Melo (Bogotá, 1996), 277–88; and my section 'Academic, pedagogical, and scientific societies' in Ch. 7.

In 1916 the University of Antioquia opened the School of Tropical and Veterinary Agriculture, and this acquired an experimental farm in Villa Hermosa, and subsequently another establishment in Fontidueño, today known as Bello, where it acclimatized imported seeds, plants, cows, sheep, goats, dogs, and pigs. Students dealt with queries about diseases and propagated crops in various towns. The school moved to Medellín in 1919, as the High School of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine.<sup>109</sup>

#### *Training in arts and crafts*

Since the early nineteenth century Antioqueño mine owners had recruited foreign technicians. Eventually the government itself hired foreign scientists for the *Colegio* (later *Universidad*) *de Antioquia*. From the 1840s onwards upper-class youths were sent to Europe or the United States to study applied sciences and technical professions.<sup>110</sup>

To meet local mining and manufacturing needs, by the mid-nineteenth century Antioquia's government was promoting the training of artisans who could repair and construct tools and simple machines. In 1852 the Provincial Legislature opened an *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* in Medellín to provide free instruction to the sons of poor artisans and to 'destitute youths'.<sup>111</sup>

On 4 April 1870, the *Dirección General de Instrucción Pública* founded another *Escuela de Artes y Oficios*: 'it aims to teach artisans to be learned, hard-working, and honest, so that their behaviour can set an example, and their knowledge contribute to industrial improvement and to the reform of our working classes'.<sup>112</sup> Its four-year programme included grammar, arithmetic, geometry, meteorology, geography of the world, of Colombia and Antioquia, physics, mechanics, and chemistry. Students spent virtually all their time in practical classes in blacksmiths' and

<sup>109</sup> Álvarez, 'La educación superior en Medellín, 1803-1990', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2, ed. by J. O. Melo (Bogotá, 1996), 596; Restrepo, 'La educación superior', 371-2; D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 75.

<sup>110</sup> In the 1870s, with Berrio's approval, the state of Antioquia sponsored José María Villa to pursue mechanical engineering studies in New Jersey, and provided financial aid to other alumni from the *Colegio del Estado*. See: P. Santa María Álvarez, *Origen, desarrollo y realizaciones de la Escuela de Minas de Medellín*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1994), 43; F. Safford, *El ideal de lo práctico. El desafío de formar una élite técnica y empresarial en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1989), 221-52.

<sup>111</sup> However, no students appear to have been enrolled. See: *Gaceta Oficial de Medellín*, 4/50 (Medellín, 22 January 1853), 201.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

locksmiths' shops, or in carpentry, cabinet-making, and mechanical work, where they made fire pumps, well machinery, compasses, screws, set squares, lathes, cranes, wheelbarrows and farming tools, mills, presses, hydraulic wheels, machine parts, furniture, ironwork articles for homes, pipes, and stills.<sup>113</sup>

The school started out on the ground floor of the *Colegio del Estado* with sixty students from the 'working classes' who were drawn from the various provinces into which Antioquia was divided, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Teaching was free, financed by the state of Antioquia, and the most talented graduates were given one-year civil engineering scholarships. Many students at the school came from poor backgrounds and rubbed shoulders in the same building with others from wealthy families, and they shared several theoretical courses with *Colegio* students. The school preferred to admit the children of artisans who were between 12 and 18 years old, who had been baptized, were honest and of a 'good disposition', and who knew how to read and write correctly and had studied morals and religion, grammar, meteorology, and arithmetic, all of which could be tested by means of examinations and certificates.<sup>114</sup>

The first director was the German Enrique Haeusler, who had settled in Medellín some years previously. Other foreign teachers included Eugenio Lutz from the Paris Ecole Centrale, who taught linear drawing, surveying, and architecture; the Englishmen Robert and John Henry White; and the Swedish locksmiths Andrés Svensson and Daniel Johansson. After being reformed by the Radicals in 1877, the school suffered several closures during the 1880s and 1890s; it reopened in 1910. The twenty or thirty artisans who graduated each year during its better times supplied qualified labour to incipient Antioqueño industry.<sup>115</sup>

#### *Engineering studies*

The *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* provided some engineering skills until 1874 when Berrío, as vice-chancellor of the *Universidad de Antioquia*, opened a formal programme for civil engineering there. In 1887 the facilities, faculty, and students of this programme were transferred to

<sup>113</sup> *Boletín Oficial*, 7/411 (Medellín, 8 August 1870), 161–3.

<sup>114</sup> L. J. Villegas Botero, 'La Universidad en el *continuum* educativo: Escuela de Artes y Oficios—Escuela Normal', *Universidad de Antioquia*, ed. by Uribe de Hincapié, 129–31.

<sup>115</sup> Restrepo Toro, 'La educación superior', 370–1; Villegas Botero, 'La Universidad en el *continuum* educativo', 131.

the new *Escuela de Minas* sponsored by the national government.<sup>116</sup> During its crucial formative years, 1887–1930, it aimed to train practical engineers who could have an impact on the development of the region, as distinct from the more theoretically oriented instruction given in the mathematics and engineering faculty in Bogotá.<sup>117</sup> In 1887 there were twenty-two students enrolled, and by 1911 sixty-six, registered in both civil and mining engineering.<sup>118</sup> In 1890 the departmental government offered eleven scholarships to students from Antioqueño towns to attend the School of Mines, a policy maintained until the mid-twentieth century. By 1912 these scholarships had increased to eighteen.

Under Tulio Ospina as rector from 1911 to 1921, the *Escuela de Minas* adopted a code of personal and professional conduct among faculty and students, synthesized in the motto ‘Trabajo y rectitud’. Dedication, courage, propriety, and high standards of ethical conduct were deemed essential for engineers who were expected to become, as many did, prominent business administrators, entrepreneurs, politicians, and holders of public office at both regional and national levels.<sup>119</sup> The statutes of the *Sociedad Antioqueña de Ingenieros*, founded in 1913 by a group of graduates under Ospinas’s guidance, shared these aims.

Ospina supported an empirical and applied approach to learning, and stressed the importance of field trips. Seventeen of these trips were organized from 1916 to 1917, including a visit to the famous Zancudo mines. One of the school teachers, Alejandro López, director of the Antioquia railway and the Zancudo mine, the main enterprises in Antioquia, was the first to introduce the ‘scientific management’ ideas of the North American economist and engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor, in his lectures in modern administration.<sup>120</sup> By the 1920s many had come to view the *Escuela* as an instrument of paisa influence at a

<sup>116</sup> In 1939, the school was annexed to the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Medellín. See: Santa María Álvarez, *Origen, desarrollo y realizaciones de la Escuela de Minas*, 65, 99; P. Murray, ‘Engineering Development: Colombia’s National School of Mines, 1887–1930’, *HAHR*, 74/1 (February 1994), 68; V. Álvarez, ‘La educación superior en Medellín, 1803–1990’, *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2, ed. by J. O. Melo (Bogotá, 1996), 595.

<sup>117</sup> See Safford, *El ideal de lo práctico*.

<sup>118</sup> C. Toro Botero, ‘Escuela de Ingeniería’, *Universidad de Antioquia*, ed. by Uribe de Hincapié, 114.

<sup>119</sup> A. Mayor Mora further discusses the topic in *Ética, trabajo y productividad en Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1984).

<sup>120</sup> Murray, ‘Engineering Development’, 71; Mayor Mora, *Ética, trabajo y productividad*.

national level. A rector described it as 'the arm of Antioqueño influence . . . throughout the republic . . . for the convenience of the latter'.<sup>121</sup>

The school tried to get the best students, even if they were not the most influential or wealthy ones. It strove that no student should abandon his studies because of economic problems. The social mobility of the first promotions is clear: many of them came to hold outstanding posts as engineers working with the Antioquia or Amagá's railroads, in the smelting plant in Sitio Viejo, in the Zancudo mines, the Santa Elena electric plant or in other public offices in the region or elsewhere in the country.<sup>122</sup>

The Antioquia railroad, begun in 1874 and administered privately by local and foreign engineers until the early 1890s when the department took charge, was for many years the principal engineering work in the region and the main source of employment for the *Escuela's* alumni. In turn, its needs influenced the *Escuela*.

After being closed in 1895 for economic and political difficulties, the *Escuela de Minas* was reopened in early 1904. In January the Board of Directors of the Antioquia railroad created ten scholarships to study there.<sup>123</sup> On 25 April 1911, the Departmental Assembly ordered that these scholarships should be proportionately distributed among the eleven school sections established in Antioquia. Decree 72, issued in December 1911, entrusted their financial support to the Board of Directors of the Antioquia railroad, and stipulated the requirements. Candidates had to be poor and to have 'good social and moral behaviour', good intellectual skills, and a good character, all of which qualities had to be certified by the parish priest, the local authorities, and the teaching staff at the school where they had studied. The scholarship would be forfeited in the event of bad behaviour or poor performance, and created a commitment to perform professional work free of charge within the scope of the respective person's abilities, as requested by the departmental government or the railway board. Once graduated, the

<sup>121</sup> Carlos Gómez Martínez to Alejandro López, Medellín, 21 April 1923, Dean's Office, *Escuela Nacional de Minas*; Murray, 'Engineering Development', 76.

<sup>122</sup> Santa María Álvarez, *Origen, desarrollo y realizaciones de la Escuela de Minas*, 166; and annex 4, 459–63; Murray, 'Engineering Development', 63–82. However, the testimony of Manuel Baena, a black from north-eastern Antioquia, who started engineering studies in 1910 with one of the scholarships sponsored by the railroad, shows the difficulties that someone like him, poor and coloured, had to face to pursue his studies. Before the end of the first year, he had to quit and only several years later did he manage to obtain his degree from the National University in Bogotá. See M. Baena. *Cómo se hace ingeniero un negro en Colombia* (Murcia, 1929).

<sup>123</sup> *El Ferrocarril de Antioquia*, 133 (Medellín, 1 June 1904), front page.

beneficiary had to work for the railway with pay for at least two years. Ordinance 26 of 1913 created three scholarships paid by the department, apart from the eighteen that the railway awarded and paid that year.<sup>124</sup> Additionally, the Antioquia railway officials usually accepted student apprentices during the two months of the Christmas holidays.

In 1915, 20 of the 85 students registered in the School of Mines were sponsored by the Antioquia railroad, 10 by the department of Antioquia, 4 by Valle, 3 by Caldas, and 1 each by the departments of Huila, Boyacá, and Santander del Sur. In the 1910s slightly more than one-third of the students came from towns outside Medellín, and one-sixth from outside Antioquia.<sup>125</sup>

Additional to these institutions, several orphanages, confinement centres, hospices, and charities, like the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, had workshops to train shoe-makers, tailors, bookbinders, plumbers, weavers, and metal workers.<sup>126</sup> According to statistics from 1928, Antioquia had 8 institutions for training in arts and crafts, with a total of 725 students; and 4 establishments providing professional education to a total number of 831 students.<sup>127</sup>

Besides being confessional, an identifying feature of higher education in Antioquia was its pragmatic orientation, aiming to provide professional and technical expertise useful for the development of the region. Another was the desire that instruction should ease upward mobility.

<sup>124</sup> Ferrocarril de Antioquia, *Compilación de disposiciones legales de interés para la empresa*, vol. 2: *Ordenanzas y disposiciones departamentales, hasta 1926* (Medellín, 1927), 193–205.

<sup>125</sup> Santa María Álvarez, *Origen, desarrollo y realizaciones de la Escuela de Minas*, 91, 107, 118, 128; Murray, 'Engineering Development', 67.

<sup>126</sup> See: Ch. 5 'A Plethora of Charity Societies'.

<sup>127</sup> D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 67.

## *New Cultural Societies*

With the advances in formal education achieved in Antioquia from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1920s, there emerged a wide range of cultural societies. They can be classified as follows: literary circles and artistic and theatrical groups; public libraries; scientific and pedagogical societies; civic and moral associations; bands, ensembles, orchestras, and academies of *música culta*, 'civilized music'; temperance societies; and social clubs.

The list is probably not exhaustive: tracing these groups is difficult because of their modest size, their voluntary and sometimes informal composition, and their frequently short life. References are scattered in a profusion of sources, and the subject has not been studied. Hence, the figures here are only approximate.

The category with the larger number of examples was that of public libraries (118). Most of them opened at the beginning of the twentieth century. Libraries were relatively well distributed throughout the region: only 20 were based in Medellín. They were followed by the 104 social clubs, the majority of which were founded in the 1920s, almost half in Medellín. Next, and in similar proportions, came the 45 mixed-purpose associations, 5 in Medellín; the 43 musical groups and institutions, around half in the same city; and the 41 temperance societies, which were the least centralized of all, for only one operated in Medellín. The last two places according to number were held by the 32 academic, pedagogical, and scientific societies, created mainly during the 1910s and 1920s, half of them in Medellín; and the 24 civic organizations, most of them from the same epoch and evenly distributed among the main towns.

### 'CULTURE' AND 'CIVILIZATION'

English and French notions of culture and 'civilization' were the ideals followed by the Colombian upper classes.

The term 'culture', according to Raymond Williams, in its earlier meaning referred to 'the tending of something, basically crops or ani-

mals'.<sup>1</sup> From the sixteenth century onwards it was extended to man, the culture of the human mind, and in the eighteenth century it came to denote an abstract process, or the result of an intellectual, spiritual, or aesthetic process. Culture came to mean a general state or habit of the mind related to the ideal of human perfection or to the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole, associated with material change, and commonly with the unprecedented political and social circumstances resulting from industrial progress.<sup>2</sup> In the nineteenth century the word 'culture' came to replace the old words 'civility' and 'cultivation'.<sup>3</sup>

The term 'civilized' first appeared in the early seventeenth century and derived from the Latin *civilis*. Boswell defined 'civilization' as a 'state of social order and refinement', associated with modernity.<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth century 'the association of civilization with refinement and manners was normal in both English and French'. 'Manners' had a somewhat wider meaning than its current usage.<sup>5</sup> From the beginning of the nineteenth century the term 'civilization' evolved towards its modern meaning, with emphasis on social order, systematic knowledge, refinement of manners and behaviour, and physical comfort and urbanity.<sup>6</sup> Norbert Elias defines as the 'civilizing process' that which occurred in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, as the patterns of behaviour of the upper classes came to be disseminated in the rest of society.<sup>7</sup>

Affluent Colombians knew European culture through reading, or by travelling and studying there. During the first half of the nineteenth century Colombian travellers to Europe were rare, but from mid-century onwards, when the introduction of steam navigation made the trip easier, a larger number went abroad. More foreigners also visited or settled in Colombia, though immigration, in spite of government efforts, never reached large numbers.<sup>8</sup>

Frédéric Martínez has studied the debate on the influence of 'europeísmo' in the definition of modernization and of national ideology

<sup>1</sup> *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised edn. (London, 1990), first published in 1976; and *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (Great Britain, 1971), first published in 1958.

<sup>2</sup> See: Williams, *Keywords*, 87-90.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*, 15-19; Williams, *Keywords*, 78-91.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Williams, *Keywords*, 57-8.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *Keywords*, 57.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> *The Civilizing Process. The Development of Manners* (New York, 1978).

<sup>8</sup> The prologue 'Antioquia and its People' presents a general view of foreigners and their influence in Antioquia, as well as the bibliography on the topic.



in Colombia during the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Liberals and Conservatives, opposed on political and ideological questions, had different views about what they saw in Europe and about what they approved. Liberals praised ‘. . . the inheritance of the French Revolution, the birth of the Third Republic, the unification of Italy and Victor Emmanuel’s regime, the image of religious freedom in Switzerland and Germany, the commendable management of prisons and correctional institutions . . .’.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, Conservatives

denounced the influence of Protestantism and the progress of ungodliness, the terrible influence of philosophers and the French Revolution, the corruption of the young, the anti-clerical policies of European governments (Liberal Spain, Victor Emmanuel’s Italy, the Third Republic in France) . . . the Conservatives describe a picture of a Catholic Europe and extol its ability to react to anti-clerical attacks.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of their discrepancies, Liberals and Conservatives coincided in their fascination with European fashion, taste, and etiquette, and in several themes which they identified with culture: civic spirit, literary movements, temperance, social clubs, and public libraries.

#### LITERARY CIRCLES

The cultural dynamism of Antioquia from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the 1920s can be seen in the literary enthusiasm which produced a substantial harvest of stories, novels, poetry, chronicles, and critical essays. Antioquia’s most outstanding men of letters wrote in this era.<sup>12</sup> They thrived on the general local fondness for literature, a fruit of the educational advances achieved in the course of the century: ‘cultural facts do not emerge by spontaneous generation, obeying as they do

<sup>9</sup> ‘Representación de Europa y discurso nacionalista en los relatos de viajes colombianos, 1850–1900’, in: *Wars, Parties and Nationalism: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth Century Latin America*, ed. by E. Posada-Carbó, Institute of Latin American Studies (London, 1995), 55–70; ‘En los orígenes del nacionalismo colombiano: europeísmo e ideología nacional en Samper, Núñez y Holguín (1861–1894)’, *BCB*, 32/39 (1995), edited in 1996), 27–60; ‘Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea en Colombia, siglo XIX’, *BCB*, 34/44 (1997, ed. in 1998), 3–46.

<sup>10</sup> F. Martínez, ‘Representación de Europa y discurso nacionalista’, 59.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Among the long list of authors, the following—in chronological order—are outstanding: Gregorio Gutiérrez González, Epifanio Mejía, Juan José Botero, Camilo Botero Guerra, Francisco de Paula Rendón, Tomás Carrasquilla, Eduardo Zuleta, Gabriel Latorre, Efe Gómez, Julio Vives Guerra, Alfonso Castro, Ciro Mendía, León de Greiff, and Luis Tejada.

slow processes and subtle influences'.<sup>13</sup> A recent study on the narratives written in Medellín from around 1850 to 1930 conclude that towards the turn of the century the city was the scene of much reading and writing, at least by Colombian standards.<sup>14</sup>

At mid-century, such an appreciation would not have been extended to many towns in the department. Baldomero Sanín Cano remembers Rionegro towards 1860:

of its twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants, a total of no more than ten people were known to have been in the capital of the Republic. Newspapers from the capital were known only to one or two people who subscribed to the *Diario de Cundinamarca*. Copies of books published in Bogotá only tended to reach singularly fortunate people. I remember one single copy of Isaacs's *Maria* going from house to house, bathed in the tears of the whole neighbourhood.<sup>15</sup>

During the last quarter of the century the situation changed. Tomás Carrasquilla in his *Autobiografía* describes Santo Domingo, a town with around 10,000 people, located on the main pack-trail connecting Medellín with the Magdalena river:

out there in those God-fearing corners of the land, in the absence of anything worse to do, they read a lot. In my parents' house, in the houses of my relatives, there were quite a few books and plenty of readers. And there was I, book in hand at all hours of the day, in the small-town quietude of my home.<sup>16</sup>

Visiting the same town, Pierre D'Espagnat felt a '... pleasant surprise . . . I landed in an attractive, intellectual environment that, without knowing how or why, is cultivated here by circles that are unknown outside this small town.'<sup>17</sup>

The descriptions of the members, activities, meeting places, and audiences of the literary societies founded in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 provide another angle from which to examine the social integration achieved during those years.

<sup>13</sup> J. L. Mejía, *El taller de los Rodríguez* (Medellín, 1992), 3.

<sup>14</sup> D. Tamayo and H. Botero, 'Escritores olvidados de Antioquia, siglo XIX', *Revista Universidad de Antioquia*, 52/203 (January–March 1986), 68–72; J. A. Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria: el relato y la poesía en Medellín, 1858–1930', in: *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 451–72.

<sup>15</sup> B. Sanín Cano, *Escritos* (Bogotá, 1977), 462.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by D. Jaramillo Agudelo, 'Tomás Carrasquilla, el escritor', prologue for a facsimile edition of *Frutos de mi tierra* (Bogotá, 1996), 5. On p. 3 of this article Jaramillo Agudelo quotes Antonio José, 'Ñito', Restrepo's description of Santo Domingo: '... a town without houses, on the phantom banks of a dry river'.

<sup>17</sup> *Recuerdos de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), 218.

## LITERARY SOCIABILITY IN SMALL TOWNS

Although Medellín was the centre of the artistic and literary burgeoning in Antioquia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, other towns participated.<sup>18</sup> In turn-of-the-century Antioquia a surprising number of associations produced handwritten newspapers to disseminate their ideas. There are cases of the circulation of thirties such types of periodical, all with just one exception in towns other than Medellín.<sup>19</sup> It was possible to identify the literary nature of 8 of these, which, added to the 112 printed periodicals and the 65 journals, produce a total of 185 serial publications in literature and the arts. Almost one-third of all three types of literary periodical publications (see Appendices 7, 8, 9, and Table 21) came from towns outside Medellín. The results vary if the publications are sorted out. There is no great difference between the printed periodicals issued in Medellín and those issued in other towns. Most journals, instead, appeared in Medellín, which had more abundant resources to finance and illustrate them with the new process of photoengraving. Other towns with significant literary serial publications were Jericó, with thirteen; Yarumal, with eleven; Santa Fe de Antioquia, with nine; Sonsón, with eight; Rionegro and Manizales with seven; and Fredonia, two.

TABLE 21. *Number and place of origin of art and literary periodical publications edited in Antioquia, 1850-1930*

Type	Medellín	Towns outside Medellín	Total
manuscript newspapers	0	8	8
newspapers	69	43	112
journals	51	14	65
Total	120	65	185

Sources: Appendix 7 'Manuscript newspapers'; Appendix 8 'Art and literary newspapers'; Appendix 9 'Art and literary journals' all three for Antioquia, 1850s-1930.

<sup>18</sup> F. Botero Gómez, *Cien años de la vida de Medellín* (Medellín, 1994), 91-3; J. A. Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria: el relato y la poesía en Medellín, 1858-1930', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 451-71.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix 7: 'Manuscript newspapers edited in Antioquia, 1861-1930'. By 1927 there were thirty printing presses in Antioquia, nearly half of them in Medellín; three in Sonsón, two in Santa Rosa de Osos, and two in Jericó, and the rest distributed in other towns. See D. Monsalve, *Colombia cafetera* (Barcelona, 1927), 231-2.

More than half of the handwritten and printed periodicals appeared between 1860 and 1900 (see Table 22). They preceded the journals, which were concentrated between 1890 and 1920. Overall, a general interest in literature can be seen beginning towards 1860, increasing in the 1870s, and reaching its height between 1890 and 1910; it lost momentum in the 1920s.<sup>20</sup> This cycle centres on the so-called '*quinquenio de oro*' of the literature of Antioquia, which spans from 1890 to 1895.<sup>21</sup>

TABLE 22. *Date of publication (by decades) of art and literary periodical publications edited in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Decades	Manuscript newspapers	Newspapers	Journals	Total
1850	—	2	1	3
1860	1	8	—	9
1870	1	15	—	16
1880	2	21	7	30
1890	1	22	16	39
1900	2	18	14	34
1910	1	16	17	34
1920	—	9	9	18
1930	—	1	1	2
Total	8	112	65	185

Sources: Appendix 7 'Manuscript newspapers'; Appendix 8 'Art and literary newspapers'; Appendix 9 'Art and literary journals', all three for Antioquia, 1850s–1930.

The focuses of this dynamism, and the birthplaces and starting-points for the careers of the foremost Antioqueño authors of the period, were Santo Domingo, Sonsón, Jericó, Rionegro, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Andes, Manizales, Yarumal, Anorí, and Abejorral. Local chronicles and the observations of national and foreign travellers frequently mention the educated, polite, and 'civilized' manner of their inhabitants. With good reason, at the close of the century Luciano Rivera y Garrido and other writers from outside the region declared that Antioquia held in literature the first place in the country.<sup>22</sup>

Some of the manuscript literary papers are known only by references to them, since no copies have survived: *El Germen*, edited in 1886 by

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 7: 'Manuscript newspapers'; Appendix 8: 'Art and literary newspapers'; and Appendix 9: 'Art and literary journals', all three published in Antioquia, 1850s–1930.

<sup>21</sup> Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria', 459–62.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

Fernando Botero and Daniel Ramos in Sonsón; *Aura del Comienzo*, the production of a literary salon convened in San Pedro by Luis López de Mesa at the turn of the century; *El Trabajo*, edited by Miguel Ángel Osorio, later famous under the pseudonym Porfirio Barba Jacob, in 1902 in Angostura; and *La Voz del Pueblo*, issued in Andes in 1914. Two of the best documented cases are those of *El Andino*, edited by the *Sociedad de Amigos de la Moral y la Educación*, active in Andes in 1863; and, twenty years later, *Los Anales del Club*, organ of the *Club de los Amigos* of Yarumal. Both are described below in the sections on mixed-purpose societies, and on social clubs.

A detailed examination of the content of *El Aficionado*, *periódico literario dedicado al bello sexo*, a finely handwritten weekly in two columns edited in Yarumal, gives an idea of the cultural efforts made in several Antioqueño towns. First issued in October 1874, its covers were illuminated with flower wreaths in ink and watercolour by Francisco Antonio Cano, who was to become Antioquia's most notable painter. Five different numbers are still extant. It was elaborated in Yarumal by some youths who yearned to get out of '... the irritating intellectual stagnation in which we live, which is leading us gradually towards a state of stultification and idiocy ...'. Its goal was to contribute to the moral, intellectual, and material improvement of the town; to stir the minds of the young people of Yarumal towards intellectual endeavour; and to provide the 'fair sex' with '... some moments of proper entertainment ...'. *El Aficionado* is noted for the purity of its doctrine and the decency of its language, and no political questions get aired, nor any other issues that might be awkward and could lead to arguments or disagreements.<sup>23</sup>

Yarumal was then a small town of some 8,000 inhabitants, the eighth by size in Antioquia,<sup>24</sup> described by a foreign visitor as 'the largest village and the busiest marketplace in the north of [Antioquia]'.<sup>25</sup> The carefully edited *El Aficionado* gave voice to those who hoped for 'a civilizing future'. Its writers condemned such signs of backwardness as the free transit of pigs and cows through the main square; the use of espadrilles and long woollen ponchos by women; the customary chewing of tobacco by young ladies; the game of billiards; marriages of convenience; and gossip, coquetry, vanity, and envy. They campaigned for the improvement of streets and churches, and for the revival of navigation along the Cauca river. The newspaper publicized the work and

<sup>23</sup> *El Aficionado*, 1 (Yarumal, October 1874).

<sup>24</sup> *Anuario de Estadística Nacional*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1935), 22–5.

<sup>25</sup> F. von Schenck, *Viaje por Antioquia en el año de 1880* (Bogotá, 1953), 31.

ceremonies of the *Sociedad Católica* and the *Sociedad del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. It published poems by the subsequently famous Gregorio Gutiérrez González and Epifanio Mejía, and introduced the residents, ‘. . . who doubtlessly would prefer trading, mining and cows, to a literary culture that enriched hearts and sensibilities rather than pockets’.<sup>26</sup>

Baldomero Sanín Cano recollects that in Rionegro, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, Fidel Cano,

driven by his strong literary inclinations, had his own small printing press, and there he published a magazine called *La Idea*, on which he worked as typesetter, printer, corrector and writer all rolled into one. He welcomed us students from the Normal with understanding kindness and even let us publish a small newspaper on his press which, in the absence of a more ‘airy’ name, we called *El Éter*.<sup>27</sup>

Besides the social clubs and the civic and pro-morals associations that promoted their views and ideals through serial publications, small-town literary sociability manifested itself in a number of small, specifically literary, societies.

The members of the *Sociedad Literaria* created in 1850 in Santa Fe de Antioquia, another town of 8,000 people,<sup>28</sup> held regular meetings on Sundays at 3 p.m. in the seminary, with the aim of improving ‘the instruction of members in the most interesting fields of human learning’. The general public was admitted to the two or three speeches delivered at the beginning of each meeting.<sup>29</sup> In 1871, Mateo Escobar, Ezequiel Toro, and another thirty-five people present established in Itagüí, on the outskirts of Medellín, the *Sociedad del Progreso Literario*. It had a president, a vice-president, and two secretaries. Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escobar, Abraham García, Alejandro Botero, and other local personalities were honorary members. Its interests went beyond literature, for it also imparted free education in religion, spelling, and politeness to the ‘fair sex’; pressured the municipal authorities to close down a cockpit and a billiards saloon; and sponsored the foundation of separate schools for boys and girls.<sup>30</sup> In Santuario, a group of teenagers set up the *Sociedad León XIII* in 1884, which assembled a library to

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by S. Londoño, ‘Periódicos manuscritos del siglo XIX en Antioquia’, *Credencial Historia*, 2 (Bogotá, February 1990), 5.

<sup>27</sup> B. Sanín Cano, *Escritos*, 456.

<sup>28</sup> *Anuario de Estadística Nacional 1933*, 28–9.

<sup>29</sup> *La Estrella de Occidente*, 209 (Medellín, 1 September 1850), 1–2.

<sup>30</sup> *Boletín Oficial*, 445 (Medellín, 13 February 1875), 282.

promote the fine arts.<sup>31</sup> At the turn of the century, young people from the surrounding countryside of Abejorral used to go down to the town on weekends for cultural meetings.<sup>32</sup> The *Centro Cervantes*, a literary circle started in 1922 in Yolombó by a group of students that met on Wednesdays and Saturdays at 8 p.m., held literary soirées in which short dramas were performed. It had its own library and a periodical, *Voz Nueva*.<sup>33</sup> When the first gramophones reached the mining town of Anorí, the teacher of the local school for girls convened in her house musical and literary gatherings. When she received a new opera, operetta, or zarzuela record ‘. . . the result was a lyrical *soirée* of the Anorí intelligentsia, ending with a tea or supper. The windows of the house were left open to let the music out, so it could work its heavenly, contagious emotions on the crowd that congregated in the street to hear it’.<sup>34</sup>

Pedro León Múnera, founder of the *Academia Carrasquilla* in the Seminario Menor of Santa Rosa de Osos, organized a literary circle in Porce, where he was transferred as parish priest in 1930. The organization admitted men, women, and children, all of them with ‘*voz y voto*’, seeking to ‘to dispel the monotony of the early rural evenings by gathering to derive some amusement from reading and the mutual exchange of ideas . . .’.<sup>35</sup>

Reading created a certain bond among readers, but it also introduced a distinction from those who did not participate. A chronicler of Anorí perceived the difference:

we accuse books of having introduced a social discrimination between those who read them and those who do not. In that sense, they have instituted the ‘aristocracy of talent’, or urban social class addicted to reading, and the ignorant class of the *montañeros* who live in rural areas, indifferent to it.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps such resentment explains what happened to the library of a Doctor Sánchez Argüelles, who lived on his farm, 15 kilometres distant from Anorí. On one occasion, when he went away to Santa Marta, the neighbours burnt it to ashes.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *El Aldeano*, 2/13 (Santuario, 10 September 1884), 76.

<sup>32</sup> C. Mejía Gutiérrez and J. M. Lobo y Rivera, *Biografía de un ex-canónigo* (Medellín, 1980), 82.

<sup>33</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, vol. 9, doc. 86.

<sup>34</sup> A. Estrada López, *Mi tierra y algo más. Monografía de Anorí* (Medellín, 1965), 250.

<sup>35</sup> *Mi Primera Parroquia* (San Pablo, Porce, Sunday 6 April 1930), 141.

<sup>36</sup> A. Estrada López, *Mi tierra y algo más*, 239.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

## LITERARY GROUPS IN MEDELLÍN

It is common to find in chronicles, travel journals, and personal recollections about Medellín towards the middle of the nineteenth century repeated allusions to the absence of any vigorous cultural and social life. In the 1850s, Emiro Kastos wrote to a friend: '... these moneyed oligarchs in Medellín . . . they despise education because they don't know what it is good for, and disdain talent and all merits not founded on a metal currency basis'.<sup>38</sup>

J. M. Torres Caicedo observed something similar: 'The people of Medellín are hard-working. They devote themselves generally to trade, agriculture and mining, but very little to the sciences and literature . . . The press does little or nothing in this city, and so far periodicals have met with a bad response'.<sup>39</sup>

Around the same time, the French physician and botanist Charles Saffray deemed that '... in that town, engaged in looking solely in seeking material progress, learned men, artists and poets are always left in poverty . . .'. He added that Sunday social calls to the houses of the privileged were dull affairs, since 'there is little to talk about in a town where there are no concerts, no theatres, no chronicles . . .'.<sup>40</sup> In the 1870s, the hero of *Felipe*, a story by Gregorio Gutiérrez González, is still deploring the paucity of balls and cultural gatherings in the city.<sup>41</sup> Another decade later Francisco de Paula Muñoz in his *Guía de viajeros*, after enumerating the churches, *quintas* (country houses), and parks in Medellín, included in a 'distressing' list what was missing: public monuments, museums, public libraries, and theatres.<sup>42</sup>

However, there are signs that the general taste for literature increased in the 1860s, a period when the first writings of the noted regional authors Juan José Botero, Camilo Botero Guerra, and Lino Ricardo Ospina began to appear. In poetry there emerged, among others, Gregorio Gutiérrez González and Epifanio Mejía. Referring to those years, Tomás Carrasquilla remarked, 'Perhaps in no other epoch of our regional history have we registered more enthusiasm for instruction and the cultivation of ideas on our own initiative'.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Artículos escogidos* (Bogotá, 1972), 102.

<sup>39</sup> 'Capítulos de carta. Un paseo a Medellín, capital del Estado de Antioquia, en la República de Nueva Granada', *Mis ideas y mis principios*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1875), 468.

<sup>40</sup> 'Carlos Saffray, 1860', in: *Viajeros extranjeros en Colombia, siglo XIX* (Cali, 1970), 175-6.

<sup>41</sup> Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria', 451.

<sup>42</sup> *Escritos y discursos* (Medellín, 1897), 101.

<sup>43</sup> *Hace tiempos*, quoted by Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria', 452.



In 1867 the newspaper *El Artesano* carried an invitation from a small literary circle to those who 'are sympathetic to our association and eager for the town's betterment and progress', to attend meetings of a purely literary character on Saturdays, from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m., at the house of José Eleuterio Arango in the Calle Ayacucho.<sup>44</sup> There were probably more such meetings.

During and after the civil war of 1885 a variety of literary groups appeared. Baldomero Sanín Cano remembers that the editorial room of *La Consigna*, a weekly run by Fidel Cano, used to be a gathering place for 'persons of literary leanings and linked to the somewhat agitated politics of the times'. From 1882 to 1884 one of its most assiduous visitors was Luis Eduardo Villegas, contributor to the publication and a prominent politician and state official. His grammatical studies had won the applause of such experts as Rufino J. Cuervo. Another visitor was Benjamín Palacio, also a prominent politician. The physician Francisco Uribe Mejía, 'Doctor Pachito', sometimes turned up with 'some article under his arm'. Manuel Uribe Ángel, in charge of writing about 'scientific matters', wrote his essay *El Recluta* for the weekly. Other participants were Leocadio Lotero, Rafael Uribe Uribe, Antonio José 'Ñito' Restrepo, and Camilo Botero Guerra.<sup>45</sup> Another literary group consisting of Libardo López, Luis de Greiff, Gabriel and Luis Latorre, Fidel Cano, Rafael Uribe Uribe, and Ricardo Uribe Escobar gathered at the tailor's shop of Enrique Sanín. Here was born the idea of producing the Liberal paper *La Organización* (1903–18).<sup>46</sup>

The most renowned circle was the *Casino Literario*, active in Medellín from 1887 to 1891. It was initiated by Juan de la Cruz Escobar, Enrique López, Enrique Ramírez, the future president of the republic Carlos E. Restrepo, Vicente Javier Vidal, Camilo Villegas, and Joaquín E. Yepes. Throughout these years the group met at dusk, first every two months and then weekly, in the residence of Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escobar, the 71-year-old patriarch who had been appointed Inspector General de Instrucción Pública for Antioquia. Soon after its creation, Samuel Velásquez, Alfonso Castro, Gabriel Latorre, and others joined. Gonzalo Vidal and Eduardo Zuleta were honorary members. At every meeting, a member was commissioned to prepare a literary composition, in verse or in prose, the lyrics of a song, a historical fiction, or a translation according to his choice, to be read during the following meeting. These

<sup>44</sup> *El Artesano*, 10 (Medellín, 23 January 1867), 40.

<sup>45</sup> 'Medellín hace sesenta años', in: Sanín Cano, *Escritos*, 456–9.

<sup>46</sup> C. Reyes, *La vida cotidiana en Medellín, 1890–1930* (Bogotá, 1996), 88–9.

works were transcribed in a book, and anyone who failed to do the assigned homework was fined 1 peso. The group also assembled a library of donated or purchased books.<sup>47</sup>

The *Casino Literario* celebrated its first anniversary with an extraordinary meeting attended by wives and honorary members. The event was enlivened with music, singing, and the reading of the three best compositions of the year.<sup>48</sup> But not everything was optimism. In his composition of 7 March 1889, Nicanor Restrepo vowed that, 'The *Casino* starts a new year and, it has to be admitted, with poor prospects. We feel discouraged, lazy, possibly even disillusioned, and that is precisely why we should redouble our efforts . . .'.<sup>49</sup>

In May of the same year, Eugenio Prieto, who shared this depression, blamed Medellín society: it seemed to him that it viewed the members of the *Casino Literario* with 'indifference and contempt'. The picture changed in August 1889, when Carlos E. Restrepo invited Tomás Carrasquilla and Francisco de Paula Rendón to join as corresponding members. To fill the admission requirement, Carrasquilla wrote his story *Simón el Mago* under the pseudonym 'Carlos Malaquita'. As Restrepo remembered, 'Imagine the amazed admiration which took hold of the listeners, from the first lines . . . Used to listening to our own essays . . . we did not expect to hear such a perfect and accomplished work.'<sup>50</sup> The story was published in 1890 in a volume issued by the group to commemorate its third anniversary.<sup>51</sup>

Carrasquilla tells in his autobiography that some months later one of their meetings was dedicated to the discussion of whether or not there were any subjects in Antioquia worthy of a novel. Unlike the other members, he and Restrepo thought that there were; at the latter's request Carrasquilla wrote his first novel, *Frutos de mi Tierra*, a 'best-seller' of its time.

One of the enthusiasms of the new century was a taste for literary journals. Frequently short-lived, their publishing was a quixotic venture that widened the cultural horizon of several Antioqueño generations. *La Miscelánea* came out in 1886, and introduced the works of Efe Gómez, Alfonso Castro, and other authors who later became famous. In 1897 it

<sup>47</sup> Actas *Casino Literario* in: A/CER, caja 37, legajos 85-86, docs. 1-15.

<sup>48</sup> A/CER, Caja 37, Legajo 85, doc. 10, f. 26.

<sup>49</sup> A/CER, Caja 37, Legajo 86, doc. 8, f. 8; doc. 15, f. 46.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Carlos E. Restrepo, in: *Athena*, 12 (Medellín, 1928), 178.

<sup>51</sup> 'Simón el Mago', *El Casino Literario* (Medellín, 1890), 6-19. See: L. I. Bedoya, *Ironía y parodia en Tomás Carrasquilla* (Medellín, 1996), 197.

opened a *costumbrista* competition which attracted fifty-eight works.<sup>52</sup> Later on came *El Repertorio*, published 1896–7, the first illustrated publication in Antioquia. Oriented towards literature, preferably the ‘productions from our own land’, it also included ‘news related to the advancement of science and arts . . . to everything but politics and religion’. Its editors, Luis de Greiff and Horacio Rodríguez, predicted in the first editorial the ‘setbacks and disappointments that await us in such an arduous task’. In 1897 *El Repertorio Colombiano* of Bogotá commented, ‘It has been said that the Department of Antioquia leads the literary movement in Colombia. This journal and *La Miscelánea* are valiant efforts that tend to justify this widespread opinion.’<sup>53</sup>

When Carrasquilla travelled to Bogotá at the end of 1894 to arrange the edition of *Frutos de mi Tierra*, he was surprised to find a literary milieu even more ‘provincial’ and superficial than that of Medellín. Around the same time, one of Efe Gómez’s fictional characters complained: ‘Everyone here wants to be an artist, and now there’s nobody to carry the tools.’<sup>54</sup> And Manuel Uribe Ángel observed that, ‘In the time elapsed from 1862 to 1902, the city of Medellín has increased five-fold its importance not only under material aspects, but also in relation to its intellectual, moral and social progress.’<sup>55</sup>

After its demise, *El Repertorio* was succeeded by *El Montañés, Revista de Literatura, Artes y Ciencias*, published during two years by the *Compañía El Montañés*, a stock company ‘of an absolutely eclectic sort’, not partial to any literary or philosophic school, and directed to progress-loving readers. Its idea was to ‘provide intellectual entertainment for all decent tastes, and to support every effort that is made among us in the arts or sciences’.<sup>56</sup>

On several occasions *El Montañés* mentioned the ‘literary intensification’ then prevalent in Medellín. In February 1898 its editor, Gabriel Latorre, wrote: ‘Absolutely everyone here is nowadays fired by literary mania.’ He attributed it to the circumstance that

<sup>52</sup> Naranjo, ‘La ciudad literaria’, 461.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted by S. Londoño Vélez, ‘Las primeras revistas ilustradas de Antioquia’, *BCB*, 31/36 (1994), 3–8.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted by C. Gómez in *Lo mejor de Efe Gómez* (Medellín, 1991), 10.

<sup>55</sup> See ‘Recuerdo de un viaje de Medellín a Bogotá, 1862’, *BHA*, 2/19 (Bogotá 1904), 289, fn. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Estatutes of the *Compañía El Montañés*, quoted in *El Montañés*, 1 (Medellín, September 1897).

there are no wars now . . . as for the sciences, there's hardly anyone who will look at them, and there's no social life . . . all pent-up energy is channelled into literature, the only fire that is still burning and giving off heat.<sup>57</sup>

Some former members of the *Casino Literario* reassembled at the close of the century in the *Tertulia Literaria*, and published their writings in these journals. The *Sociedad de la Bohemia Alegre* edited from 1895 to 1897 a magazine of the same name. It was formed by Alfonso Castro, 'El Negro' Cano, Julio Vives Guerra, and Saturnino Restrepo, who used to meet on Saturdays at noon in the *La Bastilla* café.<sup>58</sup> But not everyone could flaunt his literary inclinations. Lisandro Restrepo, for instance, had to hide his identity under a pseudonym, for his father, the Liberal General Lucio A. Restrepo, in spite of having published his own memoirs of the civil war of 1876–7, held the opinion that to be a man of letters in Antioquia was a waste of time, '*una vagabundería*'.<sup>59</sup>

When the Santandereano Hermes García visited Antioquia in 1907, he was surprised at the intense cultural life of Medellín, shown in the proliferation of poets, novelists, journalists, and intellectuals: 'There is a nucleus of men of letters who would be an honour for any American country . . ., not long ago Doña Soledad Acosta de Samper awarded Medellín the sceptre of science and talent.'<sup>60</sup>

The economic straits and the censorship occasioned by the Thousand Days' war hampered the issuing of literary publications. None the less, writers went on with their work, and after the war publishing activity picked up again. During those years three new periodicals of cultural value appeared in Medellín: *Lectura y Arte* (1903–6), *Lecturas Amenas* (1904–5), and *Alpha* (1905–15). Their contributors were more inclined towards a secular ideology than to the Church-oriented social doctrines that were traditional in the region. Instead of martial heroes or saintly paradigms, texts and illustrations exalted the lives of local personalities devoted to the arts, science, and education, such as that of the mathematician and engineer José María Villa.<sup>61</sup> *Alpha* ran to eighty-five numbers, and published pieces by Baldomero Sanín Cano, Carlos E. Restrepo, Efe Gómez, and Tomás Carrasquilla. It introduced its readers to Gabriel Arango Mejía's genealogies and Joaquín Antonio Uribe's

<sup>57</sup> Quoted by Londoño Vélez, 'Las primeras revistas ilustradas', 16.

<sup>58</sup> Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria', 459.

<sup>59</sup> J. Vives Guerra, *Crónicas* (Medellín, 1994, first published in 1963), 38.

<sup>60</sup> *En la tierra de Robledo* (Caracas, 1908), 48.

<sup>61</sup> Londoño, 'Las primeras revistas ilustrada', 3–8, 27.

botanical sketches.<sup>62</sup> Never having earned the sympathy of the clergy, it died, in the words of Ricardo Olano, from a 'crosier blow' delivered by Archbishop Caycedo with his censure in 1912.<sup>63</sup>

In the inventory of periodical publications issued in Medellín and Rionegro made by Jorge Restrepo Uribe in the 1970s, those published between 1850 and 1930 amount to a total of 419 titles. He observes that many of them were small gazettes edited by a variety of organizations and societies, and that they did not outlast the second or third number; but in any case such a high figure denotes a certain cultural vitality.<sup>64</sup>

In Colombia, various literary publications of the second half of the nineteenth century were addressed to the 'fair sex', a recognition of the increasing number of literate women and of their greater leisure time. Like *El Aficionado* of Yarumal, there were three Medellín literary journals especially directed to the female public: *La Golondrina*, edited in 1881 by Juan José Botero, which bore the caption: 'Contributions by Antioqueño women will have preferential publication'; and *La Mañana* (1890), and *La Guirnalda* (1895), both subtitled with the conventional formula of 'literary newspaper dedicated to the fair sex'.<sup>65</sup> Apropos of a short-story contest for señoras and señoritas held in Medellín in 1919, to which fifty-two works were submitted, Tomás Carrasquilla commented, '. . . in Antioquia . . . there has always been a marked devotion to literature among many señoras and señoritas, and . . . quite a few of them understand, appreciate and digest any book that comes their way'.<sup>66</sup>

Literature was pervasive and popular in Medellín at the start of the century. It was common for people to learn by heart and recite Colombian, Spanish, and French poetry. Local popular *coplas*, popular songs and rhymes, such as the nearly 1,000 compiled and wittily annotated by Antonio José, 'Ñito', Restrepo in his *Cancionero de Antioquia*, were also appreciated.<sup>67</sup>

A good portion of the men of letters' sociability centred on informal *tertulias*. There, poets, booksellers, publishers, journalists, and bohemians cultivated the art of conversation, and planned editorial projects for

<sup>62</sup> J. F. Londoño Rojas, 'Colombia Revista Semanal, Índice 1916-1921', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1995), n.p.n.

<sup>63</sup> M. Escobar Calle, 'Las revistas culturales', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 512.

<sup>64</sup> *Medellín, su origen, su progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 558-72.

<sup>65</sup> P. Londoño, 'Las publicaciones periódicas femeninas en Colombia, 1858-1930', *BCB*, 27/23 (1990), 3-25.

<sup>66</sup> 'Tema trillado', *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1952), 2025-8.

<sup>67</sup> First published in Barcelona in 1929.

wider audiences. Many of them had grown up in small towns or in the countryside, alternating their studies with rural or mining activities. In his biography of 'Ñito' Restrepo, a native of Concordia, Juan de Dios Uribe wrote in 1898 that in Antioquia,

none of our true literary personalities have been fancy, decorative figures. Gregorio Gutiérrez González wrote his *Memoria sobre el Cultivo del Maíz* amidst the mines and fields of the mountains of Sonsón; Camilo A. Echeverri produced his best articles and essays while he was resting from his labours on his land at Canaán; Juan de Dios Restrepo pieced together his famous writings for *El Pueblo* in his mines by the San Juan river; and Epifanio Mejía (and many other writers, too) composed his beautiful poems after putting down his axe at the end of the afternoon in the mountains of Cauca<sup>68</sup>

In the 1870s some *tertulias* had their seat in the *boticas* or chemists, which besides medicines sold many other items and served as gathering places. There, according to Lisandro Ochoa, one of the city's chroniclers, '... our *aficionados* of good and bad conversation settled down on leather stools, some of them leaning against the walls, and normally near the door... For many years there were such meetings at these establishments, in the afternoon, early in the evening'.<sup>69</sup>

One of these was the *Botica de Isaza y Escobar*, better known as *Botica de los Isazas*, located in the Plaza de Berrio. Regular attendants included Marceliano Vélez, Wencesalao Barrientos, Guillermo Restrepo, and Antonio José Uribe. Their conversation also centred on politics, in L. Ochoa's words, it was a 'truly conservative synagogue'. The *tertulia* of the *Botica de los Uribe Gómez* was attended by Alejandro Barrientos, famous for his poetry recitals, and by Juan de Dios Uribe. Another *tertulia* gathered in the *Botica de los Peña*.

Bookstores such as the *Librería Restrepo*, owned by Carlos E. Restrepo, or the one owned by Antonio J. Cano, depicted in a 1927 poem 'La tertulia del Negro Cano' by Ciro Mendía, hosted animated *tertulias*.<sup>70</sup> The one at Cano's bookshop attracted writers, musicians, and artists, and after closing time discussion continued in the *El Polo* café. Between 1905 and 1930 this group included Tomás Carrasquilla, Carlos

<sup>68</sup> 'Semblanza del autor', in: *El cancionero de Antioquia*, comp. and annotated by A. J. Restrepo (fourth edn., Medellín, 1955), 17–18.

<sup>69</sup> *Cosas viejas de la Villa de la Candelaria* (Medellín, 1984, first published 1948), 302–11.

<sup>70</sup> On the *Librería Restrepo*, see: F. Botero Gómez, *Cien años*, 169. One of Horacio Longas's caricatures portrays some of the members of the Negro Cano's *tertulia* c.1920. See: *Antonio J. Cano, el negro Cano* (Medellín, 1992).

E. Restrepo, Clodomiro Ramírez, Marco Tobón Mejía, Francisco Antonio Cano, and Efe Gómez, Julio Vives Guerra, the brothers Félix and Pedro Pablo Betancourt, León de Greiff, Gabriel Latorre, Tomás Quevedo, and Abel Farina.<sup>71</sup>

Another famous literary circle was that of the *Panidas*, a band of irreverent young men, five of whom had been expelled from the *Escuela de Minas* for being '*subversivos y disruptores*'. They had their 'headquarters' in a dingy room in the Edificio Central, opposite the cathedral, the rent paid by Carrasquilla. The life of this group, active between 1912 and 1915, was linked to that of the local bohemians, steadfast frequenters of the *El Globo*, *El Blumen*, *La Bastilla*, and the *Chantecler* cafés. The most famed *Panidas* were the poet León de Greiff, the caricaturist Ricardo Rendón, Félix Mejía Arango (who also used the pseudonyms 'Cornelio Rufo Pino' and 'Pepe Mexía'), Fernando González, Libardo Parra Toro (Tartarín Moreira), and José Gaviria Toro (Joselín). León de Greiff portrayed them as

Musicians, rhapsodists and prose writers,  
poets, poets, poets,  
painters, caricaturists,  
erudite persons, minor aesthetes,  
romanticists or classicists,  
and decadent—you may think—  
but one thing is really true,  
there were thirteen of us 'Panidas',  
all crazy and artists!<sup>72</sup>

From February 1915 onwards they published ten numbers of *Panida*, an amalgam of essays, verse, and stories illustrated with vignettes and wood engravings by Ricardo Rendón. Its caustic tone and literary stature revolutionized the publishing medium of Medellín, and produced repercussions on a national scale. It gave accounts of the latest literary and cultural developments in the city, the country, and the world. It printed works by José Enrique Rodó, Manuel Machado, Anatole France, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Omar Khayam, Edgar Allan Poe, Rubén Darío, Azorín, and Schopenhauer.<sup>73</sup> *La Familia Cristiana*, one of the longest-lived

<sup>71</sup> Antonio J. Cano, 5, 6, 17, 20.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted by Escobar, 'Las revistas culturales', 514.

<sup>73</sup> Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria', 467–8; M. B. Rojas López, 'El rostro de los arlequines: Tartarín Moreira y León Zafir, dos mediadores culturales en la primera mitad del siglo XX en Medellín', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1994), 195–8.

publications (1906–32) in Medellín, and organ of the *Apostolado de la Oración*, censured the reading of *Panida*; something to be expected, since every issue was provoking and expressed ideas and positions contrary to both the Church and traditional society.<sup>74</sup>

During those years in Medellín some hostility was directed against those who contributed to the avant-garde literary and political publications. This was exemplified by the fist fight waged in May 1915 in the Plazuela San Ignacio by a group of 'ignacianos'—students from the San Ignacio school, directed by the Jesuits—with contributors to a Liberal paper and writers, among them León de Greiff, supported by students from the University of Antioquia and the *Liceo Antioqueño*. Luis Eduardo Vieco's caricature shows the police arresting some members of the 'red band'.<sup>75</sup>

Between 1910 and 1930 there were also *tertulias* in the offices of most of the city newspapers. One of these 'literary shelters', in Luis Tejada's phrase, met in *El Espectador*. The group customarily ended up at the *Chantecler* café in calle Boyacá, famous for the pictures of witches on broomsticks that adorned its walls. Other similar gatherings took place at *El Colombiano*, *El Herald*, *La Defensa*, and *El Diario*.<sup>76</sup>

Other literary circles were associated with the *Cantina de los Moras* and the *Botica Junin*. Carlos E. Restrepo and Antonio J. Cano, participants of the latter, decided to create a weekly journal, *Colombia Revista Semanal*, of political, scientific, industrial, literary, and social content. Its editorial board was composed of Pedro Pablo Betancourt, Clodomiro Ramírez, Mariano Ospina Vásquez, and Jorge Rodríguez. It circulated from 1916 to 1923, when it evolved into a newspaper, serving as organ of the *Republicanos*, a political body notable for its moderation in times of partisan discord.

Women also hosted literary circles. From June 1921 to April 1923 a group made up by the writers Luis Tejada, Efe Gómez, Abel Farina, Horacio Franco and Emilio Jaramillo, the draftsman José Posada, the painter Eladio Vélez, and the bookseller Antonio J. Cano, published the literary magazine *Cyrano*.<sup>77</sup> According to Ignacio Torres Giraldo, a

<sup>74</sup> M. Escobar Calle, 'Los Panidas de Medellín. Crónica sobre el grupo literario y su revista de 1915', *Credencial Historia*, 70 (Bogotá, October 1995), 12.

<sup>75</sup> See: *La Semana*, supplement to *El Espectador* (Medellín, 31 October 1916); Escobar, 'Los Panidas de Medellín', 12.

<sup>76</sup> *Memorias de Marco A. Peláez o mi vida semi-pública* (Medellín, n.d.), 133.

<sup>77</sup> G. Loaiza Cano, *Luis Tejada y la lucha por la nueva cultura (Colombia, 1898–1924)*, (Bogotá, 1995), 73–4.



leader of the *Confederación Obrera Nacional* and of the *Partido Socialista Revolucionario*, the group met in María Cano's drawing room.<sup>78</sup>

The early 1920s saw another literary group form around the authority of *maestro* Carrasquilla. It included Ernesto González, Jorge de Greiff, Alberto Jaramillo Sánchez, Efe Gómez, Emilio Jaramillo, and Alfonso Castro. These gathered in the *Café la Bastilla*, located on the corner of the Junín and La Playa avenues.<sup>79</sup> There, 'sitting in his favourite corner in the traditional Café La Bastilla, the writer passed sentence, occasionally in a mocking tone, on the naïve projects of the literati who gathered around him to listen to his opinions'.<sup>80</sup>

Other more informal *tertulias* convened with a certain regularity in squares and other city places, such as that formed in front of the *Teatro Junín* by Enrique Echavarría and a group of friends, known as *La Cigarra*.

Professional groups also organized literary circles. In October 1920 Luis Tejada embarked upon the creation of the *Asociación de Cronistas*, which recruited the journalists of the two Liberal dailies of the city, *El Correo Liberal* and *El Espectador*. His goal was to muster the writers of the city press to embark on common-interest campaigns. Every year the association held a literary evening in the *Circo España* to make a Christmas collection for lepers. In 1921 it launched a competition for the two best pieces in verse and prose, and with the box-office receipts for the awards ceremony in the *Teatro Bolívar* it erected a monument to the country's most famous novelist, Jorge Isaacs.<sup>81</sup> In the following year Gabriel Cano and Ciro Mendía created the *Sociedad Editorial Literaria*, which published the weekly *Sábado*. Illustrated, modern, and printed in large numbers, it focused on literature and cultural events, and printed pieces by women writers Sofía Ospina de Navarro, Blanca Isaza de Jaramillo Meza, and Adelfa Arango de Jaramillo. It reached its hundredth issue, but then its editors, dismayed with its poor reception, auctioned off the unsold copies by the kilo to be used as wrapping paper in the marketplace.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> María de los Ángeles Cano Márquez was a pioneer in disseminating socialist ideals and organizing workers. She toured the country, and in 1925 was proclaimed *Flor del Trabajo* of Medellín. Together with Torres Giraldo, Raúl Eduardo Mahecha, and Tomás Uribe Márquez, she was one of the organizers of the *III Congreso Nacional Obrero* of 1926. See: M. Velásquez Toro, 'María Cano: pionera y agitadora social de los años 20', *Credencial Historia*, 6 (Bogotá, June 1990), 12–13.

<sup>79</sup> G. Loaiza Cano, *Luis Tejada*, 74.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–5.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> F. Botero, *Cien años*, 219–20.

Education in Antioquia improved significantly from the middle of the nineteenth century, especially between the mid-1860s and the 1910s. During this period the region led the rest of the country in literacy rates and other educational indicators.

From the last quarter of the nineteenth-century to the 1920s, Medellín and other Antioqueño towns stimulated reading. This involved presidents—Carlos E. Restrepo, Marco Fidel Suárez, Pedro Nel Ospina—entrepreneurs, technicians, and prominent writers, among whom were Carrasquilla and his intimate friend Francisco de Paula Rendón, Efe Gómez, Camilo Botero Guerra, Alfonso Castro, Eduardo Zuleta, and many more.<sup>83</sup>

The interest in reading is shown in the profusion of public libraries described in the previous section and in the number of regional papers and journals that opened their pages to literature. Literary and artistic circles, more or less formal, emerged in shops that sold books, in cafés, in libraries and private residences. Some had a name, and a few even registered members, elected officers, and held regular meetings. The minutes of some have even survived. Others were more occasional and short-lived, and left hardly any traces. Many of them used to hold contests, soirées, and other events directed to wider audiences.

Literary activity seems to have been on the wane by the late 1920s. The difficult economic situation did not favour support for cultural endeavours, leaving artists and writers adrift. A group of intellectuals still converged around 'Negro' Cano, but the absence of young people in these groups was now a common lament.<sup>84</sup> Several eminent personalities of the cultural life of Medellín chose to emigrate, to Bogotá or even abroad.

#### PUBLIC LIBRARIES

One way to gauge the dispersal of cultural interests is to examine the creation of public libraries between 1850 and 1930. There were 118 of these in Antioquia. The highest number was in Medellín, with 20, followed by Sonsón with 10; Yarumal with 7; Amalfi, Caldas, La Ceja, and Titiribí with 5 each; Copacabana, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and Yolombó with 3. The rest were scattered in 37 different towns. Only in a few

<sup>83</sup> Jaramillo Agudelo, D. 'Tomás Carrasquilla, el escritor', prologue facsimile edn. of *Frutos de mi tierra* (Bogotá, 1996), 5–6.

<sup>84</sup> *Colombia Revista Semanal*, 222 (Medellín, 27 October 1920), 220; 224 (10 November 1920), 240; 227 (1 December 1920), 240; 237 (2 March 1921), 370.

cases has it been possible to determine their exact opening date, much less the particulars of their operation. Nevertheless, many of their names reveal the nature of their sponsors or administrators, private persons, cultural, educational, or welfare associations, social clubs, parishes, municipal councils, civic, or devotional societies. One-fifth of libraries date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, while the rest opened in the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>85</sup>

The first book collection opened to public readers in Antioquia was that of the Franciscan convent in Medellín, which dates back to 1803. In 1850 it had 400 volumes, and years later it became the basis of the *Biblioteca Pública* founded in Medellín in 1870 by Pedro Justo Berrio, president of the *Estado Soberano*.<sup>86</sup> In 1870 and 1871 the *Boletín Oficial* published the titles of new books acquired by the library and named their donors, who included adherents of both political parties and the clergy. In 1881 this library had 3,472 volumes, transferred to the newly created Museo y Biblioteca de Zea, directed by Manuel Uribe Ángel. For years this was the only library that served the general public.<sup>87</sup> It was open all year round.<sup>88</sup> It had an average of twenty readers per day, a figure contemporaries deemed high for Medellín, by then a city with 37,000 inhabitants.<sup>89</sup>

Many libraries were founded through private initiative. During the 1880s social clubs such as *La Varita* and *La Mata de Mora* set up small reading rooms with newspapers and magazines.<sup>90</sup> In 1883 the *Club de los Amigos* in Yarumal had a 'regular' number of instructive or entertaining works, and it subscribed to a variety of political and literary journals, both national and foreign. Regulations allowed entrance to all, free during the day and with a charge at night to cover lighting expenses. According to *Los Anales del Club*, everyone was expected to look there for '. . . the light and the truth in the sources of knowledge . . .' since

<sup>85</sup> The precise opening date of many libraries mentioned in Rufino Gutiérrez's *Monografías* (Bogotá, 1920) with data collected in 1917, or in Diego Monsalve's *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), was not identified. Some of these libraries could have been founded earlier.

<sup>86</sup> L. Posada de Greiff, 'La Biblioteca del Estado', *La Universidad de Antioquia, Historia y Presencia* (Medellín, 1998), 135.

<sup>87</sup> L. Posada de Greiff, 'Historia de las bibliotecas', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 517.

<sup>88</sup> C. Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico: Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia, 1888* (Medellín, 1888), 323.

<sup>89</sup> *Censo de la República de Colombia: población, 1883* (cover page missing).

<sup>90</sup> C. Reyes, 'Vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890-1930', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Medellín, 1996), 443.

nothing was better than devoting one's leisure to beneficial reading. 'Tired the body and tired the spirit, the former recovers strength from rest, while the other gets energy from the bosom of science.' Furthermore, 'The salvation of our people, the hope of our country, lies in looking for Christian civilization along the path of truth, getting instruction from good books.'<sup>91</sup>

The *Anales* asked for the donation or loan of books to the club, to put an end to 'the evil vice of taking borrowed books and newspapers' from individuals, besides rendering a service to the town.<sup>92</sup> Lists of books donated were printed. One included such miscellaneous works as selections from José María Groot, the *Anuario de la Academia Colombiana de la Lengua*, a history of the Society of Jesus, books by several Spanish poets, and the *Biblioteca de la Juventud*.<sup>93</sup> The first social club founded in Manizales also had its own library.<sup>94</sup>

In 1883 Miguel M. Jaramillo created the *Instituto Caldas* in Medellín, furnished with a museum and a library.<sup>95</sup> Some poets and writers also promoted reading rooms. The *Casino Literario*, a literary circle which gathered in Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar's house between 1887 and 1891, started a library for its members.<sup>96</sup> The Panidas's meeting place, *Café el Globo*, opened a library for the general public in the central calle Boyacá. It was a sordid room with old tables and chairs in a mud-walled, three-storey building. In 1914 its owner, 'Pacho' Latorre, advertised it in the press as

The best in Medellín. One thousand, mostly new books, all of them clean and in good condition. Scientific works, travel accounts, novels, history, poetry, etc. etc. from the most renowned authors. We have the pleasure of offering it to the public and very specially to the ladies in this capital.<sup>97</sup>

For almost thirty years the most remarkable public library in Antioquia was the *Biblioteca del Tercer Piso*, established in 1893 in Santo Domingo, a town of around 10,000 inhabitants in the north-east. It was founded by a private society formed by the young Francisco de Paula Rendón and a group of friends—Tomás Carrasquilla among them—to

<sup>91</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 6 (Yarumal, September 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 8 (Yarumal, November 24 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>94</sup> L. Londoño, *Manizales, contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936), 214.

<sup>95</sup> L. Posada de Greiff, 'Las bibliotecas en Antioquia', *Revista Interamericana de Bibliotecología*, 12/2 (Medellín, July–December 1989), 43.

<sup>96</sup> A/CER/caja 37, legajos 85–6.

<sup>97</sup> M. Escobar Calle, 'Crónica sobre los Panidas', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 728–9.

commemorate the fourth centennial of the discovery of the New World. Located on a second floor, its name originated in a humorous incident: a town lad went to visit some relatives in Medellín and was put up in the elegant residence of the Bedout family, the three storeys of which impressed the boy so much that on his return he would not stop talking about it. To commemorate his amazement, the new library also assumed a phantom third floor, hence its name.<sup>98</sup>

The *Biblioteca del Tercer Piso* offered 'wholesome, varied, and instructive' reading materials to subscription-paying members, and also lent them to outsiders for a fee.<sup>99</sup> The library was a success. The main room, hung with maps, portraits, and plans, and open from 6.30 p.m. to 9.00 p.m., became a popular place to while away the time reading or conversing. By its second year it totalled 700 volumes and included 103 members, including four women. In 1908 it was handed over to the municipality, and in 1917 it had 3,000 volumes, not counting albums, pamphlets, manuscripts, and press collections. By 1933 the number of volumes had decreased to 1,450, and it had fallen to second place among the public libraries in the towns of Antioquia other than Medellín.<sup>100</sup>

In a letter to Doña Adela González de Macías on 21 August 1894, Tomás Carrasquilla describes a general meeting of the members of the *Tercer Piso*:

If you should see, missus Adela, 'El Tercer Piso' . . . that's something that has been nothing but feverish proselytism and conquest, and it has borne more fruits than you could imagine . . . from 'El Alto' to 'El Chispero', from don Barenche's bridge to 'El Rumbón', literature is what everyone is living and breathing.<sup>101</sup>

The members assembled in Carmela's school to discuss the regulations, 'By seven o'clock the place was bursting with people, with all candles lit and Pachito sitting in the presidential chair, and in the rooms that looked onto the street, in the street itself, in the Rendons' house, all the "pavement gentry" in the parish were listening to those sublime and wise things that were discussed at the meeting.' On reaching Article 41 of the regulations, which stipulated that works banned by the Church would not be accepted, not even when offered free, ' . . . all the beams

<sup>98</sup> K. Levy, *Vida y obras de Tomás Carrasquilla* (Medellín, 1958), 30.

<sup>99</sup> *El Tercer Piso (Biblioteca de Santo Domingo). Reglamento. Reseña histórica. Lista de los miembros. Informe de 1895* (Medellín, 1895), n.p.n.

<sup>100</sup> *Anuario Estadístico General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 2, 254; R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920), 432.

<sup>101</sup> *Obras Completas* (Madrid, 1952), 2122-4.

of the earth shook!' Don Rafael Llano, who after the war of 1876 had switched to the 'reds',

. . . began to speak that night, to challenge Article 41, and to talk about the backwardness, obscurantism, and barbarism that the article implied, about the shame and ignominy that would fall on *El Tercer Piso*, the town, and the country in general (. . .) until Maciña, imbued with holy wrath and irate courtesy, stood up and said that . . . Mr. Llano's impertinent discussion should be brought to an end as it had led to fifty seven minutes being lost . . .

Finally, amidst the banging of feet against the benches, the meeting was dismissed; but the polemic went on in the house of the Rendón ladies: ' . . . and on with Balmes, and Prisco, and Drapper and Voltaire, and Moigne and Mir, Spencer and the Devil. The wrangle came to an end at midnight. In short . . . that banned books were not allowed, and Don Rafael left the famous *Tercer Piso*.'

By regulation, members contributed 1 peso a month. They could not keep books for more than two months, were not allowed to circulate them among people outside their homes, and had to replace losses. The *Sociedad* had a board of directors with a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer elected every year, as well as a librarian. It set up branches in Concepción and San José, conducted by agents appointed by the board.<sup>102</sup>

In his report of 14 October 1896, the president of the *Sociedad El Tercer Piso* reiterated that

the useful thing about this enterprise is its civilizing influence . . . In Colombian villages, where a sociable nature is hard to find and where—apart from domestic gatherings—it is rare to find places for honest and healthy entertainment, a library can for many be a refuge from the dangers of idleness, from the temptations of vice, from the almost fatal tendency the human tongue has to slander . . .<sup>103</sup>

He thanked contributors for their donations. Some came from señoras and señoritas; others from a large list of gentlemen which included future public figures such as Fidel Cano, Manuel J. Álvarez, Rufino Gutiérrez, Nicanor Restrepo, Leocadio María Arango, Ricardo Olano, Francisco de Paula Rendón, Félix A. Betancur, and Tomás Carrasquilla. These last four ordered books from Spain and France, financed by subscriptions, rentals, and bequests. The press collection was assembled by asking

<sup>102</sup> *El Tercer Piso (Biblioteca de Santo Domingo)*, n.p.n.

<sup>103</sup> M. Moreno de los Ríos, *El Tercer Piso. Informe leído por el Presidente de la Sociedad el 14 de octubre de 1896* (Medellín, 1896), 12–14.

subscribers to donate old newspapers.<sup>104</sup> In December 1895 Carrasquilla travelled to Bogotá, and soon sent to 'Pacho' Rendón '... the good news that Rufino Gutiérrez had donated eight or ten books for the *Tercer Piso*'.<sup>105</sup> The *Biblioteca del Tercer Piso* offered nightly French lessons, interrupted early in 1896 by arguments about elections. The board of directors then placed the following notice at the door:

'In these premises, and as members of the *Tercer Piso*, we are all friends with no other aspiration than to preserve cordiality by accepting our tastes and tolerating our beliefs and opinions. Political discussions are absolutely forbidden.'<sup>106</sup>

Pierre D'Espagnat, who visited the library a year later wrote: 'I spent several wonderful hours in the silence of the vast, interesting and well-stocked library . . . I could imagine that I had been transported to the peaceful library of a sub-prefecture in France . . .'.<sup>107</sup>

When the Canadian scholar Kurt Levy went to Santo Domingo in 1950 to research his doctoral thesis on Carrasquilla, on reading the records of the *Sociedad* he was surprised at the deep cultural involvement, so different from what he observed in the present.<sup>108</sup>

Not all public libraries were as well endowed or cared for. Many prospered or declined according to the zeal of patrons and directors. In 1896 the journal *El Narrador* of Yarumal, a prosperous town of 15,000 inhabitants, deplored the current neglect of the *Biblioteca Nariño* after the liquidation of the *Sociedad Fernández Madrid* which had created it. It suggested transfer to another institution to salvage its 500 books.<sup>109</sup>

Some collections were exposed to censorship, looting, and military occupation in times of civil war. The library of the *Universidad de Antioquia* was pillaged by soldiers during the revolution of 1851, and virtually destroyed in the Thousand Days' war. By 1903 it had dwindled to 300 books. Under the rectorate of Tulio Ospina, in 1906, when the *Escuela de Minas* was annexed to the Universidad de Antioquia, the library once again reached 5,000 volumes. But in 1911 when the *Escuela* was again separated, it was reduced to 1,000 volumes, and entered years

<sup>104</sup> Moreno de los Ríos, *El Tercer Piso. Informe*, 4-16.

<sup>105</sup> *Obras Completas* (Madrid, 1952), 2081.

<sup>106</sup> Moreno de los Ríos, *El Tercer Piso. Informe*, 10.

<sup>107</sup> Posada de Greiff, 'Historia de las bibliotecas', 517.

<sup>108</sup> Levy, *Mi deuda con Antioquia*, (Medellín, 1995), 25.

<sup>109</sup> *El Narrador Yarumal*, 1/3 (Yarumal, 10 January 1896), n.p.n.; Posada de Greiff, 'Historia de las bibliotecas', 518. For population of Yarumal, see: *Anuario de Estadística Nacional*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1935), 66-7.

of decline.<sup>110</sup> In 1924 a report stated that ‘The libraries in the University and its different faculties are scarce and of little value.’<sup>111</sup> In 1928 it was moved from the university hall, the *Paraninfo* in the *Plazuela* San Ignacio, to a dark and humid office. Ten years later the central library had only 2,000 books.<sup>112</sup> In 1910 Medellín’s Secretario de Gobierno, noticing the disappearance of several volumes from the *Biblioteca del Tribunal*, sent a circular to all the magistrates, trying to retrieve them.<sup>113</sup>

Not only the literary and intellectual élites had access to libraries. A number of reading rooms sprang up at the turn of the century, with the aim of fostering the habit of ‘wholesome’ reading among the popular classes. Camilo Botero Guerra’s *Anuario Estadístico de 1888* mentions four lending libraries in Medellín. One had been established by the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, bent on ‘. . . competing with immoral books and providing healthy and amusing reading material to the youngsters and the common people’. It had some 500 titles in 1888, and charged 10 centavos a week for recreational works, and the same sum for a month for scientific or religious books.<sup>114</sup>

In his visit to Antioquia in 1891, the Frenchman Jorge Brisson was surprised as well as pleased to find in Medellín several libraries that rent books out for a small fee . . . composed mainly of works by Spanish writers, translations of French novels, and some writings by national authors. I am under the impression that they are rather frequented, which shows a taste for reading scarcely developed in other republics in the South.<sup>115</sup>

Lending libraries advertised in the press. In 1920 Ricardo Hernández and Jorge de Greiff promoted one in Yarumal provided with ‘. . . a great variety of selected works. Ladies in particular will find there moral, instructive and entertaining books.’ The charge was 0.20 centavos a month, and by instalments 0.02 centavos. Former President Belisario Betancur recalls a man who used to lend books out at 1 centavo a day in Amagá: due to this high expense, clients were anxious to read them quickly.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> L. Posada de Greiff, ‘La biblioteca’, *La Universidad de Antioquia, Historia y Presencia* (Medellín, 1998), 283.

<sup>111</sup> *Anales de la Universidad de Antioquia*, 2/2 (Medellín, June 1923), 95–113.

<sup>112</sup> J. I. Correa, ‘Medio siglo de la biblioteca’, *Revista Universidad de Antioquia*, 52/202 (October–December 1985), 129–34.

<sup>113</sup> Letter from n.n. a Clodomiro Ramírez, Secretario del Tribunal Superior, Medellín, 16 September 1910, FAES, ACR/f. 66.

<sup>114</sup> Botero Guerra, *Anuario estadístico*, 324.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted by Posada de Greiff, ‘Historia de las bibliotecas’, 517.

<sup>116</sup> Posada de Greiff, ‘Las bibliotecas en Antioquia’, 49–50.



With the help of members and benefactors, the *Congregación de Obreros de San José* started a charge-free library for the 'moral preservation of the young'. Its organ *El Obrero* asked for donations: 'Send a book, a pamphlet, something at least for the Library we are forming for the workers. Let us educate the people and we will prevent wars.'<sup>117</sup>

The paper thanked authors who sent their works. In 1912 the library operated opposite the University of Antioquia in the Plazuela de San Ignacio. Associates contributed a total of 10 pesos a month to pay the administrator, the rent of the premises, and the purchase of books. They also gathered used postage stamps and took them to the *Escuela de los Hermanos Cristianos*, who sent them to Europe and imported books with the proceeds. That year the library was in possession of '... several books of John C. Raffles, king of thieves, and Sherlock Holmes, king of sleuths'.<sup>118</sup> The *Congregación* asked honorary members and the general public to collaborate with books, newspapers, and 'sound moral' volumes. It aimed to open libraries for affiliates in its ten centres in Medellín and thirteen chapters in other towns.

In 1918 the *Sociedad de Luchadores*, a Socialist-leaning Medellín labour organization, began sponsoring reading centres to counteract the influence of the Church and stir up working-class consciousness.<sup>119</sup> In one branch, located in the Botica Oriental in the neighbourhood of Buenos Aires, members paid 0.20 centavos monthly.<sup>120</sup> A year later *El Luchador* asserted with dismay, 'libraries for workers are frequently opened to which no one ever goes to read, and which end up being the exclusive property of only two or three people who let the books get infested with bookworms, or sell them for tuppence'.<sup>121</sup>

When the Thousand Days' war was over, peace made easier the expansion of libraries throughout the department, most of them under the auspices of religious associations, and educational or welfare institutions. The library of the *Casa de Menores y Escuela de Trabajo*, founded in Bello in 1914, included works on psychology, pedagogy, and psychiatry.<sup>122</sup> The

<sup>117</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/2 (Medellín, 13 May 1911), 8.

<sup>118</sup> *El Obrero*, 2/66 (Medellín, 14 September 1912), 7.

<sup>119</sup> M. Archila, *Cultura e identidad obrera Colombia 1910-1945* (Bogotá, 1991), 218.

<sup>120</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, 'Grupos sociales y criminalidad en Medellín, 1900-1930', *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 34-5, Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Medellín, December 1995), 74.

<sup>121</sup> *El Luchador*, 38 (Medellín, 29 March 1919), 2, quoted by A. M. Jaramillo, 'Tradiciones y valores en la primera generación obrera antioqueña, 1900-1920', *Historia y cultura obrera* (Medellín, 1988), 33.

<sup>122</sup> D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 61.

reading rooms of the *Sociedad de Ejercitantes* of Yarumal<sup>123</sup> and Santa Fe de Antioquia<sup>124</sup> offered their members alternatives to political papers, pamphlets, and novels. One established by the *Apostolado de Oración* in Medellín functioned near the Plazuela de San Ignacio in 1912 in a building shared with the *Familia Cristiana's* printing press.<sup>125</sup> During the 1920s the chapters of the *Congregación de Hijas de María* in Amagá, Amalfi, Salgar, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and Titiribí provided library services.<sup>126</sup>

An example of an educational institution in a rural town equipped with a library was the *Colegio Torres* in Sonsón. In 1906 Pedro A. Estrada, director of the *Sociedad de Temperancia* requested a journal subscription of *La Miscelánea* for the school library.<sup>127</sup> The *Liceo Reyes* in Urrao, in the words of its director in 1908 '... has the aim of collecting all sorts of works, with the praiseworthy purpose of tending to popular instruction . . .'. The governor granted a postal exemption so that the library could receive without cost the works dedicated or donated by their authors.<sup>128</sup> By means of voluntary bequests, the *Liceo Pedagógico* of Yarumal set up a library in 1911. In the same town the *Sociedad La Pola*, attached to the renowned *Colegio de Maria*, created a library for its female teachers and students in 1914.<sup>129</sup>

How successful was the library expansion? A chronicle about Anorí asserts that 'the workers of the mines and fields used to gather at the fireside to dedicate to books their hours of leisure'.<sup>130</sup> It goes on to assert that the villagers talked about the works of Gabriel D'Annunzio, Nietzsche, Enrique Rodó, and their favourite, José María Vargas Vila, and that there was a shelf full of books in every household.<sup>131</sup> 'León Zafir', pen name of Pablo Emilio Restrepo López, the son of a small miner and farmer of the region, used to read any book that fell into his hands before he settled in Medellín towards the 1920s. A recent study

<sup>123</sup> Posada de Greiff, 'Historia de las bibliotecas', 518.

<sup>124</sup> M. Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición, 1890-1920', undergraduate thesis, History Department (Universidad de Antioquia, 1988), 244.

<sup>125</sup> *El Obrero*, 1/3 (Medellín, 20 May 1911), 4.

<sup>126</sup> Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia*, 193.

<sup>127</sup> J. de M. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del *aguardiente* y su influencia social en algunas zonas del oriente antioqueño 1850-1920', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993), appendix.

<sup>128</sup> Letter from A. J. (no surname given) to Clodomiro Ramírez, Urrao, Enero, 1908. FAES, ACR c/5/f. 23.

<sup>129</sup> Posada de Greiff, 'Las bibliotecas en Antioquia', 44.

<sup>130</sup> A. Estrada López, *Mi tierra y algo más*, *Monografía de Anorí* (Medellín, 1965), 237.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

on Zafir's life concludes that, 'it seems the village had a busy cultural life, and that there were in it several libraries of some account, from whose books many people derived their instruction. There is . . . memory of four large book collections . . . with many texts in foreign languages.'<sup>132</sup>

Although the recollections of the oldest inhabitants do not give either the name or the owner of the first library in Anorí, there are references about the book collections used at the close of last century by the poets Aurelio Peláez and Germán López Fernández. At the start of the twentieth century, one, the curate Pedro Víctor López created the *Biblioteca San Luis Gonzaga*, and stocked it with classical and Romantic works. The other two libraries came into existence after the 1930s.

In those years Anorí was renowned for being a 'pueblo de poetas'. Besides numerous minor poets, it was the birthplace of Julio Posada (1881), author of the novel *El Machete*; of the chronicler Luis Felipe Osorio (1885); of the renowned editor Francisco 'Quico' Villa (1888); and of the noted painter and sculptor Pedro Nel Gómez. This high cultural standard has been attributed to the presence of Antioqueños born elsewhere and of foreigners who settled in the region attracted by its gold mines. An incomplete listing suggests there were at least ten foreigners of Polish, Italian, German, United States, and French nationalities, who were skilled in the professions of medicine, engineering, chemistry, mechanics, and mining. Several of them married local women.<sup>133</sup>

The first official measures for the promotion of libraries were of national scope, and little is known about their reception in Antioquia. Decree 533 of 1881 ordained the creation of libraries in all cities with higher education institutions controlled by the *Secretarías de Instrucción Pública*. They were to be furnished with reports from the *Secretarías*, and with purchases made by the *Biblioteca Nacional*. From 1881 to 1882, 2,000 pesos was assigned to stock these libraries all over the country.<sup>134</sup> Minister of National Public Instruction Liborio Zerda decreed through Article 46 of 1893 that all Normal Schools should have a library. Antioquia's secretary of public instruction, Tomás Herrán Mosquera,

<sup>132</sup> M. B. Rojas López, 'El rostro de los arlequines: Tartarín Moreira y León Zafir, dos mediadores culturales en la primera mitad del siglo XX en Medellín', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1994), 211.

<sup>133</sup> Rojas López, 'El rostro de los arlequines', 212-19.

<sup>134</sup> L. Espitaleta, 'Las bibliotecas en Colombia', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1992), 138.

provided both the *Escuelas Normales* for *Señoritas* and *Varones* with a 'selected and abundant library'. They were equipped through donations from the Municipal and Departmental Assemblies, and by private gifts.<sup>135</sup>

In Antioquia, Departmental Ordinance 24 of 25 April 1921 ruled that from 1 October onwards all municipalities with more than 10,000 people '... should open, sponsor, and promote a Public Library ...' in their seats, and seek to contain '... works relating to most branches of human knowledge, especially on commerce, agriculture, cattle raising, arboriculture, apiculture, poultry farming and wine growing'.<sup>136</sup>

To carry out the ordinance, the Medellín town council created in October of that year the *Biblioteca Pública Municipal de Medellín*. It opened from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. on weekdays, and from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on holidays, 'a convenient schedule for workers and students'.<sup>137</sup> Labour leader María Cano would assemble the students and workers who frequented this library, and read aloud works that were then discussed. In an eloquent article published in *El Correo Liberal* on 5 May 1924, she invited workers to enjoy the pleasures of reading in those premises: 'I invite you all to come. Old people and children alike will have me by their side to help them ... to read, to help those who cannot'.<sup>138</sup>

In compliance with Ordinance 24, the Director of Public Instruction of the Department sent a circular letter to all townships stressing the importance of the libraries. Of the 82 libraries mentioned in monographs or statistical yearbooks published in 1927, 1928, and 1933, 63 were founded in the 1920s, perhaps as a result of this ordinance. Seventeen were municipal libraries under the care of town councils; four were parish libraries, located in Ituango, La Ceja, San Pedro, and Remedios. The one in La Ceja '... offers good services to the public, since, like in Pereira, books are rented for a minimal fee'.<sup>139</sup>

The previous figures are made from incomplete lists. The list made in 1933 by the *Biblioteca Nacional*<sup>140</sup> omitted Medellín and only mentioned four of the libraries enumerated in 1929 by Diego Monsalve in his *Monografía Estadística de Antioquia*.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Posada de Greiff, 'Las bibliotecas en Antioquia', 43.

<sup>136</sup> *Ordenanzas expedidas por la Asamblea Departamental de Antioquia en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1921* (Medellín, 1921), 42–3.

<sup>137</sup> *El Luchador*, 4/204 (Medellín, 15 June 1922), n.p.n; M. Villa C., 'Circular número 1', in: *Colombia. Revista Semanal*, 6/272 (Medellín, 23 November 1921), 264.

<sup>138</sup> Posada de Greiff, 'Historia de las bibliotecas', 518.

<sup>139</sup> A. Dollero, *Cultura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1930), 724.

<sup>140</sup> Published in: *Anuario Estadístico General, 1933*, 254.

<sup>141</sup> (Medellín, 1929), 13–14.

The data from 1933 permit comparisons on a national scale. Antioquia's fifty-three libraries—almost a third of the total reported for the whole of Colombia (see Table 23)—easily place the department above the rest. The table seems to exclude Bogotá. As to the number of volumes, Antioquia also stood in first place.

TABLE 23. *Public libraries in Colombia (by department) 1933<sup>a</sup>*

Department	Number	% over total	Volumes	% over total
Antioquia	53	26.24	16,532	17.43
Atlántico	3	1.49	5,786	6.10
Bolívar	11	5.45	5,991	6.32
Boyacá	25	12.38	13,114	13.82
Caldas	23	11.39	7,350	7.75
Cauca	11	5.45	3,248	3.42
Cundinamarca	20	9.90	5,058	5.33
Huila	4	1.98	4,405	4.64
Magdalena	10	4.95	7,819	8.24
Nariño	15	7.43	3,424	3.61
Norte de Santander	1	0.50	129	0.14
Santander	6	2.97	3,669	3.87
Tolima	5	2.48	7,412	7.81
Valle	11	5.45	10,329	10.89
Chocó	3	1.49	500	0.53
San Andrés y Providencia	1	0.50	100	0.11
Total	202	100.00	94,866	100.00

<sup>a</sup> Presumably excludes Bogotá.

Source: *Anuario General de Estadística 1936* (Bogotá, 1937), 253-5.

Outside Medellín, only four libraries in the department had 1,000 or more volumes: the *Biblioteca León XIII* in Santuario (1,500), the *Biblioteca del Tercer Piso* in Santo Domingo (1,450), the *Biblioteca Municipal* in Andes (1,350), and the *Biblioteca Nuevo Templo* in Jardín (1,000). A dozen of them had as few as 20 or 50 volumes each. The grand total of books in Antioquia's libraries was 16,532; and although this sum amounted to a quarter of the national total, it shows how deficient these institutions remained.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>142</sup> *Anuario Estadístico Nacional, 1933*, 254.

The few existing histories of libraries in Antioquia agree in painting a desolate picture before 1930.<sup>143</sup> None the less, in the 1930s, when Francisco Mejía photographed the industrial, commercial, philanthropic, and cultural buildings that mirrored the progress of Medellín, he included the libraries of the main educational centres such as the Enseñanza school directed by the Company of Mary, and the San Ignacio school directed by the Jesuits.<sup>144</sup> The figures suggest an effort that in relative terms has not yet been surpassed, in spite of the spreading network of public and school libraries established in Antioquia since the 1970s. The 53 libraries listed in 1933, when Antioquia's population was 1,200,000 inhabitants, amount to one library per 22,600 inhabitants. In 1966 the region had 4,800,000 people, and there were 159 public and school libraries, or, one library per 30,200 inhabitants.<sup>145</sup> In 1933 there were 8,000 books per 100,000 inhabitants, whereas in 1966 the proportion was 26,000 books for the same number of people.<sup>146</sup>

Progress made in this respect in Antioquia by the turn of the century is undeniable.<sup>147</sup> In 1928 the *Correo Nacional*, one of the daily newspapers published in Medellín, extolled the foundation of libraries in 'civilized countries' for the use of workers in their leisure hours. It cited the *American Library Association* in the United States, and similar institutions in Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy.<sup>148</sup> This and other news of the kind show the degree of local interest in libraries prevalent at the time.

Some called attention to the task that remained in stocking public libraries in Antioquia. An agronomist from Puerto Rico, Carlos E. Chardon, in 1936 visited the *Instituto Nacional Agronómico* of Medellín. He praised its spacious buildings and acceptable though modest laboratories. He was vexed however, at seeing the 'skimpy library'. He complained to the director: 'It is not possible to progress with so few books.

<sup>143</sup> Besides those already quoted, see: M. Álvarez, 'Casas de la cultura', *Revista Interamericana de Bibliotecología*, 8/2 (Medellín, July–December 1985), 49–53; R. Zuluaga Gómez, *Las casas de la cultura: centros de concertación ciudadana* (Medellín, 1994), 23–4.

<sup>144</sup> Kept in the CMV, FAES.

<sup>145</sup> Calculated by DANE for 1993. See *Atlas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1995), 34.

<sup>146</sup> List and data for public libraries in 1996 from Coordinación de Bibliotecas Públicas-Escolares y Casas de la Cultura, Dirección de Extensión Cultural Departamental, unpublished document.

<sup>147</sup> A comparison with a more advanced country confirms this. The public libraries in Lancashire, Great Britain, for instance, in 1926 had a total of 20,000 volumes, and a rate of 10,000 books per 100,000 inhabitants. See: R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century*, 3rd edn. (London, 1990), first published 1971; 237.

<sup>148</sup> (Medellín, 14 June 1928), 1.

However, you have built a swimming pool worth more than 3,000 pesos.<sup>149</sup>

#### ACADEMIC, PEDAGOGICAL, AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES

Half of the associations established in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930 for the promotion of science, study, public instruction, and pedagogy functioned in Medellín. The rest operated in towns to the north, the southwest, and the east. Although some emerged towards the middle of the nineteenth century, most date from the 1910s and 1920s. A survey reveals at least thirty-two such associations.

To start with associations interested in public instruction, it is worth while mentioning a couple created before mid-century. The *Sociedad Protectora de la Buena Educación* was created in 1845 by lay defenders of the educational efforts of the Jesuits in Medellín, by then a city with some 13,000 inhabitants.<sup>150</sup> To dissuade the Jesuits from moving to Santa Fe de Antioquia after their dismissal from the direction of the *Colegio Académico*, they rented a house next to the parish of San Francisco. The *Sociedad* eventually bought the house, where the Jesuit-directed *Colegio de San José*, opened its doors a year later.<sup>151</sup> The second early institution was the *Sociedad de Amigos de la Educación*, installed in Medellín on 10 October 1849 by a group of Liberals. Founding members included Marino Ángel, Óscar de Greiff, Juan Gandolfi, Luis María Sañudo, Justiniano Mesa, Wenceslao Lince, and some hundred other gentlemen backed by the governor Jorge Gutiérrez de Lara. The aim was 'the study of those sciences that have a tangible utility for the progressive advancement of the young men that run it'.<sup>152</sup>

Another association for the promotion of education was the *Sociedad de Instrucción*. In 1850 José María Uribe, a political leader of Rionegro, reported to the governor of the province its foundation by a group of forty people assembled in the house of Señor Vicente Villegas. On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday nights it offered 'oral lessons on the language of the motherland, the art of speaking, and morals'.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>149</sup> C. E. Chardon, *Viajes y naturaleza*, Caracas, 1941, 71, quoted by L. J. Ortiz, 'Viajeros y forasteros en Medellín, siglos XIX y XX', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1996), 300.

<sup>150</sup> *Anuario Estadístico de Colombia*, 1875 (Bogotá, 1875), 28-9.

<sup>151</sup> R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centro América después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896), 110-11.

<sup>152</sup> *La Estrella de Occidente*, 14 (Medellín, 21 October 1849), 2-3.

<sup>153</sup> *La Estrella de Occidente*, 96 (Medellín, 2 June 1850), 2.

In Antioquia, as all over the country, artisans, who were gaining in political and social significance during the rule of the radical Liberals between 1849–54 and 1860–78, were particularly concerned with the improvement of public instruction. In 1854 the newspaper *El Tiempo* of Medellín voiced their interests through the promotion of a *Sociedad para el Adelanto de las Artes y los Oficios*. Its goal was to improve the skills of the artisans and to provide instruction in other areas of knowledge, in the liberal arts, including rudimentary civics, and knowledge about political institutions and the humanities. The regulations encouraged the organization of artisans in ‘secondary societies’ by crafts, and their appointment of a delegate to the general board, ‘. . . in an attempt to banish . . . mistrust, malice, resentment and selfishness, and to see that the wish to become useful to each other prevails, by forming a sort of sympathetic chain whose well-joined links will never come apart, and where the strength always tends to increase the happiness of those involved’.

One of its articles explained the need to improve the education of artisans

because under the new scheme of public life we have set up, artisans are often called on for jury service, elections, parish votes, or to defend public rights as soldiers, in the local town and in the country. They have to . . . know how to perform these duties, if not to a perfect degree, at least as best they can.

Furthermore, ‘. . . as some members will want to know the theory of their trade, tutors will be appointed in various subjects, with a preference being placed on reading, writing and arithmetic for each member, depending on his skills and aptitudes . . .’<sup>154</sup>

Among the few associations for the promotion of science, the *Escuela de Artes y Ciencias* is the most important. Founded in Medellín on 15 July 1863 by Ricardo Wills, the physician Ricardo Rodríguez Roldán, Vicente Restrepo, and Juan Lalinde, the school appeared almost a decade before any similar institution in Bogotá.<sup>155</sup> Its first director was Vicente Restrepo, who revived ideas favouring technical education that had been debated in the 1830s. The goal was to stimulate in Antioquia the ‘. . . intellectual, industrial and material progress in all its fields; to help explore the riches of the soil; to establish and sponsor free

<sup>154</sup> *El Tiempo* (Medellín, 9 March 1854).

<sup>155</sup> The *Escuela de Ciencias Naturales* from late 1860s and the *Academia de Ciencias* from 1871, see: D. Obregón Torres, *Sociedades científicas en Colombia. La invención de una tradición, 1859–1936* (Bogotá, 1992), 45–6.



education for the instruction of the people, and to preserve and study Indian antiques'.<sup>156</sup>

Among its founding members were Pascual Bravo, Camilo A. Echeverri, Román Hoyos, Pastor Restrepo, Manuel Uribe Ángel, and Marceliano Vélez, all noted politicians and financiers. The *Escuela* included a number of correspondents as well, among them: Carlos Segismundo de Greiff, Jorge Gutiérrez de Lara, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, Tyrell Moore, Francisco de Paula Muñoz, Anselmo Pineda, José Ignacio de Quevedo, Juan de Dios Restrepo, Ezequiel Uricoechea, Nicolás Villa, and Guillermo Wills.<sup>157</sup>

The *Escuela* was divided into four areas of study: natural and exact sciences, moral and speculative sciences, arts, and belles-lettres. The number of members was limited; some were 'assistants' while others were 'honorary correspondents'. To gain admission they were required to submit an essay in an approved field, be sponsored by two members, and obtain a majority vote in a secret ballot. The institution was administered by a council composed by a president, a vice-president, two secretaries, and a treasurer elected yearly by the members. Affiliation and monthly fees were mandatory.

The *Escuela* was a vital contributor to the Medellín intellectual scene. It organized the 'Exposición de Productos Naturales y Artificiales', an exhibition of fine furniture, gold and silver work, photography, and embroidery. The exhibition was so successful it led in 1870 to the establishment of a permanent collection, the *Museo de Zea*.<sup>158</sup> It was also during the sessions of the *Escuela* that two classic Antioqueño works were first presented: the poem *Memoria sobre el cultivo del maíz* by Gregorio Gutiérrez González; and Vicente Restrepo's first draft of his study on the gold and silver mines of Antioquia.<sup>159</sup> In 1871 the *Escuela* and the *Sociedad de Fomento de Medellín* combined to offer evening lectures on arts and sciences to the general public. The first speaker was the physician Manuel Uribe Ángel, who lectured on the history and geography

<sup>156</sup> 'Estatutos de la Escuela de Ciencias y Artes', *Gaceta Oficial de Antioquia*, 1/29 (Medellín, 12 September 1863), 135.

<sup>157</sup> 'Estatutos de la Escuela de Ciencias y Artes', *Gaceta Oficial de Antioquia*, 1/29 (Medellín, 12 September 1863), 136. Guillermo Wills [William Wills] was Ricardo Wills's father. See: Malcolm Deas, *Vida y opiniones de Mr. William Wills*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1996). Tyrell Moore was a mining engineer of British origin.

<sup>158</sup> *El Taller de los Rodríguez* (Medellín, 1992), 4–5.

<sup>159</sup> See: *Don Vicente Restrepo, apuntes autobiográficos con comentarios y notas del Padre Daniel Restrepo* (Bogotá, 1939), 35. Vicente Restrepo, *A Study of the Gold and Silver Mines of Colombia*, trans. by C. W. Fisher was originally published in New York, 1886. Spanish publications appeared in 1888, 1937, and 1952.

of Antioquia.<sup>160</sup> A decade later Uribe Ángel published his *Geografía y compendio histórico del Estado Soberano de Antioquia en Colombia*, a classic and still indispensable work.<sup>161</sup>

Another contributor to Antioquia's scientific life was a foreigner: the German pedagogue Christian Siegert contracted to direct the *Escuela Modelo* of Medellín invited a hundred leading citizens of all callings and parties to form the *Sociedad para Fomentar la Instrucción Pública* in 1872. Those present included the president of the state, Pedro Justo Berrió, and personalities such as Abraham García, Abraham Moreno, Gustavo Bothe—assistant director of the *Escuela Modelo*—Román Hoyos, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, Manuel Uribe Ángel, Recaredo de Villa, Luciano Restrepo, and Vicente B. Villa. Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was elected provisional president. In his installation speech, Siegert extolled the value of science and knowledge: 'schooling presents itself as the basis of fortune and happiness for individuals and nations'.<sup>162</sup>

Interest in knowledge was not confined to Medellín. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the main towns in Antioquia had seen the founding of a series of 'centros de estudio' that sought to attract the young and channel their ideals through periodicals. Among these centres were the *Sociedad Simón Bolívar* in El Peñol, 1883;<sup>163</sup> the *Sociedad León XIII* in Santuario, 1884; the *Centro Epifanio Mejía*, founded at the close of the century in Yarumal;<sup>164</sup> and the unnamed society in Manizales that published the periodical *El Pequeño Ateneo*.<sup>165</sup>

Associations of medical doctors also promoted science and education. The *Academia de Medicina de Medellín* was created on 7 July 1887, and in the same year issued the first number of the *Anales de la Academia de Medicina de Medellín*. The idea was to reinforce professional identity, exchange experiences, increase the flow of up-to-date information, and advise the local government on health and sanitation policies. This initiative was supported by the governor and carried forward by physicians Manuel Uribe Ángel and José Ignacio Quevedo. They were inspired in part by the lack of practical advice they perceived in the *Sociedad de Medicina y Ciencias Naturales* of Bogotá, which had been established in

<sup>160</sup> Villegas, 'La trama de un poder', 142.

<sup>161</sup> (Paris, 1885).

<sup>162</sup> *El Monitor*, 40 (Medellín, 16 October 1872), 325–6.

<sup>163</sup> *El Aldeano*, 2/32, (Santuario, October 1883), 26.

<sup>164</sup> M. Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición, 1890–1920', undergraduate thesis, History Department, University of Antioquia (Medellín, 1988), 303–10.

<sup>165</sup> L. Londoño O., *Manizales: contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936).

1873.<sup>166</sup> The twenty Antioqueño founders, faithful to the local character, wanted a medical school that would provide solutions to concrete regional problems. They diagnosed the sanitary conditions of the city and originated a number of reforms. They studied, for instance, the problems associated with urban stables, focuses of infection, and encouraged the police to regulate them. They concerned themselves with alcoholism, epidemics, vaccination, the installation of an iron-pipe aqueduct, and the regulation of the cemetery. They advocated the creation of a leper house, an insane asylum, a morgue, and a public dispensary.<sup>167</sup> Another medical association of the time in Medellín was the *Sociedad Clínica*, publisher of the *Revista Clínica*.<sup>168</sup>

The legal profession increased in numbers and importance in the region at the turn of the century. Lawyers had professional prestige, and a legal career often gave access to the political, intellectual, and social élite. From 1891 lawyers sought to unite in a professional society. They attained this in 1898 with the *Sociedad Antioqueña de Jurisprudencia*, formed by Fernando Vélez, Clodomiro Ramírez, and others. From 1903 onwards they published the *Revista Jurídica*. When the *Revista Forense* appeared in 1918, the society had changed its name to *Academia Antioqueña de Jurisprudencia*. In 1926, Libardo López, Pedro Pablo Betancourt, Miguel Moreno Jaramillo, and others founded the *Colegio de Abogados de Medellín*.<sup>169</sup>

History was pursued by amateurs, mostly politicians, members of the clergy, and followers of medical and legal careers. In 1902 the *Academia de Historia y Antigüedades Colombianas* was installed in Bogotá, and a year later some Antioqueño members, among them Manuel Uribe Ángel, the entrepreneur Alejandro Barrientos, and the engineer Tulio Ospina, created the *Academia Antioqueña de Historia*. Soon afterwards they were joined by Camilo Botero Guerra, Gabriel Arango Mejía, Januario Henao, Fidel Cano, Carlos E. Restrepo, Carlos Molina, Marco Fidel Suárez, Leocadio Arango, Rufino Gutiérrez, Rafael Uribe Uribe, and the priest Ulpiano Ramírez.<sup>170</sup> In 1923 a *Centro de Historia* was established in Santa Fe de Antioquia. Its organ was the journal *Antioquia Histórica*.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Obregón Torres, *Sociedades científicas en Colombia*, 66–7; N. Miranda Canal, 'Aspectos destacados de la medicina', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 409–10.

<sup>167</sup> T. Álvarez Echeverri, 'Primeros años de la Academia de Medicina y el desarrollo de la salud', *Historia de Medellín* (Bogotá, 1996), 277–87.

<sup>168</sup> J. Restrepo U., *Medellín, su origen, su progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 571.

<sup>169</sup> J. O. Melo, 'Historia del derecho', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 400.

<sup>170</sup> *El Repertorio Histórico*, 12/129 (Medellín, June 1932), 232–4.

<sup>171</sup> Archivo Academia Antioqueña de Historia, legajo 10, cajón 3.

The teachers of the boys' school in Yarumal in 1911, when the municipal seat had 20,000 people, founded a *Fraternidad Docente*. It would serve as a bridge between the teachers and the state officials responsible for public instruction. Members published a periodical of the same name.<sup>172</sup> Antonio José Saldarriaga, principal of the *Instituto Caldas*, a lay centre of secondary education, founded the *Sociedad Pedagógica de Medellín* in 1912. It was formed by teachers, both male and female, graduates from the institute, and some well-known liberal-minded intellectuals and educators, among them María Rojas Tejada, Pedro Pablo Betancourt, and Alfonso Castro. The *Instituto Caldas* maintained a good academic level and had a long pedagogical history. Originally created in El Retiro in 1854 by the educator Miguel Jaramillo Chorem, it successively relocated in Manizales, Rionegro, and, lastly, in Medellín. It published two periodicals dealing with educational subjects: *El Deber*, which circulated among the students; and later on *El Esfuerzo*, with a wider departamental coverage. In 1912 it had sixty-seven students from different Antioqueño towns and places. The *Instituto Caldas* was the institution chosen by Jesús Antonio Parra, an Andes lawyer with a strong literary and cultural bent, to enroll his son Libardo, who years later achieved fame as a writer and composer under the pseudonym Tartarin Moreira.<sup>173</sup>

The *Sociedad Pedagógica* advocated the reform of primary and secondary education, manual labour in schools, the adoption of pedagogical methods developed in Germany, the adaptation of educational legislation to the national character, the decentralization of instruction, and the autonomy of universities. It embraced the proposal of the *Liceo Pedagógico* of Yarumal of convoking a departamental congress of teachers to debate educational reform, the decentralization of higher and professional education, and the restructuring of the *Escuela Normal*. In 1912 it launched a national contest for the best essay on 'the ideals of patriotic education'.<sup>174</sup> Its organ was *Acción Cultural*, a publication that was to be exchanged with European and North American journals. The first issue expressed the '... disinterested and patriotic desire to contribute as much as possible to improving that important branch of

<sup>172</sup> See: *Anuario de Estadística General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 66–7; *Fraternidad Docente*, 1/1 (Yarumal, 20 July 1911).

<sup>173</sup> M. B. Rojas López, 'El rostro de los arlequines', 204–5.

<sup>174</sup> *Acción Cultural*, 1/1 (Medellín, July 1912).

public administration which relates to instructing and educating the people of Colombia'.<sup>175</sup>

However, the periodical was banned under penalty of excommunication by the archbishop of Medellín, Manuel José Cayzedo.<sup>176</sup> The injunction encompassed its writers, typographers, street vendors, agents, and contributors. Such Church disapproval dealt a fatal blow to the publication from the very first number.<sup>177</sup> Three years later Cayzedo would also veto the thesis '*Métodos modernos*', a survey of the novel pedagogical system implemented by Agustín Nieto Caballero in the *Gimnasio Moderno* of Bogotá, written by Luis Tejada, who had graduated as the best student the *Normal* had had in the last twenty years.<sup>178</sup>

In 1913 some graduates from the *Escuela de Minas* founded the *Sociedad Antioqueña de Ingenieros* to 'contribute to regional and national development through the experience of its members in the fields of science and industry, and to improve the standards of the profession'. Engineers were highly regarded in Medellín.<sup>179</sup> The society's statutes, shaped by its first director, Tulio Ospina, emphasized morality, rectitude, duty.<sup>180</sup> Alejandro López, by then professor in the *Escuela de Minas*, hoped to lessen the emphasis on pure mathematics that characterized engineering as taught in Bogotá, pleading instead for applied mathematics. The first alumni of the *Escuela de Minas* were to be a noted generation of Antioqueño entrepreneurs and administrators, who ran the railways and other state concerns as well as private enterprises with efficiency and profit.<sup>181</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century such 'centros de estudio' were also appearing in the smaller towns. In Santa Fe de Antioquia the *Centro de Estudios* (1912) published the periodical *El Estudio*; in Envigado the *Academia Uribe Ángel* (1914) had its *Voz Juvenil*.<sup>182</sup> The late 1920s saw the creation of the *Centro de Estudios* in El Carmen; the *Centro Social* in Jardín; the *Centro Epifanio Mejía*, with its organ *Sangre*

<sup>175</sup> *Acción Cultural*, 1/1 (Medellín, July 1912).

<sup>176</sup> J. Restrepo U., *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 569.

<sup>177</sup> *El Obrero*, 2/61 (Medellín, 10 August 1912), 3.

<sup>178</sup> Luis Tejada, *Mesa de redacción*, comp. by M. Escobar Calle (Medellín, 1989), 23.

<sup>179</sup> C. Reyes, 'Vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890-1940', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 426.

<sup>180</sup> F. Safford, *El ideal de lo práctico* (Bogotá, 1989), 328.

<sup>181</sup> V. M. Álvarez, 'La educación superior en Medellín, 1803-1990', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 595; A. Mayor Mora, *Ética, trabajo y productividad en Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1984), 48-73; P. Murray, 'Engineering Development: Colombia's National School of Mines, 1887-1930', *HAHR*, 74/1 (February 1974), 63-82.

<sup>182</sup> Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños', 303-10.

*Joven*, in Támezis; the *Academia Carrasquilla* in Santa Rosa de Osos; and, in Santuario, the *Centro Cultural del Colegio* and the *Liga Benefactora del Colegio*.<sup>183</sup>

The drive for cultural improvement reached Antioqueños of all callings and ages. A group of artisans from Medellín, who were said to be encouraged by the example of Argentina and Cuba, established around 1928 a '*centro social del trabajo*', a social centre for work, that was to be free from any political or religious bias, where they could improve their minds and culture, avoiding 'bars and taverns'.<sup>184</sup> In 1930, some persons from Medellín and other towns mustered, under the banner of patriotism, in a *Legión del Alfabeto* with the motto 'War on illiteracy! Down with ignorance!'<sup>185</sup>

Not only men organized for the promotion of cultural advancement. In 1928 Doña Angela Villa, just back from Europe, praised to her friends Teresa Santamaría, Alicia Merizalde de Echavarría, Angela Villa de Toro, Tulia Restrepo Gaviria, and Cecilia López Restrepo the impressive widening of the cultural horizon of women she observed during her trip. The group decided to organize the *Centro Femenino de Estudios* in Medellín, which programmed weekly lectures on politics, economy, culture, and religion, given by distinguished speakers, sometimes even invited from abroad.<sup>186</sup>

#### MIXED-PURPOSE (LITERARY, CIVIC, AND MORALIZING) ASSOCIATIONS

Some cultural associations combined improvement of the intellect and morals of their members with promotion of the material development of the community. We have found records of forty-five such 'mixed' groups, most of them created in towns other than Medellín. Three-quarters of the total are the *Sociedades de Fomento* created by the president of the state of Antioquia in 1870 and 1871. A few of the remainder appear in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the rest during the first decades of the twentieth. Although these organizations had few members, their influence may have been substantial in a small-town milieu.

<sup>183</sup> *Anuario Estadístico General, 1933* (Bogotá, 1935), 253.

<sup>184</sup> *El Correo Nacional* (Medellín, 14 July 1928), 1.

<sup>185</sup> *Ecos de Abejorral*, 7/39 (Abejorral, 13 December 1930), 19.

<sup>186</sup> M. Velásquez, 'Condición jurídica y social de la mujer', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 4 (Bogotá, 1989), 45; *Memorias de Marco A. Peláez o mi vida semi-pública* (Medellín, n.d.), 175.

The *Sociedad de Amigos de la Moral y de la Educación* of Andes is the best known in detail, as the minutes of its meetings have survived. It was created on 13 December 1863 by the Conservative leader Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, Juan Clímaco Posada, and the priest José María Gómez Ángel. The town of Andes itself had been founded only ten years before, though by then it had 6,000 inhabitants, under the political and moral tutelage of its founder, Restrepo Escovar. According to accounts of the proceedings, some 500 neighbours attended the inauguration of the society. Seventy solemnly swore to comply with its statutes, and committed themselves to collaborate in its fortnightly, *El Andino*.<sup>187</sup>

Restrepo Escovar had taken refuge in Andes, fleeing from the political persecution that followed the invasion of Antioquia by Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, the Caucaño Liberal caudillo hated by Antioqueños for his attacks against the Church.<sup>188</sup> He conceived the *Sociedad*

with the holy goal of spreading morals and education everywhere [. . .] to see if we can manage to hold back the devastating torrent of immorality that a four-year war and the profligate doctrines proclaimed all around by the sectarians of corruption and ungodliness have caused to increase in our beautiful country and which threaten to swallow it up in just a few years.<sup>189</sup>

His goal was to improve the morals of the new settlers, and to inspire the young with ‘. . . love of virtue and dread of vice; to improve the mind with useful knowledge; to dissuade it from the path of horror’.<sup>190</sup>

The statutes express the aspiration to eliminate political discord and to facilitate the integration of a society polarized by the latest turmoil. Admittance was granted only to individuals of acknowledged honesty and good morals, ‘even if they were Liberals’. Candidates had to be sponsored by a member, and were accepted or rejected by secret ballot. If the applicant had a bad reputation, he could still be considered, provided he submitted a declaration stating his resolve henceforth to follow ‘the path of virtue’. No member should play forbidden games of chance, visit taverns, get drunk, or perpetrate immoral acts. If the *Sociedad* was informed of a grave misdeed committed by one of its members, it deliberated in a secret session, and a vote of two-thirds decided the fate of

<sup>187</sup> ACER/ Caja 36, Doc. 49, fols. 129–33.

<sup>188</sup> See Ch. 1 ‘Una República de Curas’. The fullest biography of Mosquera is D. Castrillón Arboleda, *Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera* (Bogotá, 1994).

<sup>189</sup> ACER/ Caja 36, Doc. 49, f. 128.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

the accused. Members should set an example of devotion to morals and education; respect and help one another; contribute to the expenses of the *Sociedad*; and spread among the ‘. . . the proletarian and destitute class of people, the sacred love of morals and virtue’. They were expected to confess at least every four months, and to take Communion as a group. Should there be grave and public disturbances in the town, it was their duty to try and calm them.<sup>191</sup>

On Tuesday afternoons the *Sociedad* provided lessons in grammar; on Thursdays, in geography; and on Saturday mornings, in ethics, civics, and arithmetic, the last in the charge of Restrepo Escovar himself. Sunday at 8 a.m. brought lectures on religion, agriculture, commerce, and cattle-breeding. On the first Sunday of every month, two young members delivered a speech about morality. The minutes show that these presentations helped the neophytes to make outstanding progress. They soon became fluent and elegant orators, and their debates were not invaded by the ‘infernal monster’ of politics.<sup>192</sup> Among the lecturers invited by the *Sociedad* was the Italian entrepreneur Juan Bautista Mainero y Trucco, who had business concerns in Cartagena and Chocó. In October 1864 he gave a talk advocating the construction of a road between Antioquia and Chocó.<sup>193</sup>

The *Sociedad* was more than an educational association. It sought to prevent speculation and the abuse of interest rates in times of dearth; it promoted road building and charity. The secretary collected donations at its sessions for the ‘*pobres vergonzantes*’ of Andes, and afterwards handed them over to the parish priest.<sup>194</sup> Fifty lady members created the *Sociedad Hermanas de la Caridad del Pueblo de los Andes*. They collected alms for the destitute.<sup>195</sup>

The state also promoted this type of entity. In 1871 President Pedro Justo Berrío established the *Sociedades de Fomento*, aimed at encouraging ‘state improvements’ in collaboration with the worthies of the various regions. In January 1871 he installed the *Sociedad Central de Fomento* in Medellín. Pedro Alcántara Herrán, a former president of Colombia, was president of the board of directors, and Recaredo de Villa and Gabriel Echeverri were vice-presidents. These societies had several divisions dedicated to public instruction, agriculture, arts and crafts, welfare, trade, health, public hygiene, and city improvement. To spread

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> J. A. Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815–1899* (Bogotá, 1992), 240–2, 253.

<sup>194</sup> ACER/ Caja 36, Doc. 49, fos. 130–5.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.



education among the lower classes, the *Sociedad Central* in Medellín proposed the opening of schools for adults from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. on weekdays, and for some morning hours on Sundays.<sup>196</sup> In 1871 the *Sociedades de Fomento* were operating in thirty-four towns of the state.<sup>197</sup>

In Sonsón, a group of gentlemen bent on promoting civic consciousness and culture founded in 1898 the *Liceo Gutiérrez González*. It was not, as its name might suggest, an educational institution, but an association that published *El Capiro* (1898–1909), a weekly that dealt with ‘literature, sciences and varieties’, edited by the teacher Joaquín Antonio Uribe.<sup>198</sup> Its regulations, published in 1919, authorized the president to ban any internal arguments about politics or religion. By that time it already had its own library, and had changed its journal’s name to *Notas Regionales*.<sup>199</sup> One of its offspring, years later, was the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*. In Copacabana, the *Centro Nariño* used to hold literary evenings that included lectures, presentations of choirs and musical ensembles, and handicraft competitions.<sup>200</sup> From April 1917 onwards it published the periodical *Ideales*, civic and religious in content.<sup>201</sup>

The *Junta Departamental de la Exposición de 1899*, with branches in Medellín and the main towns, was in charge of organizing this national event. It worked to promote local agriculture production and cattle-raising, literature and typography, manufactures and mining, horticulture and floriculture, and the fine arts.<sup>202</sup> The *Centro Aranzazu* was created in La Ceja in 1917 to foster social development ‘through the dis-

<sup>196</sup> *La Ilustración* (Medellín, 1 February 1871), 71; L. J. Villegas, ‘La trama de un poder. La administración de Pedro Justo Berrío, 1864–1873’, Master’s thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1994), 142–3.

<sup>197</sup> Andes, Belmira, Carmen de Viboral, Cocorná, Concordia, Ebéjico, Envigado, Girardota, Granada, Guarne, Guatapé, Jericó, La Ceja, Liborina, Marinilla, Nare, Peñol, Retiro, Rionegro, Sabanalarga, Salamina, San Carlos, San Jerónimo, San Vicente, Santa Bárbara, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Santa Rosa de Osos, Santuario, Sopetrán, Sucre, Valparaíso. See: *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 1 February 1871), 71; (23 February 1871), 189–90.

<sup>198</sup> J. Botero Restrepo, *Sonsón en el siglo XIX* (Sonsón, 1979), 175. A few years later Joaquín Antonio Uribe became well known for his amply documented textbooks on geography and natural history written in a clear and concise style. See: Colegio de Altos Estudios de Quirama, *Escritores y autores de Antioquia*, vol. 2 (Medellín, 1994), 625–6.

<sup>199</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, tomo 6/270 (1919).

<sup>200</sup> *El Estímulo, Órgano de la Casa de Menores*, 1/21 (Fontidueño, 9 December 1918), n.p.n.

<sup>201</sup> M. T. Uribe and J. M. Álvarez, ‘Cien años de la prensa en Colombia, 1840–1940’, unpublished index, Central Library, University of Antioquia, Medellín, 1993; M. Rios M., ‘Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición, 1890–1920’, undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1988), 303–10.

<sup>202</sup> *Boletín de la Exposición de 1899*, 1 (Medellín, 9 June 1899), 1–4.

semination of practical knowledge'. It had a library, and offered lessons on religion, the Spanish language, rhetoric, philosophy, music, agriculture, history, and world geography. Its printed statutes express the desire to 'render civic instruction as effective as possible by means of studying national history . . . [and] to spread harmony among the members of society'.<sup>203</sup>

The references to other associations of a mixed nature are just sufficient to suggest that they were interested in the much wished-for 'moral and material improvement', but there are not many details of their operations. Such is the case with the *Sociedad Simón Bolívar*, active in El Peñol in 1883;<sup>204</sup> the *Junta Central del Movimiento de Jorge Isaacs* in Medellín, which published the *Revista Isaacs*, edited by Camilo Botero Guerra (1898);<sup>205</sup> the *Centro Girardot* in Santa Rosa de Osos (1900); the *Centro Julio Arboleda* in Sonsón, with its organ *El Boletín* (1912);<sup>206</sup> and the *Juventud Unida* in Medellín, publisher of the fortnightly *Alma Joven* (1914).<sup>207</sup>

#### CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

. . . [if] Urbanity is to express good feelings towards our fellow men, Civic-mindedness could be said to be Urbanity towards society as a whole . . .

Tulio Ospina, *Protocolo hispanoamericano de urbanidad y buen tono*  
(Medellín, 1919)

Improvement in the standard of living of a society usually brings with it efforts to implant new codes of manners. The study of the development of etiquette shows that it can be used both to reinforce or to dismantle class barriers. In the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, as the lot of common people improved, there emerged 'a truly American and republican school of politeness'. Good manners, taught in public schools, had a democratizing effect.<sup>208</sup> On the other hand, the Chilean upper class of the turn of the century, living off the rents of large estates, had enough idle time to cultivate aristocratic

<sup>203</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. IV (1917), 237.

<sup>204</sup> *El Aldeano*, 2/32 (Santuario 1883), 26.

<sup>205</sup> Uribe and Álvarez, 'Cien años de la prensa en Colombia'.

<sup>206</sup> Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición . . .', 305-10.

<sup>207</sup> J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 570.

<sup>208</sup> A. M. Schlesinger, *Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books* (New York, 1968).

ways, and were accused of using courtesy as a means to exclude the rest of society.<sup>209</sup>

From the 1850s onwards, as their wealth and their contacts with Europe increased, the Colombian upper classes took a growing interest in the improvement of manners. The model was Europe, particularly France. There was much to be learned, since new habits of consumption prompted a multitude of changes in daily life, in dress, furniture, interior decoration, in kitchen and table utensils, in food, all of which required new codes of behaviour. Manuals of *savoir-vivre* were translated, and inspired others written by local authors. The most widely known was the *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras, para uso de la juventud de ambos sexos en el cual se encuentran las principales reglas de civilidad y etiqueta que deben observarse en las diversas situaciones sociales, precedido de un breve tratado sobre los deberes morales del hombre*, written by the Venezuelan Manuel Antonio Carreño. First published in New York in 1854, it soon set a standard for the whole of Latin America and it is still frequently reprinted in modernized versions.<sup>210</sup> In 1857 the Bogotano press pointed out that it taught 'how to behave to those who wish to win the title of cultured and distinguished persons for their delicacy in dealing with others'.<sup>211</sup>

Other manuals, less known today, had been previously published in the country.<sup>212</sup> After Carreño came a free translation attributed to Florentino González of the *Manuel du savoir-vivre* by Alfred Melheurat, published under the title of *Código del buen tono* in Bogotá in 1858, shortly after the appearance there of Carreño.<sup>213</sup> In the opening note he wrote as translator, he announced that considering that in Spanish America the 'science of good manners' was in its infancy, he had set out to gather together the principles

<sup>209</sup> L. Barros Lazaeta and X. Vergara Johnson, *El modo de ser aristocrático: el caso de la aristocracia chilena hacia 1900* (Santiago, 1978), 63–70.

<sup>210</sup> *Manual of urbanity and good manners, for the use of youths of both sexes, containing the principal rules of civility and etiquette to be observed in the various social situations, preceded by a brief treaty on the moral duties of mankind.*

<sup>211</sup> *El Neogranadino*, 2/401 (Bogotá, 21 May 1857), 347.

<sup>212</sup> The first seems to have been written by Rufino Cuervo, father of the philologist Rufino José Cuervo. In 1833, when he was governor of Cundinamarca, he wrote *Breves nociones de urbanidad, obra dispuesta en forma de catecismo para la enseñanza de las señoritas del Colegio de la Merced de Bogotá*. This school was the first public educational centre for señoritas in the country, founded with his support. The booklet was first printed in Bogotá in 1836. A revised and extended version was issued in 1853 and again in 1866. Its simplicity made it suitable for both 'señoritas brought up in salones' and for 'modest village girls'. There also circulated Pío del Castillo's *Principios de urbanidad* issued in Bogotá in 1851.

<sup>213</sup> *Imprenta de la Nación* (Bogotá, 1858), 82.

. . . that citizens should know if they are to be pleasant members of those societies, and cultivate private relations through that interchange of kindly attentions which . . . together give a country the mark of civilization . . . It contains the precepts of politeness and manners that govern the way well-educated Parisians act. As Paris is the city where this civility and courtesy that make social dealings so pleasant are most commonly found in the civilized world . . . you can be sure that you will be looked on everywhere as a cultured and refined man.

Antioqueños, who as regards manners were, at mid-century, according to Manuel Uribe Ángel, in general 'rude and uncivilized'<sup>214</sup> became acquainted with Carreño's book mainly through an abridged version, advertised from 1856 in the official press as a 'a splendid textbook for schools of both sexes'.<sup>215</sup> In 1883, Melheurat's manual on good manners was reissued in Medellín. Urbanity appeared in curricula from primary school to university, and was also taught outside the classroom. By a municipal resolution, Andes destined 10 pesos to reward the students who ' . . . for their application and good conduct earned the reward . . . in the examinations of December 1866'. Among the prizes were Carreño's manual and Gaspar Astete's *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana*.<sup>216</sup>

In 1865, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar gave a series of Sunday lectures on manners in Itagüí, Envigado, and Medellín, and a few years later in the Seminar of Medellín; and his example was not an isolated one.<sup>217</sup> In 1871 the *Sociedad del Progreso Literario* of Itagüí offered free lessons in religion, spelling, and urbanity to the fair sex.<sup>218</sup> In the 1870s, Carreño's manual figured, together with Father Astete's catechism and Marroquín's orthography, as an official textbook for the schools and colleges of the state.<sup>219</sup> William Leay, during his visit to Sonsón in 1869, found its people ' . . . kind, amiable, affectionate, hospitable, civilized . . .'.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>214</sup> M. Uribe Ángel, 'Recuerdo de un viaje de Medellín a Bogotá, 1862', *BHA*, 2/19 (Bogotá, 1904).

<sup>215</sup> *El Constitucional de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1856).

<sup>216</sup> Gustavo Alberto Zapata, 'Educación y sociedad en Andes', unpublished paper, obtained first place award in the contest *El archivo de mi pueblo cuenta una historia*, Instituto para el Desarrollo de Antioquia (IDEA) (Medellín, 1996).

<sup>217</sup> J. A. Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño, Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar, 1815-1899* (Bogotá, 1992), 226.

<sup>218</sup> *Boletín Oficial*, 445 (Medellín, 13 February 1875), 282.

<sup>219</sup> Invitation to subscribe agreements with providers of textbooks for the state's schools and teachers' training colleges. See *Boletín Oficial*, 7/374 (Medellín, 15 January 1870), 10-11.

<sup>220</sup> *New Granada, Equatorial South América* (London, 1868), 89.

Prescriptive handbooks on manners were a part of the civilizing drive that swept the country from the last quarter of the last century.<sup>221</sup> In Antioquia, ahead of the other regions regarding educational achievements and economic modernization, this zeal was felt with particular force, especially in Medellín, which attracted both workers from neighbouring regions and a host of wealthy provincials. Students came from all over the department, sent by their families to follow studies at the *Escuela de Minas* or the *Universidad de Antioquia*.<sup>222</sup>

Until the turn of the century, the drive for urbanity does not seem to have widened the gap between the social classes in Antioquia. Even the well-to-do were not radically different from the so-called *montañeros*. In spite of the obvious social distinctions, many elements of informal dress, diet, domestic routines, and pastimes were common to all classes. The local élite still seemed rustic and provincial compared with the refined taste and sophistication of its Bogotano counterpart, and it contrasted even more with the patricians of richer Latin American countries such as Argentina or Chile.<sup>223</sup>

The atmosphere changed at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Medellín was ceasing to be a small town and was turning into an industrial centre. During those years of pride and optimism, various albums, guides, and books about the city were printed in Europe, some in French, English, or German. Traditional or rural things were branded as *cursi*, not in the best taste or class, and in the name of progress the ample and old adobe-walled houses were replaced by build-

<sup>221</sup> In Bogotá were published: in 1866, *Lecciones de urbanidad acomodadas a las costumbres colombianas*, by José Manuel Marroquín (there is a third edn. from 1891), similar in its contents, but not in tone, which is straightforward, practical, and meticulous; in 1891, the *Código de máximas y preceptos de moral, virtud y urbanidad para instrucción, uso y provecho de mis adoradas hijas*, by Manuel María Zaldúa, here the religious motivations overrun the practical advice; in 1899, by the Pasto-born Lucio Milcíades Torres, teacher at the *Escuela Superior* and Provincial Inspector for Public Instruction, *Elementos de educación o sea moral, higiene, urbanidad y economía doméstica*; and, in 1913, *Savoir-vivre o código del buen tono extractado de los más autorizados maestros y adaptado a nuestro país con reglas y observaciones originales por una dama colombiana*, by an anonymous writer. In a more frivolous vein, this alludes to upper-class habits, fashions, and receptions, matters with which those who did not belong to the upper echelons of society had no occasion to be familiar.

<sup>222</sup> Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social', 165.

<sup>223</sup> See: M. Palacios, 'La clase más ruidosa: a propósito de los Reportes Británicos sobre el siglo XIX colombiano', *Eco*, 254 (Bogotá, December 1984), 113–56. A very striking piece of evidence for the above contrast is the catalogue of the exhibition of Antioqueño portraits sponsored by the Museo de Antioquia, which shows the persistence of such rural appearances even on the formal occasion of having one's portrait painted. See: *Frente al espejo: 300 años del retrato en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1993). The same is true of Antioqueño photographic portraits.

ings of cement and brick. The stories and novels of the times abound with disparaging expressions such as *ñapango*, mestizo, half-breed, and *mazamorrón*, a person of no refinement.<sup>224</sup> The constant worry of arriving at *buen tono* led many a rich provincial to overdress: it even happened to Tomás Carrasquilla and Francisco de Paula Rendón on their arrival from Santo Domingo to study in the University of Antioquia. 'Ñito' Restrepo remembers that he and his friends used to mock such type of unsure new arrivals for being 'pepitos', 'cachacos', and 'filipichines'. Years later, the satirical paper *Sancho Panza* wrote:

Nobody puts their foot in it more than those provincial students who are children of well-off rural administrators, or at the most of some illiterate storekeeper. They have hardly arrived in this city, and they already believe they are worthy gentlemen, very chic and irresistible . . .<sup>225</sup>

Ligia Cruz, the heroine of the novella written by Carrasquilla, had recently arrived from Segovia, a distant mining town in the north-east, when she was reprehended for having called doña Ernesta 'madrina': 'Those vulgar, small-town familiarities are not fashionable here.'<sup>226</sup>

Manners became a way of bettering one's social standing. Leaving aside social origins, *buen tono* was perceived as the identifying feature of 'decent people'. In his novel *Grandeza* of 1910, Carrasquilla comments: 'More valued than the family, and even more than money, were good bearing, good taste, and good manners.' The widespread urge to polish manners motivated the publication of more manuals, primers, catechisms, and rules of politeness, as well as of related texts including manuals on household management, child rearing, hygiene, and temperance.

One local guide to manners was published by the well-born Antioqueño Tulio Ospina Vásquez, geologist, rector of the University of Antioquia and of the *Escuela de Minas*. Observing that 'many people rise to positions that require more culture and manners than those appropriate for the milieu in which they were brought up . . .', he wrote his *Protocolo hispanoamericano de urbanidad y buen tono* in 1910.<sup>227</sup> The target audience were those newly risen into the middle and upper classes, people arriving in Medellín from small towns and rural areas. Disregarding the complications of French etiquette, he opted for a set

<sup>224</sup> *Mazamorrón* is derived from the eating of *mazamorra*, or boiled maize.

<sup>225</sup> (Medellín, 20 October 1923), quoted by Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social', 164.

<sup>226</sup> *Ligia Cruz* (Medellín, 1920).

<sup>227</sup> Edited in Medellín by Felix de Bedout e hijos, the same publisher responsible for the 3rd edn. issued in 1919.

of basic norms of civility, suitable for a society that valued productive work and did not have a hereditary leisured class. His aim was to instruct readers in 'cultural matters', convinced that 'to soften customs is to foster happiness, to educate is to civilize'. He stressed that '... it is not essential to be rich in order to be considered educated and to partake of good society'.<sup>228</sup> His book laid out the protocol to be followed in every social situation: how to greet people according to their age and condition, the correct apparel for every occasion, paying and receiving visits, conversation, the use of tobacco, table manners, dancing, soirées, riding, games, restaurants and cafés, using the telephone, and dealing with the servants. The work was so well received that it became a requisite textbook even in the *Escuela de Minas*. Gabriel Cano recollects the author's Saturday talks in the lecture hall of the University of Antioquia, bent on

inculcating into a surly group of provincial lads . . . the essential principles of civic instruction, from compulsory military service . . . [to] the basic rules of social education, starting from how and when to wear tails and a black or white tie, and going right through to the way to sit at a table and how to use your knife, fork and spoon once you are sitting there.<sup>229</sup>

In the 1910s, Martín Restrepo Mejía in his *Pedagogía doméstica*, linked the new requirements of etiquette to religious and moral duties.<sup>230</sup> Argemira Mejía de Restrepo assumed a similar tone in her book *El buen ciudadano. Manual de cívica y urbanidad*, winner of a competition launched by the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín* in 1935. It was also adopted as a textbook in educational institutions.<sup>231</sup>

Such books apparently had results. Santandereano Adolfo Dollero visited Medellín in 1930, and after conversing with the mayor, some engineers, and medical doctors, he wrote that their courtesy 'made us understand that conscious gentlemanly conduct was one of the qualities of the refined Antioqueño'.<sup>232</sup>

Decorum was not limited only to individual behaviour. The rural towns—especially those recently founded by the upsurge of settlers to the south and south-west of Medellín—were particularly anxious to be

<sup>228</sup> Ospina, *Protocolo de urbanidad*, 25.

<sup>229</sup> F. Botero, *Cien años de vida de Medellín* (Medellín, 1995).

<sup>230</sup> Third edn. (Barcelona, 1914).

<sup>231</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos? Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890–1930', vol. 3, Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993), ix.

<sup>232</sup> *Cultura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1930), 683.

called civilized. They set out to 'get up to date' in civic and cultural matters. Groups of men and women organized campaigns for public cleaning and embellishment, so that their localities could boast of the 'beauty and comfort' of modern cities, and strove to inculcate congenial manners among the population.

Important in such efforts were at least twenty-four civic associations active in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930, fourteen of them under the name of *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*. Some appeared at the close of the century, but most were created between 1910 and 1930. Earlier organizations to attempt to inculcate this type of civic and social improvement were the *Club Córdoba* of Rionegro (1898), the *Junta de la Estatua y Centenario* promoted by the Municipal Council of Concepción (1898–99), and the *Sociedad de Embellecimiento* of Manizales (1899).

In 1899, a group of thirty industrialists, businessmen, and professionals of Medellín, including Cipriano Rodríguez, Jorge Rodríguez, Manuel José Álvarez, Tulio Ospina, and Francisco de Paula Muñoz, met in Carlos E. Restrepo's offices to create the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*. The initiative came from 'Carlosé', who had been impressed by the *Sociedad de Embellecimiento* of Bogotá.<sup>233</sup> The founders were willing to devote their time and entrepreneurial experience, their administrative efficiency, market and advertising knowledge, and accounting skills to formulating and carrying out projects to improve their city.<sup>234</sup>

It was a non-profit private society, committed to public adornment, street-cleaning, and hygiene; to the construction and preservation of public spaces and buildings; and to fostering civic conscience and the fine arts. Its members were men 'chosen among the best in town'. They did not care for traditional politicians or for the masses participating indiscriminately in their projects, and they preferred their own entrepreneurial management of public matters. Grouped in commissions of two or three members appointed by the president of the *Sociedad*, they tackled concrete problems. Their recommendations were discussed in the regular weekly sessions, and if approved were converted into municipal council resolutions.<sup>235</sup> From 1910 onwards, the *Sociedad* published *Progreso*. Directed by Ricardo Olano, it started as a newspaper but soon

<sup>233</sup> F. Botero, 'Medellín 1890–1950: desarrollo urbano y juego de intereses', unpublished paper, Medellín, 1996, 1–3. (Included in the book *Medellín 1890–1950. Historia urbana y juego de intereses* (Medellín, 1996); R. García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín: Cien años haciendo ciudad, 1899–1999' (in print, 1997), Introduction, 20.

<sup>234</sup> García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín', Introduction, 20; ch. 1, 114–19.

<sup>235</sup> Botero, 'Medellín 1890–1950', 3–10.



became a journal. It reported the society's activities and campaigns with the aim of creating a sense of citizenship. It was concerned with civilization as expressed through buildings, monuments, theatres, greenery, avenues, with the river as the spine of the city. It kept an eye on public affairs and first introduced the concept of planning.<sup>236</sup> Resources came from donors, contributing members, raffles, and fund-raising parties; help came from the local, departmental, and national governments. In order to guarantee transparent procedures, the institution issued monthly reports in the local newspapers of its finances and projects.<sup>237</sup>

The *Sociedad* received wide support from all social strata, and was responsible for the majority of schemes of urban betterment undertaken during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. They included the plans of the water and sewer systems, the bases for a code of city planning, the opening, broadening, and paving of streets, the covering of the Santa Elena creek, the channelling of the Medellín river, the development of the park *Bosque de la Independencia*, the urban mail service, the *Juegos Florales*, the first city directories, a public contest for the production of a regulatory plan for the city, the fire department, a cistern truck for washing streets, the *Escuela de Bellas Artes*, the bandstand in the Plaza Bolívar, a typewriting school, statues, fountains, parks, benches, squares, gardens, and poster kiosks, besides numerous restorations and the planting of trees along the main thoroughfares.<sup>238</sup>

Civic conscience, solidarity, and communal work were propagated through the *Medalla al Civismo*, the *Fiesta de las Flores*, various exhibitions, and campaigns for the whitewashing of façades, and by means of contests for the writing of manuals on civic duties, literature, or cooking, and prizes for the best commercial window-dressing.<sup>239</sup> The society, understanding the importance of the police in the promotion of civic attitudes, established in 1905 an annual award of 5,000 pesos for the policeman 'who best fulfilled his duty and distinguished himself for his good conduct during the year'.<sup>240</sup> These activities counted on the aid

<sup>236</sup> A. M. Cano, 'La prensa de ayer y de hoy en Medellín', *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 30 (Medellín, 1989), 134–5.

<sup>237</sup> Ch. 1, 113–14.

<sup>238</sup> F. Botero, 'Medellín 1890–1950', 1–83; A. C., Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900–1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (Medellín, September 1986), 170; C. Toro, 'Medellín, desarrollo urbano 1880–1950', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 300.

<sup>239</sup> J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, su progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981), 183–9; F. Botero, 'Medellín 1890–1950', 16–20, 40, 82.

<sup>240</sup> *Archivo de la Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín*, actas No. 73 de 5 de octubre de 1905, f. 118; No. 74 de 10 de octubre de 1905, fos. 119–20, quoted by R. García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín', Introduction, 26.

of a *Cuadro de Honor* led by Tulia Restrepo Gaviria, Ana Mejía de Restrepo, Ana Jaramillo de Isaza, and Sofía Ospina de Navarro, and other ladies of distinction, many of them the wives, daughters, or sisters of members. The society was concerned with offering citizens alternative ways of using their leisure time by organizing conferences, concerts, sponsoring sports and providing recreational facilities, and by the creation of the *Instituto de Bellas Artes* in the 1910s.

It also worked at the barrio or neighbourhood level. It encouraged the *Juntas de Fomento Urbano*, institutionalized in 1926 by the municipal council of Medellín, which at the same time zoned the city. Each zone had its own board composed by two members of the *Sociedad*, and three neighbours. Their requests were transmitted to the central society, and if approved were forwarded to the municipal council.<sup>241</sup> According to a report published in *Progreso* in September 1939:

the most satisfactory result of these activities has been the spreading of public spirit . . . It means that a 'city awareness', a love of the city, an urge to embellish it and make it a pleasant and enjoyable place to live, is spreading through all the different levels of society.

A correct civic attitude, the society believed, was a way of living that could be taught through the example it set, by educators, and by prominent citizens as Alejandro Echavarría and Ricardo Olano. Those who would not follow example should be penalized.<sup>242</sup> The task was arduous, as can be inferred from the complaints of some previous years. In 1922 the mayor of Medellín, in a conference the society organized, declared: 'I have come to deplore, lament and grieve over everything we lack in terms of civility and culture . . . I have to confess . . . that our lack of culture is overwhelming . . . we are eminently destructive.' He went on to mention the current vandalism against park benches, walls, doors, and windows of houses and stores, power, and tram cables, trees, and the fences of public and private gardens. He added: '. . . what most and best describes us [. . .] is an intimate conviction . . . that everything has been designed and carried out to be used by each individual person, to the total exclusion of everyone else'.<sup>243</sup> However, in other respects the picture was not so gloomy. The president of the society during those years remembers that on Sundays the *Bosque de la Independencia*, a park

<sup>241</sup> F. Botero, 'Medellín 1890-1950', 20-7.

<sup>242</sup> J. A. Gaviria, 'Civismo: conferencia dictada en el Paraninfo de la Universidad de Antioquia el 8 de octubre de 1921', *Colombia*, 267 (Medellín, 19 October 1921), 193.

<sup>243</sup> H. Gaviria, '¡Cómo está Medellín! Conferencia dictada en el Teatro Bolívar', *Colombia*, 292 (Medellín, 31 May 1922), 493, 495.

not far from the city centre, planted with more than 5,000 trees and fitted with a racetrack, an artificial lake for rowing, a bandstand, a dance floor, swings, and other recreations for children, ‘. . . in the morning hours was visited by the upper crust, until half past one, when they retired and the popular classes began arriving to have fun, to dance, to paddle round the lake . . .’.<sup>244</sup>

All in all, the success of the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas* in Medellín was impressive. It won the approval both of the citizenry and of the state authorities, surmounted partisan divisions, and responded to some of the needs created by urban growth, always with the intention of constructing a ‘cultured and modern’ city. To disseminate its ideals at a national level, Ricardo Olano, one of the founders in Medellín, proposed in 1917 the first *Congreso Nacional de Mejoras Públicas*, which took place in Bogotá.<sup>245</sup> In 1924, ex president Carlos E. Restrepo, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society, expressed: ‘. . . how much has been done! Not even the three years’ war that was unleashed over the native land; nor the two crisis that shook the economic pillars of the country, or any other vicissitude, have been able to stop the civilizing expansion of the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*’.<sup>246</sup>

By the 1930s the society was overwhelmed by heavy debts and by the administrative expenses of the entities it had created. In addition, the city had grown, and its management spun out of its control. For the next decades most entrepreneurs attended more to their private interests, and tended more to disregard the improvement of the city as a whole.

The influence of the society was not confined to Medellín. Impressed by its achievements, between 1910 and 1930 similar groups of men and women promoted *Sociedades de Mejoras Públicas* in Manizales, Jericó, Fredonia, Sonsón, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sopetrán, Tâmesis, Envigado, Yarumal, Heliconia, Abejorral, and Remedios. Their directors were local notables. In Sonsón, for example, the president was the priest Roberto Jaramillo Arango, while the poet Benigno A. Gutiérrez acted as secretary.<sup>247</sup> Besides promoting civic consciousness, they watched over public hygiene, and built parks, thoroughfares, and cemeteries. They also supervised the urban mail service and the insane asylum.

<sup>244</sup> *Memorias de Marco A. Peláez* (Medellín, n.d.), 15.

<sup>245</sup> García, ‘Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín’, ch. 1, 30, 121.

<sup>246</sup> J. Montoya Toro, ‘Breve historia de la SMP de Medellín’, in SMP, *Medellín: ciudad tricentenaria, 1675-1975* (Medellín, 1975), 267-8.

<sup>247</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, vol. 5, 198, 254, 1919; vol. 6, 240, 1919.

Another such organization was that of Abejorral, which strove to '... kindle love of the native land, to lift the public spirit in every way possible...'.<sup>248</sup> Those of Jericó, Fredonia, Sonsón, Envigado, and Abejorral published periodicals with confident-sounding names such as *El Avance*, or *La Acción*.<sup>249</sup> In a similar spirit were created the *Sociedad de Amigos del Progreso* in Jericó (1909); the *Junta Autonomista Departamental* in Sonsón (1910); the *Sociedad de Embellecimiento* in Fredonia (1928); the *Centro Cívico* in Amalfi (1929); and the *Juventud Civilizadora* in Yolombó. All were open to whoever wanted to join, some had small libraries, or honorary cadres of distinguished ladies and prominent personalities of the town.<sup>250</sup> In addition to taking care of the urban 'cleaning and embellishment', they launched educational campaigns for the civic, moral, intellectual, and artistic improvement of the population. Thus, in 1899 the *Sociedad de Embellecimiento* of Manizales offered public lectures, 'so that the children of the ordinary people, those who are looked on as social parasites amongst us, can... drink from the inexhaustible fountain of knowledge the fine precepts of science, morals, and good behaviour'.<sup>251</sup> In this way, the Antioqueño civic spirit was tied to religious morality and nurtured from childhood.

#### BANDS, ORCHESTRAS, AND MUSICAL ACADEMIES

Political, religious, and military leaders of many ideologies, countries, and times have resorted to music to assist their control of public life. In Mexico several hundred military bands were formed between 1850 and 1889: the creators of the Liberal *Guardia Nacional* valued the usefulness of music, especially for the recruitment and martial inspiration of the troops in times of war.<sup>252</sup> Few wars were waged in Antioqueño territory

<sup>248</sup> *Ecos de Abejorral*, 5/24 (Abejorral, 30 August 1930), 2.

<sup>249</sup> L. Londoño O., *Manizales: contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936), 153–5; M. Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños durante la transición, 1890–1920', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1988), 303–5; J. J. Botero Restrepo, *Sonsón en el siglo XIX* (Sonsón, 1979), 175; G. Angulo Mira, *Yarumal 200 años después* (n.p., n.d.), 87; AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 5, 6, 7, 15.

<sup>250</sup> Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños', 303–5; D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929), 13–14; *Antioquia por María*, 1/10 (Medellín, 15 September 1921), 24; *Anuario estadístico general*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1935), 253–4.

<sup>251</sup> *El Pequeño Ateneo*, 1/3 (Manizales, 24 June 1899), 9.

<sup>252</sup> G. P. C. Thomson, 'Bulwarks of Patriotic Liberalism: The National Guard, Philharmonic Corps and Patriotic Juntas in Mexico, 1847–88', *JLAS*, 22/1 (February 1990), 51–5.

between 1850 and 1930, so military bands did not have such a mission. None the less, they significantly promoted musical culture and regional identity.

Between 1850 and 1930 there are records of forty-three bands, orchestras, and academies devoted to 'cultured music'. These were distributed into twenty-nine bands, eleven orchestras and ensembles, and three academies. About half of them were based in Medellín; and though their number increased from the 1870s onwards, most date from the first twenty years of the twentieth century.

Studies relating music with public culture have been meagre. Even organizations active in Medellín left few or no details about their finances or stability, the background of their members, or their repertoire.<sup>253</sup> It is probable that the musical scene was less concentrated in Medellín than the information presented here suggests. In other towns there were surely other groups, as casual mentions found in different sources indicate. But, due to their dispersion, tracing them falls outside the scope of the present study. To give just one instance, a letter sent by the curate of Caldas to the governor of the department in March 1913 pleads for exemption from the draft for the boy who played the contrabass in the town band, since '... the Holy Week festivities are drawing on, and it would cause great harm to deprive the band of this instrument'.<sup>254</sup>

The interest of Antioqueños in promoting formal music dates to the early nineteenth century. In 1811 the president of the state invited the Frenchman Joaquín Lemont to the town of Antioquia. Paid by the town council, he taught wind instruments to boys who would eventually serve as buglers in the patriotic armies during the *Reconquista*.<sup>255</sup> After it was declared capital of the province, Medellín wanted its own band, so in 1836 several well-off gentlemen engaged the Scotsman Edward Gregory McPherson, former conductor of the band of the *Legión Británica* to come from Santa Marta.<sup>256</sup> For fifteen years he devoted himself to the teaching of music in the city, and '... he was the first person in this part of the world to teach people to play by following notes, since the old teachers taught everyone to play by ear'.<sup>257</sup> He assembled the first

<sup>253</sup> See: J. Duarte and M. V. de Rodríguez, 'La Sociedad Filarmónica y la cultura musical en Santafé a mediados del siglo XIX', *BCB*, 29/31 (Bogotá, 1992), 41–56.

<sup>254</sup> FAES /ACR c/3/f. 29.

<sup>255</sup> H. Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín* (Medellín, 1971), 5.

<sup>256</sup> B. Restrepo Gallego, 'La música culta en Antioquia', *Historia de Antioquia*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1988), 522.

<sup>257</sup> L. Latorre Mendoza, *Historia e historias de Medellín* (Medellín, 1972), 347.

band in Medellín, which, being the only one, was 'todera', a multi-purpose group which enlivened everything from military parades and civic and religious festivities to private dances. Around 1845 McPherson created an *Orquesta Filarmónica* that offered Sunday concerts in private residences, and the *Academia Musical de Medellín*. Both ceased to exist after his departure.<sup>258</sup>

Medellín remained without its own band for several years. In January 1851, for the celebration of the abolition of slavery, the band of Santa Fe de Antioquia had to be invited.<sup>259</sup> During Pascual Bravo's term of office, 1863–4, the short-lived *Banda de Medellín* was created and put under the conductor José María Salazar, one of McPherson's pupils. It dissolved after Bravo's military defeat. When Berrío took office, he decreed that every local battalion should have a band, an aim that was impossible to achieve, due to the scarcity of musicians and instruments for Antioquia's twenty-eight battalions.<sup>260</sup>

Music languished in the province until Ramón Valencia and his five sons, clarinet and cornet players, arrived in Medellín in 1872 from eastern Antioquia. They joined with the Mesa family of Girardota to form the *Banda de los Valencia*.<sup>261</sup> In 1883 the maestro Valencia was leading the *Banda de Yarumal*. After one of its performances, *Los Anales del Club* observed, 'Music, poetry and painting are the heart-felt, purified, generous and sublime expression of those peoples who have joined the great banquet of civilization.'<sup>262</sup>

In 1874 the president of the state managed to bring to Medellín the Ecuadorian musician and violinist José Vitieri, then conductor of the *Banda de Riosucio*, to be music teacher for the *Escuela Normal de Varones* and to organize a military band. Composed of members of the *Banda de los Valencia*, the new group 'shone' at the Te Deum celebrated in the cathedral on the occasion of the bicentennial of the city.<sup>263</sup> Later on Vitieri sent for Pedro José, Francisco, and the young Gonzalo Vidal, members of a family of musicians from Popayán. Gonzalo remained in Medellín for sixty-five years, and through his work as teacher, conductor, composer, and performer became the soul of local musical activity.

<sup>258</sup> Restrepo Gallego, 'La música culta en Antioquia', 522; L. C. Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 652.

<sup>259</sup> Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín*, 8.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 653.

<sup>262</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 5 (Yarumal, 22 August 1893), n.p.n.

<sup>263</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 653–4; Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín*, 8.

He is mostly remembered for having composed the music for the anthem of Antioquia, with lyrics by Epifanio Mejía.

Yet much interest in bands still centred on military occasions. The *Banda de los Valencia* followed the Herrán division to the south of the state during the civil war of 1877. On 5 April, after a battle against the union troops under Julián Trujillo, they were taken prisoner, and were made to march at the front of the triumphal entrance of the enemy in Medellín. During the subsequent Liberal occupation the *Banda de Honor* was founded, led by Daniel Salazar. In 1885 its players were enrolled in the army of the union. Two years later the governor, General Marceliano Vélez, appointed a new conductor and changed its name to that of *Banda Marcial*.

During the reform of the gendarmerie that took place in 1890, the government ordered that all vacancies in this band should be filled by poor youths who combined musical talent and good behaviour. In 1891 it appointed the Italian Augusto Azzali as conductor. He was a member of a touring operatic company that was visiting the city at the time. Five months later he was replaced by the Bogotano Rafael D'Alemán, whose work was much applauded.<sup>264</sup> The following year the band played at the inauguration of the Parque Bolívar, as part of the celebrations of the fourth centennial of the discovery of the New World. It was then that the Sunday concerts in the Parque Bolívar were established, a practice that still survives.<sup>265</sup>

By a 1905 decree of the national government, the bands of the departmental capitals were annexed to the local garrisons. In Medellín the band was therefore incorporated into the *Regimiento Girardot*. It was soon forced to cut down on its members due to the shortage of instruments. Several citizens, headed by Archbishop Caycedo, started a collection to import them from Europe. D'Alemán conducted the band until 1914, when he was succeeded by Gonzalo Vidal. In 1908 President Rafael Reyes assigned military bands to Sonsón, Santa Fe, and Jericó.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>264</sup> D'Alemán had arrived as first violinist of the Spanish operetta company of Dalmau and Ughetti. He married an Antioqueña and exerted a profound influence in the cultural life of the city. See: J. Tobón Villegas (comp.), *400 personajes de la pluma de Rendón* (Bogotá, 1994). Benjamín de la Calle took a photograph of D'Alemán and his band in 1908. CMV, FAES.

<sup>265</sup> Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín*, 9–10. Restrepo Gallego, 'La música culta en Antioquia', 523, shows a photograph of D'Alemán and his band, taken in 1908 by Benjamín de la Calle.

<sup>266</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 656–7; Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín*, 13–14.

The support of the national government for departmental bands came to an end in 1920. The Medellín band became the *Banda Departamental*, sponsored by the Assembly to give concerts in the Parque Bolívar, and in general to enliven civil and religious festivities. Its members had to declare themselves free of 'symptoms of degeneration, be it alcoholic or of another nature'.<sup>267</sup> In 1923 the band was again annexed to the *Batallón Girardot*, but was still led by Vidal.<sup>268</sup> Six years later, having lost official support, the *Instituto de Bellas Artes* formed a new band, patronized by Nicanor Restrepo and Vidal himself. It enjoyed a good reception, and a year later had already recruited forty-five musicians.<sup>269</sup>

The frequent visits of Italian and Spanish opera, operetta, and *zarzuela*—Spanish light opera—companies to Medellín from the 1870s onwards increased the musical sensibility of the population. The Coliseo theatre was remodelled, and by 1883 it had its own chorus and an *Orquesta Filarmónica* with the best local instrumentalists.<sup>270</sup> The prevailing interest in classical music was soon sufficient to support a permanent academy of music. Daniel Salazar Velázquez, the brothers Francisco and Pedro José Vidal, and José Viteri founded in 1888 the *Escuela de Música Santa Cecilia*, with the assistance of the department.<sup>271</sup> Among those invited to lecture on the art was Rafael Uribe Uribe. The school had paying students; others on half or full scholarships, who after graduation were expected to teach without pay in the school for a whole year. In 1897 the institution opened a female section.<sup>272</sup>

The printing of musical journals was also a feature of this small city. In 1886 Gonzalo Vidal imported from London the first music press to arrive in Antioquia, and set out to disseminate the works of classical and Colombian composers. His first ventures of this kind were a couple of journals: the *Lira Antioqueña* of 1886, and *Notas y Letras* in 1889. The following year Gonzalo Vidal and Lino Ospina edited the outstanding *Revista Musical, Periódico de Música y Literatura*, of which twelve issues appeared. There they popularized the works of contemporary composers, Saint Saëns and Berlioz, and of *criollo* composers such as Jesús

<sup>267</sup> Decreto 102. *Banda de Música* (Medellín, 1920), 3.

<sup>268</sup> Zapata Cuéncar, *Historia de la Banda de Medellín*, 17–19.

<sup>269</sup> L. Bedoya Céspedes, *Bellas Artes* (Medellín, 1975), 13.

<sup>270</sup> L. C. Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 654.

<sup>271</sup> Restrepo Gallego, 'La música culta en Antioquia', 522–3. *La Academia Nacional de Música* dates from 1882. See: H. Caro Mendoza, 'La música en Colombia en el siglo XX', *Nueva Historia de Colombia*, vol. 6 (Bogotá, 1988), 275.

<sup>272</sup> L. Bedoya Céspedes, *Historia del Instituto de Bellas Artes* (Medellín, 1975), 8–9; *Reglamento general de la Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia* (Medellín, 1897), 14–15.



Arriola, Francisco José Vidal, Pedro Morales Pino, and Daniel Salazar, as well compositions of their own.<sup>273</sup>

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed an increasing interest in promoting new musical bands in several Antioqueño towns. A recent study of bands made by the *Secretaría de Educación y Cultura del Departamento* mentions those of Urrao in 1880; El Peñol and Santuario in the 1890s; Yarumal, Jericó, and again in Santuario in the 1900s; and in the 1910s again in Urrao and El Peñol, as well as in Caldas, Abriaquí, and Santa Fe de Antioquia, and the *Banda del Centenario* in Yarumal. Some functioned under the patronage of the respective town council, and others of the parish.<sup>274</sup>

After the Thousand Days' war, a group of artisans in Medellín in 1903 formed the *Lira Antioqueña*, similar to the well-known *Lira Colombiana*, created in 1899 in Bogotá. This Antioqueño ensemble travelled to New York in 1910, where it produced the first phonograph records of Colombian instrumental music. In the 1910s musical events in Medellín to a large extent took place in the *Instituto de Bellas Artes*, sponsored by the then dynamic *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*. The institute received the personnel, instruments, and other elements from the old *Escuela de Música de Santa Cecilia*. In 1915 it started to admit female students.<sup>275</sup> In 1919 the *Orquesta Sinfónica del Instituto de Bellas Artes* was created, which survived until 1931.<sup>276</sup>

As in most of the world, the first recordings of the beginning of the century radically changed tastes in music and its diffusion. Gramophones and records popularized the new rhythms of foxtrot, one-step, ragtime, and tango. In Medellín, the *liras* and orchestras that played them in the modern cafés, teahouses, and bars were indiscriminately known as 'jazz' groups. Nicolás Torres's *Jazz Nicolás*, was the most popular. There were also the *Jazz Pasos* and the *Jazz Colón*.<sup>277</sup> These groups accompanied the silent movie shows in the *Circo Española*, attended by all social classes, advertised in the streets by the *Banda Paniagua*.<sup>278</sup>

Other orchestras active in the city were *El Botón Rojo*, conducted by the Vieco brothers in 1907;<sup>279</sup> the *Orquesta Unión Musical*, forerunner of

<sup>273</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 656.

<sup>274</sup> *Plan Departamental de Bandas de música, su historia y su vigencia* (Medellín, 1993).

<sup>275</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 657.

<sup>276</sup> Bedoya Céspedes, *Bellas Artes*, 18.

<sup>277</sup> Photographed by Melitón Rodríguez in 1927 and 1928, respectively. BPP, AF/MR.

<sup>278</sup> Rodríguez, 'Músicas para una ciudad', 658–9.

<sup>279</sup> *Antonio J. Cano, el Negro Cano* (Medellín, 1992), 14.

the *Orquesta Sinfónica de Antioquia*, which in 1919 accompanied church choirs, silent movies, and the operetta and *zarzuela* companies that performed in the *Circo España* and the Junín and Bolívar theatres.<sup>280</sup> In 1920, Daniel Restrepo founded the *Compañía Antioqueña de Operetas y Zarzuelas*, with ephemeral results. Between 1915 and 1935 there was the *Orquesta Café La Bastilla*, conducted by Gonzalo Vidal (piano). Its other members were Eusebio Ochoa (contrabass), Roberto Vieco (flute), Germán Posada (violin), and Antonio J. Cano (first violin).<sup>281</sup>

#### TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES

Another feature of Antioqueño efforts to achieve standards of behaviour and manners was the temperance movement. In 1856 the state of Antioquia's '*Lei sobre policía general*' made 'regular and trouble-raising drunkards' liable to charges of vagrancy, fines, and cautions, and even prescribed forced labour in workhouses or banishment to frontier settlements to recidivists.<sup>282</sup>

The state's attempts to control alcoholic consumption are related to the evolution of its control over the revenues derived from *aguardiente* production. By the mid-nineteenth century, with the transition from post-colonial centralism to federalism, the salt, tithes, mortgage, and *aguardiente* revenues were turned over to the provincial governments. The state of Antioquia fixed the indirect taxes on drink and regulated the monopoly. In 1857 a law for the reorganization of revenues auctioned the monopoly of *aguardiente* production and distribution to private bidders, most of them companies and societies. Some, like *Echeverri Botero*, *Ospina Hermanos*, *Vásquez Correa*, *Compañía Botero Arango*, and the *Sociedad La Cuarta Compañía* developed side businesses in importing stills, and in sugar cane plantations to supply distillers with molasses. The main partner in the *Cuarta Compañía* was the famous José María 'Pepe' Sierra, 1847–1921, who amassed part of his fortune speculating in the drink monopoly. After the administrative decentralization drives of the 1850s and 1870s, the revenues from the production and consumption of spirits and from slaughter rights in Antioquia generated 83–90 per cent of the state's income.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>280</sup> *Viecos en familia* (Medellín, 1991).

<sup>281</sup> *Antonio J. Cano, el Negro Cano*, 14.

<sup>282</sup> See article 81 in: *El Constitucional de Antioquia* (Medellín, 11 January 1857), 346; L. J. Ortiz Mesa, *Federalismo en Antioquia, 1850–1880. Aspectos políticos* (Bogotá, 1985), 90–1.

<sup>283</sup> See J. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del *aguardiente*', 46–7, 72–3. A. M. Jaramillo, 'La moralización de las costumbres del pueblo trabajador antioqueño. La campaña contra el

In spite of criticisms against excessive drinking, concessionaires stimulated consumption by promoting festivities and carnivals, putting up showy advertisements in public places, multiplying the *estancos* or liquor outlets, and hawking bottles of 'cheap *anisado* (anise flavoured liquor) for the road'.<sup>284</sup> *Aguardiente* was the favourite drink, and, on a smaller scale, *guarapo* (fermented sugar cane juice) and *tapetusa* (clandestinely distilled sugar cane juice); plus, at the close of the century, home-brewed beer. Spirits were sold and drunk in roadside stores, market stalls, and town general stores, and heavily consumed on the occasion of a town's patron feast day, sometimes jointly arranged, bullfight and all, by the curate, the mayor, and the monopoly holder.<sup>285</sup> According to Catalina Reyes, 'Amidst "*monte-dado*" tables and other games of chance, cock fights and boisterous frolicking, the auctioneers made tremendous profits from the cardsharps and from veterans and beginners in alcoholic feats.'<sup>286</sup> She adds

The *estanco* was visited by tailors, teachers, carpenters, cobblers, masons, traders and peons, all of them revelling in that joyful fraternity that alcohol induces [. . .] The bar, the barman, the shopkeeper, the neighbours flocking around the pavements in the streets, represented warm expressions of sociability . . .<sup>287</sup>

Liquor was also smuggled from one place to another and clandestinely produced. On roads and country trails signs were posted announcing that the liquor authorities of this or that district rewarded handsomely and with absolute confidence any reporting of contraband.<sup>288</sup>

By the end of the century, before Cundinamarca and Boyacá initiated an intensive campaign to eradicate chicha consumption, Antioqueño clerics and leaders, regardless of political distinctions, fomented temperance groups after the models provided by France, Belgium, Germany, and Sweden. Each had their rationality: the Church combated drinking as a moral problem; businessmen disliked the inevitable labour disruptions; Liberals were against it because it favoured the 'fraudulent

alcoholismo (1900-1920)', *Re-lecturas*, 2/5 (Medellín, October 1987), 23; L. F. Molina 'Pepe Sierra: Realidad y mito', *Revista Antioqueña de Economía y Desarrollo*, 35 (Medellín, September 1991), 43.

<sup>284</sup> L. Ochoa, *Cosas viejas de la Villa de la Candelaria* (Medellín, 1984), 27-33.

<sup>285</sup> J. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del *aguardiente*', 73-4.

<sup>286</sup> C. Reyes, *Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890-1930* (Bogotá, 1996), 155.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>288</sup> J. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del *aguardiente*', 551.

Conservative rentiers'; and the Socialist—or Communist—leaning minorities, because they considered it an obstacle that hindered the worker's emancipation from ignorance, and prevented him from identifying his real enemy in the class war.<sup>289</sup> Physicians and hygienists warned about its direct links with the spread of syphilis, tuberculosis, and crime. The Police Code penalized drunkenness with arrests ranging from twenty-four hours to six months.<sup>290</sup>

Different kinds of efforts were made to enforce temperance. In 1904 the teacher Benjamín Tejada Córdoba launched the fortnightly *Antioquia Industrial, Órgano de intereses morales y empresas industriales* in Medellín. In the previous year, as leader of the *Juventud Liberal* he had supported Rafael Uribe Uribe in his campaign for Congress.<sup>291</sup> The principal thrust of the periodical was an anti-alcoholic campaign.<sup>292</sup> He took up General Uribe Uribe's motto: '*Más escuelas y menos tabernas!*' ('More schools and less taverns!'), calling upon his colleagues to carry out a moral mission to create temperance societies in every town.<sup>293</sup> On 22 August 1905 *Antioquia Industrial* reported the existence of *Sociedades de Temperancia* in thirty-seven Antioqueño municipalities, with 15,000 abstainers willing to fight against the 'white beast'.<sup>294</sup>

To make the most of the acceptance of the temperance movement, the *Primera Asamblea Antialcohólica* was organized in Medellín on 12 October 1905. It forbade any political or sectarian inclinations in these societies. According to its norms and regulations, members should monitor the sobriety of public officials in their localities, 'using the official

<sup>289</sup> Jaramillo, 'La moralización de las costumbres, 25–6; M. Archila, 'La otra opinión: la prensa obrera en Colombia, 1920–1934', *ACHSC*, 13–14 (Bogotá, 1985–6), 221–2; *El Luchador* (Medellín, 17 October 1918).

<sup>290</sup> Reyes, *Aspectos de la vida social*, 156.

<sup>291</sup> Military, writer, politician, and leader of the Liberal party, born in Valparaíso in 1859, and assassinated in Bogotá in October 1914.

<sup>292</sup> *Antioquia Industrial* (Medellín, 18 August, 1905), 2.

<sup>293</sup> G. Loaiza Cano, *Luis Tejada y la lucha por una nueva cultura, Colombia, 1898–1924* (Bogotá, 1995), 29.

<sup>294</sup> Abejorral, Aguadas, Andes, Aranzazu, Argelia, Barbosa, Betania, Buriticá, Cañasgordas, Carmen de Viboral, Concepción, Concordia, Copacabana, Ebéjico, Florencia, Fredonia, Girardota, Granada, Jardín, Jericó, La Ceja, La Unión, Marinilla, Medellín, Mesopotamia, Nariño, Pácora, Pensilvania, Rionegro, Salamina, San Jerónimo, San Roque, San Vicente, Santa Fe de Antioquia, Santo Domingo, Segovia, Sonsón, Sopetrán, Urrao, Yarumal. See: *Antioquia Industrial* (Medellín, 1995); *El Colono de Occidente* (Frontino, 1905); M. Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños'; *Re-lecturas*, Medellín, 1987. *El Temperante* (Sonsón, 1906).

and social influences they may count on'.<sup>295</sup> Considering that the national and the departmental governments made use of liquor revenues to defray their administrative expenses, the temperance societies demanded that

future Departmental Assemblies and Congresses will specify rules for the conduct of the monopoly, that the tax-farmers will be obliged not to sell alcoholic drinks that might affect people's health; that the Municipal Councils will be entitled to restrict the number of bars, *estancos* and other selling places; and that under no circumstances will intoxicating drinks be sold near educational establishments, churches, barracks, theatres, etc. etc.<sup>296</sup>

Abstainers were exhorted to 'respect the rights acquired by third parties, without physically harassing anybody, and to devote themselves to the campaign against alcohol through their example, guidance and public and private teaching . . .'; many preached 'The commitment of temperance is a commitment of honour; it will be the sole regulator.'<sup>297</sup> They were invited to organize lectures on the noxious effects of alcohol, and to promote female associations to exert an effective moral sanction against the abuse of alcohol. Finally, the assembly recommended the use of printed matter to further the campaign, and the collection of statistics on drinking.<sup>298</sup>

In principal towns as well, the temperance campaign was active. The *Junta de Temperancia* in Sonsón, by then a town of some 27,000 inhabitants and the second in Antioquia, used to meet at noon on the first Sunday of each month.<sup>299</sup> Besides its members, it welcomed 'outsiders who keep order at the meetings', and women, for they were the ' . . . foremost and direct beneficiaries of the works of this redeeming institution, who may soon follow the example of the ladies of Betania . . . where they have created the *Sociedad Sostén de la Temperancia* (Society for the Support of Temperance)'.<sup>300</sup>

Many smaller towns joined. A degree of local competition can be inferred from the dire speech of Luis María Restrepo on the installation of the *Sociedad de Temperancia* of Cañasgordas, 18 July 1905,

we have been left straggling, we are running the risk of being pointed out . . . as a sad exception . . . slow to accept civilizing innovations that could bring us

<sup>295</sup> 'Bases adoptadas por la Asamblea Antialcohólica reunida en Medellín el 12 de octubre de 1905', in: *Antioquia Industrial*, 1/17 (Medellín, 21 October 1905), 130.

<sup>296</sup> *Antioquia Industrial*, 1/17 (Medellín, 21 October 1905), 30.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-1.

<sup>299</sup> Population according to: *Anuario Estadístico General*, 1933 (Bogotá, 1935), 66-7.

<sup>300</sup> *El Temperante*, Sonsón, 37 (Sonsón, 3 February 1906), 110.

a sure and beneficial regeneration . . . Leaving a deep imprint, the magnificent idea for the moral redemption of our people has spread from Pensilvania to Frontino, from Jericó to the settlements of Cimitarra. It could be said that it is the stirring bugle call of the protecting angel of the Mountain that has come to rouse us from a suffocating lethargy, before the filthy vehicle of vice with its powerful load of mire crushes us.<sup>301</sup>

The *temperantes* of Santa Fe de Antioquia disseminated their message through the periodical *Súrsum*,<sup>302</sup> and those of Sonsón through *El Temperante*.<sup>303</sup> The *Revista de Instrucción Pública* reissued the *Enseñanza del Antialcoholismo de Galter-Basisere* to be distributed in schools.<sup>304</sup>

The offensive was not an easy one, as is shown in the letter addressed by Pedro A. Estrada, chairman of the *Junta de Temperancia* of Sonsón, to the editor of the magazine *La Miscelánea* of Medellín, 12 February 1906:

those called and obliged to work for temperance, as elements of moral, social and even religious and political order, are the clergy and the government . . . the latter feels restrained from campaigning directly by its compromises with those who have bid for the liquor monopoly, and the former, with the exception of some patriotic priests, zealous of public good . . . have remained highly indifferent . . . in face of the shipwreck that threatens to destroy and wallow the country; there are many who just need a lifebelt . . .<sup>305</sup>

He urged the press to preach

without truce or rest on behalf of the temperance societies, regarding which I take the liberty to suggest you could write to Doctor Enrique Cortés in London and have him send you a subscription for one of the many English periodicals published about temperance, since Doctor Cortés is a true apostle of the doctrine we are trying to implant in the country.<sup>306</sup>

As elsewhere, temperance advocacy sometimes bordered on zealotry. In 1907 the parishioners of Sonsón, incited by the curate, set upon a nearby *aguardiente* distillery. The governor had to beg for the intervention of the bishop.<sup>307</sup> Another target for the temperate were the successful bidders

<sup>301</sup> *El Colono de Occidente*, 'Órgano del Liceo del Progreso', 3 (Frontino, 19 August 1905), 4.

<sup>302</sup> M. Ríos M., 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños', 303–10.

<sup>303</sup> *El Temperante*, 35 (20 January 1906); 46 (21 April 1906).

<sup>304</sup> G. Ospina Cárdenas, *Cartilla Antialcohólica* (Pasto, 1939), 64.

<sup>305</sup> J. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del *aguardiente*', 143–4.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 145–6.

<sup>307</sup> In Yarumal The *Ligas de Temperancia* were created by Father Luis Javier Muñoz in 1905. See: G. Angulo Mira, *Yarumal 200 años después* (n.p., n.d.), 63; C. Abel, *Política, Iglesia y partidos en Colombia* (Medellín, 1987), 82.

for the liquor revenues, 'reduced to isolation and shunned like lepers, being denied even food in several places'.<sup>308</sup>

During the 1910s the anti-alcoholic crusade stirred up partisan discords, as each political faction claimed all merit for itself. On the Liberal side, Uribe Uribe backed the fight against alcohol and agreed on many points with the Church and local entrepreneurs. In 1912 he submitted to the Senate of the republic a project to restrict alcohol consumption in Colombia. Alejandro and Libardo López, Liberal brothers of artisan origins, also criticized in the periodical *La Organización* a fiscal system that depended on liquor revenues as its main source of income.<sup>309</sup> To check consumption, they proposed that the government resume control of the revenue from the hands of the concessionaires.<sup>310</sup> As for the clergy and the Conservatives, they boasted of their temperance achievements among the workers through the work of the *Congregación de Obreros de San José*, the Catholic Social Action, and other Catholic associations.<sup>311</sup>

The competition to promote temperance centred on the Medellín working class. '*¡Temperantes!*' was the catchword used by *Kola Efervescente* for its advertisements in *La Organización*, which went on to warn about the 'dire consequences of demoralization' generated by alcohol.<sup>312</sup> The publicity of *Cerveza La Guapa Antioqueña*, published in *El Obrero*, organ of the *Congregación de Obreros de San José*, advised workers to 'flee from drunkenness' and to opt for beer, '. . . a stimulant for the appetite and excellent nourishment . . . Half a bottle costs what they charge you for a small swig of *aguardiente*'.<sup>313</sup>

Martín Restrepo Mejía—author of a manual on *Pedagogía doméstica* that had been so well received in Antioqueño households—was contracted by the Minister of Public Instruction to write a cautionary *Cartilla antialcohólica* to be used as a textbook in primary schools all over the country. The book narrates the lives of two brothers from childhood to old age: 'Luis, the wise, who never had close chums', and 'Tomás, the drunk', who comes to a pitiful end. It was published in 1913 in

<sup>308</sup> *La Patria* (Medellín, 2 December 1907), quoted by Jaramillo, 'La moralización de las costumbres', 25.

<sup>309</sup> *Correo Liberal* (Medellín, 22 March 1922).

<sup>310</sup> 'Discurso pronunciado por el Dr. Luciano Restrepo Isaza en la plaza de Cisneros en la celebración de la Ley Seca', *El Luchador* (Medellín, 3 July 1923), 1.

<sup>311</sup> Jaramillo, 'La moralización de las costumbres', 26.

<sup>312</sup> *La Organización* (Medellín, 9 January 1911).

<sup>313</sup> *El Obrero*, 2/15 (Medellín, 12 August 1911).

Bogotá, with dramatic illustrations by two artists, one of them the renowned Bogotano Coriolano Leudo.<sup>314</sup>

The statistics collected in the 1910s by Alejandro López and Jorge Rodríguez show that in Antioquia alcohol consumption was not as high as is generally believed, and that it varied widely for the different regions of the department, being much higher in the torrid zones, in the mining enclaves, and in coffee plantations during harvest time. In 1913, annual *aguardiente* consumption in Medellín was 2.35 litres per capita. But there were towns like Sonsón where only 0.60 litres per capita were drunk; or Andes, with 0.58; El Carmen de Viboral, El Peñol, and Guatapé, with 0.40; San Carlos, with 0.38; and Santuario and San Vicente, with 0.29 and 0.26, respectively; whereas in the lowland and the mining towns, populated mainly by blacks and mulattos, liquor consumption exceeded that of Medellín. In Puerto Berrío it was 5.18 litres per capita; in Segovia, 3.92; and in Zaragoza, 2.99. The European average at the time was 7.33 litres per capita.<sup>315</sup>

The articles on alcoholism written in July 1920 by Luis Tejada, a keen observer of urban life, agree with the preceding appreciation: 'Antioquia is not the region with the highest consumption of alcohol in proportion to its population.'<sup>316</sup> He doubted that alcohol was the preponderant cause of the 'extremely high crime figures for Antioquia'. On the Atlantic coast liquor was consumed at higher rates than in Antioquia, and '... despite this, crime figures in Barranquilla are almost non-existent . . . There they tend to say that people from Antioquia "don't talk out the quarrel", and they avoid them because of their impulsive and violent nature, which is in such marked contrast to the jovial and compromising nature of the man from the coast.'<sup>317</sup>

Drunkenness appeared in 7.5 per cent of criminal cases with an identified motive;<sup>318</sup> whereas vengeance or self-defence, factors more closely linked to character, were more frequent, each with 10 per cent of the total. Tejada calculated alcohol consumption in Antioquia at 1.60

<sup>314</sup> *Cartilla antialcohólica*, Imprenta Nacional (Bogotá, 1913).

<sup>315</sup> *Antioquia: Monografía estadística de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1915), 15–17; Reyes, *Vida cotidiana en Medellín, 1890–1930*, 159.

<sup>316</sup> L. Tejada, 'El alcoholismo y la criminalidad', *Mesa de redacción*, comp. by M. Escobar Calle (Medellín, 1989), 119.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>318</sup> This number seems low compared with Diego Monsalve's statistics on criminality for the years of 1925, 1926, and 1927. He found that during this three-year interval, 14.80–15 per cent of criminals were drunk; and among crime victims, 13–14.30 per cent were drunk. See his: *Monografía estadística del Departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1912), 85.



litres per capita, a lower figure than the 2.41, 1.88, and 1.65 litres per capita for Tolima, Valle, and Nariño; and minuscule compared with the 11 litres per capita for Denmark, 6.5 for Germany, 6.2 for France, and 4.1 for England.<sup>319</sup>

Ordinance 60 of 1915 limited the legal age for buying alcoholic drink, and regulated its sale in public places in Antioquia.<sup>320</sup> In 1919, the medical congress that assembled in Tunja, where a substantial study on alcoholism in Colombia was presented, recommended some measures that were simultaneously being put into practice by Ordinance 38 in Antioquia.<sup>321</sup> The *Junta de la Renta de Licores* was set up; the departmental government, knowing that it could not establish an effective monopoly on the production and sale of liquor without a modern distillery, decreed the creation of the *Fábrica de Licores de Antioquia*. In addition, street vending of liquor was forbidden, and a minimum price for retail sales was fixed. Only licensed stores were allowed to sell spirits.<sup>322</sup>

Law 12, issued by the National Congress in 1923, better known as the *Ley Seca*, curtailed the production, sale, and consumption both of distilled and fermented drinks in departments, like Antioquia, which directly controlled the incomes from the liquor monopoly. The sale of alcoholic drinks—with the exception of beers under 4 per cent of alcohol—was banned from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. on Sundays and national or religious holidays, in such places as theatres, circuses, movie houses, public ballrooms, cockpits, brothels, markets, and streets. The law prohibited the opening of any new retail outlets, when those in operation surpassed the rate of 1 per 1,000 inhabitants. Anti-alcoholic teaching was declared compulsory in all official institutions. The *Dirección Nacional de Higiene* was requested to prepare an anti-drinking booklet to be amply distributed among the general public and in educational institutions.<sup>323</sup>

The *Ley Seca* was put in force on 1 July. In Medellín, the measure was acclaimed with a demonstration held the following day in the Plaza de Cisneros, attended by workers and people of all social conditions.<sup>324</sup> Luciano Restrepo Isaza and Clodomiro Ramírez proposed that the

<sup>319</sup> Tejada, 'Las cifras', *Mesa de redacción*, comp. by M. Escobar Calle (Medellín, 1989), 123.

<sup>320</sup> Jaramillo, 'La moralización de las costumbres', 28.

<sup>321</sup> J. Zapata Pabón, 'La renta del aguardiente', 148–51.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 78–80.

<sup>323</sup> *Leyes expedidas por el Congreso Nacional en su legislatura del año de 1923* (Bogotá, 1923), 133–5, 428–32. The *Cartilla antialcohólica* written by Antioqueño Martín Restrepo Mejía, illustrated by the Bogotano artist Coriolano Leudo, and edited in 1913, was adopted as official textbook for schools on a national scale.

<sup>324</sup> *El Correo Liberal* (Medellín, 2 July 1923), 4.

Departmental Assembly further restrict alcohol consumption. In his speech Restrepo Isaza censured the attitude of Congress for trying to repeal this law, and urged the public:

Let us form temperance societies, let us fight in the school, the newspaper and the rostrum, let us back the authorities in the closing down of taverns, let us boycott those who continue to open them despite the ban, and if necessary let us even close them down ourselves, and we will have done an act of humanity and progress.<sup>325</sup>

The newspaper *El Luchador* made use of the occasion to ask for affordable entertainment, cheerful and comfortable housing, libraries, and sports and social clubs.<sup>326</sup>

The disputes, originated when the *Ley Seca* went into effect, were rekindled in 1928. For some, the law had had grave economic consequences on the departmental revenues, but others thought that temperance still should be supported.<sup>327</sup> In January and February 1928 the paper *La Defensa* published a public debate about the anti-alcoholic law. On 27 January, one of the polemicists affirmed 'Antioquia should not retrace its steps on the road travelled towards alcohol restriction . . . so that there can be harmony in progress, which, according to its etymology, means to march forward.'<sup>328</sup> On 2 February, another opined

All cafés, clubs, taverns, houses of nocturnal dissipation, official liquor stores, and in general all establishments where intoxicating beverages of any kind or nature are sold and consumed, must close without exception at four in the afternoon every day . . . To this it should be added a general closing from Saturdays at four in the afternoon until Mondays at eight in the morning, on Wednesdays, for their being cattle-fair days, and on all religious and national holidays.

Still, others thought this measure would be preposterous, for precisely at that time customers started arriving, and

it is not only the confirmed drinkers and minor *aficionados* that frequent these places, as businessmen eager to relax after the hard daily grind also meet there, and look on the club or café as a meeting centre where, as they quietly sip their beer, they can chat away their tiredness and the lethargy and drowsiness induced by the constant running to and fro between shops, offices and factories, or else they can combine operations and point out new directions that commercial development could take.

<sup>325</sup> *El Luchador* (Medellín, 3 July 1923), 2-3.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>327</sup> *La Defensa* (Medellín, 27 and 18 January, 2 February, and 10 November 1928).

<sup>328</sup> 'Tema de discusión: la Ley Antialcoholica', *La Defensa* (Medellín, 27 January 1928), 3.

If put into force it would ruin all the 'houses of nocturnal dissipation', besides the groceries or *graneros*. 'Even the *Club Unión* in order to keep open would necessarily have to suppress the sale and consumption of all types of intoxicating drinks.'

On 3 February another reader wrote that consumers at those hours would be people belonging to the '... respectable profession of vagrants and petty thieves'. On the next day the entrepreneur Gonzalo Restrepo Jaramillo asked '... let us not try and twist the law round or discuss the benefits... The only bad thing that can be said about the anti-alcohol law, mark my words, is that it may not work'.

The Santandereano Adolfo Dollero remarked after his visit to Antioquia in 1930: 'Alcoholism is just beginning to appear there. However, the temperance crusade is intense, which deserves all kinds of praise and congratulations.'<sup>329</sup>

#### SOCIAL CLUBS

The meaning of the word 'club' has changed with time. Clubs sprang up in seventeenth-century London and proliferated in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London and Paris. Those in eighteenth-century Britain were 'founded upon eating and drinking, which are points wherein most men agree'.<sup>330</sup> Samuel Johnson's dictionary defined them as 'an assembly of good fellows meeting under certain circumstances'. Another contemporary dictionary considered them 'associations of persons subjected to particular rules'. By the nineteenth century there were hundreds of clubs in Britain. Some were highly sophisticated, and provided anything from dining to libraries in an atmosphere of strict rules and select membership; others were noted for the prevalence of 'hard drinking, free talk, ribald verses and blaspheming songs'.<sup>331</sup> In Britain clubs were not restricted to the upper echelons of society. In the 1860s, under the drive to 'civilize' the masses, workers' clubs were formed as major efforts were made to provide non-drinking meeting places for them. Temperance leaders and clergymen saw them as vehicles for spreading good manners, proper conduct, and moral and religious discipline.<sup>332</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Adolfo Dollero, *Cultura colombiana* (Bogotá, 1930), 688.

<sup>330</sup> Quoted by R. J. Morris, 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, ed. by F. M. L. Thompson, vol. 3: *Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, 1990), 398.

<sup>331</sup> Morris, 'Clubs, Societies, and Associations', 398-401.

<sup>332</sup> F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society. A Social History of Britain, 1830-1900*, 2nd edn. (London, 1989), 326-7.

Social clubs also flourished in Latin American cities and towns at the close of the nineteenth century.<sup>333</sup> In Antioquia, about a hundred were founded between the 1860s and 1930, especially during the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Around half of these were located in Medellín, and the rest were scattered in thirty other towns.<sup>334</sup> Those in Medellín started as informal assemblies of young upper-class men, possibly in imitation of clubs they had experienced on their trips to Bogotá or to Europe. The members found premises, sometimes provided with European journals and newspapers, where they could meet and plan riding, fishing, and hunting parties, serenades, and balls. Until the 1920s they were exclusively for men, though women were invited to certain events.<sup>335</sup>

The first club known to exist in Medellín was formed in 1866 by pupils of the priest José María Gómez Ángel in the San Ildefonso school. Because the members used to smoke a brand of cigarettes imported from Havana, it was known as the *Club Paquete de Cigarrillos*. Lisandro Ochoa remembers that, 'Some of them, mounted on fine, spirited horses—and this was the luxury then indulged in by wealthy young men—lassoed and brought along the bulls or bull-calves that were going to be fought at the "festivities in the square"'.<sup>336</sup>

In 1869 General Tomás Herrán and his family gathered together at their residence the *Club la Concordia*, whose members wore a silver arrow on their lapels or ties.<sup>337</sup> The use of badges and other insignia was common in these groups. The twenty members of the *Club de la Varita* or *El Palito* (1881) went to the theatre and social gatherings donning tailcoats adorned with a small silver anchor. The emblem of the *Club Mata de Moras* (1883–92), was a golden circle with a blackberry branch in the centre; and that of the *Club de los Trece* was a 'thirteen' of diamonds.<sup>338</sup> The habit of wearing badges was maintained in the provincial towns. The

<sup>333</sup> For clubs in Brazil see: M. L. Conniff, 'Voluntary Associations in Rio, 1870–1945. A New Approach to Urban Social Dynamics', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 17/1 (February 1975); J. D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoch. Elite Culture and Society in Turn of the Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, 1987).

<sup>334</sup> Half of these towns had temperance societies. See section on 'Temperance societies'.

<sup>335</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?' 650–1.

<sup>336</sup> L. Ochoa, *Cosas viejas de la Villa de la Candelaria* (Medellín, 1984), 93 (1st edn., 1948).

<sup>337</sup> Ochoa, *Cosas viejas de la Villa de la Candelaria*, 93.

<sup>338</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 651; Ochoa, *Cosas viejas*, 97.

members of the *Club Ricaurte* of Sopetrán identified themselves by a red silk button with their initials sewn in blue.<sup>339</sup>

An important role of the clubs was to sponsor social occasions. Camilo Botero Guerra left a detailed account of the ball offered in Medellín on Easter Sunday, 1884, by the *Club la Varita*, attended by more than 300 people. At 8 p.m. the guests started to arrive in formal dress. A guard in uniform was stationed outside the house, and the interior was richly bedecked with flowers, festoons, tapestries, and two big mirrors decorated with the insignia of other clubs in the city. There were tables with hors d'oeuvres and pastries. Couples danced to polkas, mazurkas, waltzes, and pasillos. Delighted with the event, Botero Guerra added that '... the clubs of distinguished young men in our society not only have their goals set on amusements, but also on important reforms...'.<sup>340</sup>

Between 1890 and 1920 the first clubs gave way to others more socially prominent, which would take on a large share of the cultural and festive activities of the city. The *Club Mata de Moras* used to organize a popular masquerade in the main square on 20 July, Independence Day.<sup>341</sup> One of the characters in Carrasquilla's novel *Hace tiempos* remarks that the *Club Mata de Moras* '... no matter how good its members are, is a school of gambling, drinking, and idleness'.<sup>342</sup> The *Club Brelán*, founded in 1893, was one of the most prestigious and organized the first carnivals in the city in 1899. It sponsored carnival dance groups.<sup>343</sup> In the same year it organized an exhibition to help the painter Francisco A. Cano pursue his studies in Europe. Botero Guerra remembered the 'splendid and civilized party', which included a concert, and speeches by Carlos E. Restrepo and Pedro Nel Ospina. The *Brelán* kept an autograph album with the signatures of illustrious Colombian personalities. In October 1898 Tomás Carrasquilla wrote in it: 'Young people of the Brelán Club: I greet you and congratulate you! The young who add spiritual pursuits to the delicious ebullience of life gain access to the banquet of intelligence!'<sup>344</sup>

<sup>339</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 8, 110, 1921, v. 112.

<sup>340</sup> *Brochazos* (Medellín, 1897), 67–73. Marco Tobón Mejía's drawing of a couple elegantly dressed for a ball at the Tandem Club, was published on the cover of *Lectura y Arte*, a literary journal of Medellín in 1903.

<sup>341</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 651.

<sup>342</sup> Quoted by J. A. Naranjo, 'La ciudad literaria: el relato y la poesía en Medellín, 1858–1930', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Medellín, 1996), 470, fn. 14.

<sup>343</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 652–3.

<sup>344</sup> *Obras completas*, vol. 2 (Medellín, 1858), 713.

Besides parties, the *Tándem Club*, formed by the merging of the *Palito*, the *Figaro*, and the *Brelán* clubs, offered lectures and art shows.<sup>345</sup> In 1903 it arranged an exhibition of works by the painters Francisco A. Cano, Marco Tobón Mejía, the Carvajal brothers, and the Bogotano Ricardo Acevedo Bernal, some of the leading national painters of the time.<sup>346</sup> In the following year, Carlos E. Restrepo inscribed in its autograph album, '... the existence of societies like the Tandem Club proves that education and its consequence, culture . . . will make of Colombia a liveable country where men, parties and altogether opposite ideas . . . instead of destroying each other, can thrive and develop in peace and tolerance, striving for . . . civilization'.<sup>347</sup>

These pioneer clubs were the centres of much of the cultural activity of Medellín. Some of their members would later figure among the founders of other entities such as the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas* and the *Instituto de Bellas Artes*, interested in transforming Medellín into a 'civilized city' in the early years of the twentieth century.<sup>348</sup>

The *Club Unión* resulted from the fusion of the *Mata de Moras*, the *Boston*, and the *Belchite* clubs, which took place in 1894. From 1912 onwards, under the direction of Ricardo Olano, its membership grew rapidly, and it became the most exclusive club in Medellín. It moved its premises to an elegant villa in the wealthy residential sector of La Playa, and later on to the Calle Junín, where it still functions. It was the first establishment of its kind in the city to have baths, a swimming pool, a barbershop, and a fancy restaurant. In 1920 it began admitting women as members in their own right. They soon became steadfast visitors, to take tea and play bridge.<sup>349</sup>

Various games and sports, then a newly imported 'aristocratic' activity, were also brought into fashion by the social clubs. The *Club Mata de Moras* introduced poker,<sup>350</sup> and the *Tándem*, of course, tandem bicycles.<sup>351</sup> The members of the *Sporting Football Club* of Medellín, founded in 1912, played soccer matches in a field next to the cathedral, or in the

<sup>345</sup> A. C. Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín, 1900-1930', *Estudios Sociales*, 1 (September 1986), 177.

<sup>346</sup> Marco Tobón Mejía, *1876-1933* (Bogotá, 1986), n.p.n.

<sup>347</sup> *Colombia Revista Semanal*, 3/146 (Medellín, 9 April 1919), 458-9.

<sup>348</sup> R. García Estrada, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín, Cien años haciendo ciudad, 1899-1999' (book in print), Introduction, 13-17.

<sup>349</sup> S. Londoño, *Historia de pintura y el grabado en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1995); Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín', 177-8.

<sup>350</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 651.

<sup>351</sup> Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín', 177.

*Bosque de la Independencia*. Other clubs devoted to football were the *Antioquia* and the *Universidad*.<sup>352</sup> Foreigners living in the city opened the *British Tennis Club*, the *Medellín Tennis Club*, and the *Colombia Tennis Club* in 1916.<sup>353</sup> The *Club Campestre*, founded in 1924 by a son of Ricardo Olano on an extensive plot of land on the southern outskirts of the city, had golf, tennis, swimming, soccer, basketball, and croquet facilities.<sup>354</sup>

These clubs covered a wide range of activities, as may be inferred from the notice to its 'distinguished clientele' published in 1908 in *El Bateo* by the *Club Medellín*, located in the Plazuela Veracruz: 'We will continue to offer an excellent hotel and bar service; commission; all kinds of American articles, both wholesale and retail; the sale of imitation stones; the buying of gold; the sale of jewellery . . .'.<sup>355</sup>

The artist Bernardo Vieco and other painters and sculptors created the *Club Artístico de Medellín* in 1929. Under the directorship of the German Kurt Lahs, its members met periodically in the *Palacio de Bellas Artes*, and, aided by their students, organized exhibitions and other events.<sup>356</sup>

Smaller towns had their own social clubs. Some were named 'Brelán' and 'Unión' after the famous clubs of Medellín, even though they had little resemblance to their originals, which in turn were copies of foreign ones. Although the word 'club' was applied to a variety of establishments, what most of them had in common was that they were meeting places for young men over 21, with a number of rules. The services offered by town clubs to their members varied. Some had halls for lectures, poetry recitals, and concerts. Sometimes there was a reading room with newspapers and magazines. Usually they had rooms for playing billiards, as well as for *tresillo*—the card game of whist—dominoes, and chess. Others were mere billiards and gambling houses, and even staged cockfights on holy days.<sup>357</sup>

The earliest club outside Medellín was active in Manizales in 1871; there are scant references, and even its name is unknown. It had a sign

<sup>352</sup> Payne, 179–80; F. Botero Gómez, *Cien años de la vida de Medellín* (Medellín, 1994), 76.

<sup>353</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 444.

<sup>354</sup> Payne, 'Crecimiento y cambio social en Medellín', 178; P. Londoño, 'La vida cotidiana: usos y costumbres', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1988), 339.

<sup>355</sup> Botero Gómez, *Cien años de la vida de Medellín*, 79.

<sup>356</sup> L. Bedoya Céspedes, *Historia del Instituto de Bellas Artes* (Medellín, 1975), 5–7, 14–16.

<sup>357</sup> M. Ríos, 'Anotaciones sobre la vida de los antioqueños', 242.

at the entrance that read: '*A los clubes no concurren sino las personas invitadas*' ('Clubs are only for invited persons').<sup>358</sup> The *Club Córdoba* of Rionegro was established in 1898 to organize the celebration of the centennial of that town.<sup>359</sup>

More specific details are known about the *Club de los Amigos* of Yarumal, founded on 9 April 1883 by twenty-five local youths, among them Francisco A. Cano.<sup>360</sup> The minutes of its installation recorded that 'We the undersigned active members of the *Club de los Amigos* undertake on our honour to support this association in a determined manner and to do all we can to overcome all obstacles.'<sup>361</sup> The regulations stated that the club '. . . intends to work towards the ideal of bringing prosperity and fame to Yarumal society, irrespective of social class, and will do all we can to achieve this, guided by morality, decency and the instinctive noble nature of true gentlemen'.<sup>362</sup>

Their aspiration was that Yarumal, then a town of 10,000 people, '. . . would occupy its proper place in the hierarchy of cultured cities'. They defined themselves as well-born young men who had thrust aside that 'whorish stepmother' of politics in order to '. . . dedicate ourselves with patriotic and commendable zeal to work firmly and assiduously towards the formal and material improvement of the condition of our town'.<sup>363</sup>

The ban against political discussion seems to have been taken seriously. Rafael Navarro y Eusse, consulting and honorary member of the *Club de los Amigos*, received a letter from its president Victoriano Valencia in August 1883, informing him of the irate reaction of a fellow member, who disapproved of the opinions expressed by Navarro during the last general meeting. His anger, Valencia explained, was not because he heard something contrary to his convictions, for almost all the members were Conservatives, but because Navarro had introduced politics into the club.<sup>364</sup>

The *Club de los Amigos* functioned on a variety of levels. It celebrated Bolívar's birthday with a literary evening with speeches and poetry readings.<sup>365</sup> It maintained a library, and produced the periodical *Los Anales*

<sup>358</sup> L. Londoño O., *Manizales: contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936), 214.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>360</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 1 (Yarumal, 20 May 1883); 6 (3 September 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>361</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 6 (Yarumal, 3 September 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>363</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 5 (Yarumal, 22 August 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>364</sup> FAES/ARNyE/C/za/f. 18.

<sup>365</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 5 (Yarumal, 22 August 1883), n.p.n.



*del Club*, which consisted of three handwritten copies, a painstaking task, as each issue was forty pages long, and was adorned with vignettes, drawings, and watercolours by Francisco A. Cano and Victoriano Valencia.<sup>366</sup> One copy, destined to the 'fair sex', was handed to the *Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*; another was for the honorary members; and the third went into the club archives. Its contents describe local customs, and express the desire for improvement.<sup>367</sup> It was addressed

especially to literature and prosperity . . . attacking and eradicating bad habits that are natural in developing peoples . . . We intend to abandon the intellectual inactivity that typifies our lives and is leading us gradually towards the abyss. We want to start a new life, one that is exciting, that will make it easy for countless thoughts to be quickly produced, as well as a more or less pure and grammatical co-ordination of our ideas . . .<sup>368</sup>

*Los Anales del Club* preached against the vices of drinking and gambling, 'social cancers' that had to be extirpated. On 3 June 1883 it stated its aim: '. . . to set up supervisory commissions to watch over young people and impose harsh sanctions on those who fail to conform by their example the Club's view on gambling'.

Almost all the provincial clubs came into existence during the first three decades of the twentieth century, perhaps due to the prosperity brought by coffee cultivation and export. The *4 de Diciembre* club was created in 1905 in Sonsón by a group of gentlemen spurred by the 'yearning for moral and material advancement'. It sponsored lectures.<sup>369</sup> In 1917, the *Club Colombia* in Fredonia advertised that its facilities included a bar, a dining room, and a library 'with its librarian'.<sup>370</sup> Around the same time a group of residents of Frontino promoted the *Club de Urabá* to supply the lack of a club for reading and other 'licit' entertainment.<sup>371</sup> The *Club Reforma* of Titiribí offered monthly lectures 'on a topic chosen by the speaker'.<sup>372</sup> The *Club Magdalena* of Puerto Berrío was a place for 'cultural reunions', where any noise that might disturb neighbours was forbidden, as was conversation on politics or

<sup>366</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 7 (Yarumal, 22 October 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>367</sup> The *Hemeroteca Luis López de Mesa* has seven numbers. See: S. Londoño, 'Periódicos manuscritos del siglo XIX en Antioquia', *Credencial Historia*, 2 (Bogotá, February 1990), 5-6.

<sup>368</sup> *Los Anales del Club*, 1 (Yarumal, 20 May 1883), n.p.n.

<sup>369</sup> *El Estudio*, 1 (Sonsón, 15 January 1905), n.p.n.

<sup>370</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 10, 251.

<sup>371</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 6, 103, 1919, 104 v.

<sup>372</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 6, 8 v.

religion. It announced ‘. . . moral, philosophical, literary, news and industrial reading material; gymnastics and muscular exercise to develop the body; intellectual exercises, the preparation and construction of hieroglyphics, a maze, horse jumping, charades; games allowed: billiards, chess, draughts, whist’.<sup>373</sup>

Some clubs had a political character. The *Club Maceo* of Santa Fe de Antioquia, in support of the Cuban independence struggle, was presided over by Marceliano Vélez, who in 1897 appointed Fidel Cano and Clodomiro Ramírez as first and second secretaries, respectively.<sup>374</sup> The *Club La Esperanza*, formed by youths from Santa Fe de Antioquia had a Conservative and Catholic outlook. In 1910 it published the periodical *La Reacción*,<sup>375</sup> and in the same year took care of the festivities for the centennial of the independence.<sup>376</sup>

Others had moral goals. In 1917, some merchants from Frontino created the *Club Darién* to prevent the young from giving in to ‘machinations of another moral order’. Its regulations gave admittance only to ‘. . . people who, because of their culture, sociable nature and financial position . . . will enforce order, civility and manners’. Members had to ‘. . . take care not to utter obscene words and even more so not to encourage political or other kinds of allegation that might tend to disrupt peace and harmony . . . [and] to see that day labourers and people who are under age do not come in’.<sup>377</sup>

The inauguration minutes and the regulations of many clubs presented them as ‘centres of sociability and diversion’. The recreation they afforded was explicitly pictured as ‘wholesome’, ‘licit’, ‘moral’, and ‘decent’. Only games ‘permitted by the law’, such as cards, chess, billiards, and dominoes were sanctioned. The *Club La Paz* of Andes applied for legal status with the argument that its members deserved ‘healthy amusement . . . for their merits as work-loving men’. It denied entrance to ‘day labourers, minors, and people given to the vice of drunkenness’.<sup>378</sup> In Sonsón the *Club Brelán* boasted that it maintained an atmosphere where ‘the politesse, cordiality and decency that inform such social centres’ prevailed.<sup>379</sup>

<sup>373</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 8, 244, 1921, 245 v.

<sup>374</sup> FAES/ACR/C/7/f. 7.

<sup>375</sup> Serie I, 1, Medellín, 27 June 1910; serie I, 12, 31 December 1910.

<sup>376</sup> *La Reacción*, 1/4 (Antioquia, 5 August 1910), n.p.n.

<sup>377</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. IV, 250, 1917.

<sup>378</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 5, 32, 1918, 35 r.

<sup>379</sup> AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, t. 8 161, 1921, 162.

The insistence on allowing only legal games suggests that many 'clubs' were mere gambling houses and saloons. The Antioqueños' fondness for all forms of betting is documented in the *coplas*, popular songs and rhymes, and the literature of the times: families of all social strata risked ruin. Even Tulio Ospina's manual of manners had a section dedicated to this issue.<sup>380</sup> In 1919 the municipal treasurer declared to the council that the only centre with real 'social' objectives was the *Club Unión*: 'We are all convinced that this establishment is the only one where there is no gambling or drinking, and where great fortunes have not been squandered, bringing whole families to ruin.'<sup>381</sup>

According to a chronicler of Medellín, and it is possible that something similar occurred all over the department, the abuse of the word 'club' was due to some unspecified municipal council resolution directed to promote 'social centres'. The taxes levied on bars and casinos were lower if they appeared as social clubs.<sup>382</sup>

Social clubs, which started being an expression of the sociability of the upper classes in Medellín, were rapidly imitated by clubs for well-to-do townfolk elsewhere. These in turn were emulated by 'clubs' that were more like taverns, open even in remote villages and for the more humble classes. In spite of covering such a wide gamut of clientèle and interests, most social clubs in Antioquia appeared when small and large towns decided to have a more formal 'social life' and to leave behind the rural world from which they had sprung. Making allowances for the size and the degree of urban sophistication of their localities, these institutions functioned as new gathering places where their members, mostly young men, might change their behaviour through study and conversation, or through different drinking habits and altered manners. In brief, they were part of the social refinement of Antioquia's society, conceived as part of a drive for modernity.

#### CULTURAL SOCIABILITY OR THE ASPIRATION TO BE 'CIVILIZED'

According to the inventory of cultural groups and entities reviewed in the previous sections, the interest for cultural advancement in Antioquia emerged gradually from the middle of the century onwards. These associations, which altogether amounted to 455, became more abundant in the 1870s due to a large extent to the *Sociedades de Fomento* created by

<sup>380</sup> Reyes Cárdenas, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos?', 655–6.

<sup>381</sup> *El Luchador*, 5/19 (Medellín, 16 January 1919), n.p.n.

<sup>382</sup> Ochoa, *Cosas viejas*, 110.

the president of the state in the principal towns, and increased even more with the arrival of the new century, especially between 1910 and 1930. Grouped by objective, the most uniform growth during the period corresponds to the following categories: scientific and academic societies; literary, artistic, and theatrical groups; and bands, orchestras, and musical ensembles. Temperance societies flourished only during the first decade of the twentieth century (see Table 24).

Cultural sociability prospered mainly in Medellín and the principal towns, where it was obviously easier for people to gather together and keep informed than in other more rustic areas. By the early decades of the twentieth century rural and town life had become more clearly differentiated.

Only for a few associations has it been possible to determine whether they admitted men, women, or both sexes. Where this information is available, most turn out to be restricted to men. Feminine participation in cultural entities and groups is seen mainly in the public libraries and in some civic associations.

Most cultural entities and associations were the outcome of individual initiatives (see Table 25). A smaller number derived from the government, and an even smaller one from the Church. Of a total of 455 cultural associations, only 7 per cent appeared under the aegis of parishes, brotherhoods, or religious communities. When it came to promoting cultural or intellectual advance, instead of waiting or asking for official or ecclesiastical aid, the citizenry had recourse to individual effort. In this they were in tune with the belief that the free play of private initiative would bring general progress and prosperity.<sup>383</sup>

About a third of these groups and entities—148 from a total of 455—were located in Medellín. In this respect the city was noticeably ahead of Yarumal and Sonsón, which came in second place with twenty cultural associations each. They were followed by Santa Fe de Antioquia with 15; Rionegro with 13; Caldas, Fredonia, Jericó, Santuario, and La Ceja, with 8 each; Titiribí, Santa Rosa de Osos, and Yolombó, with 7; and Abejorral, Amalfi, Peñol, and Urrao, with 6. Twenty-six towns appear with just one entry.<sup>384</sup>

<sup>383</sup> J. Duarte and M. V. de Rodríguez reached similar conclusions, in 'La Sociedad Filarmónica y la cultura musical en Bogotá a mediados del siglo XIX', *BCB*, 29/31 (Bogotá, 1992), 46. In the case of social assistance entities and groups, one-third were founded with religious support. See Ch. 5: 'A Plethora of Charity Societies'.

<sup>384</sup> Abriaquí, Aguadas, Aranzazu, Argelia, Belmira, Betania, Buritica, Carolina, Cocorná, El Retiro, Florencia, Gómez Plata, Guarne, Heliconia, La Unión, Mesopotamis, Nare, Pácora, Pensilvania, Pueblo Rico, Retiro, Sabanalarga, San Andrés, San Carlos, San

TABLE 24. *Date of foundation (by decades) of cultural groups and entities in Antioquia, 1850–1930<sup>a</sup>*

Decade	Literary and artistic	Public libraries	Academic and scientific	Mixed	Civic	Musical	Temperance	Clubs	Total
1850	7	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	11
1860	5	—	1	1	—	1	—	2	10
1870	3	1	2	35	—	4	—	1	46
1880	7	7	3	1	—	5	—	8	31
1890	2	9	3	3	5	2	—	5	29
1900	3	4	1	1	1	9	41	3	63
1910	8	25	8	4	7	15	—	25	92
1920	12	71	8	—	8	5	—	60	164
1930 <sup>b</sup>	1	1	4	—	3	—	—	—	9
Total	48	118	32	45	24	43	41	104	455

<sup>a</sup> Does not include groups which edited art and literary newspapers or journals

<sup>b</sup> Refers only to the year of 1930.

Source: Chapter 7: New Cultural Societies.

TABLE 25. *Initiative to open cultural entities and groups in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Type	Private	Official	Church	No information	Total
Literary	47	—	1	—	48
Libraries	48	26	29	15	118
Academic	28	1	3	—	32
Mixed	9	36	—	—	45
Civic	23	1	—	—	24
Musical	30	11	1	1	43
Temperance	40	—	1	—	41
Clubs	104	—	—	—	104
Total	329	75	35	16	455

Source: Chapter 7: New Cultural Societies.

Cultural groups and entities were dispersed in a total of 85 towns, seven of which were not the chief town of their municipality.<sup>385</sup> Of the ninety-eight municipal seats Antioquia had in the census of 1928, only the following did not have have cultural associations: Alejandria, Angelópolis, Anzá, Betulia, Cáceres, Caicedo, Campamento, Caramanta, Cisneros, Chigorodó, Don Matías, Ebéjico, Giraldo, La Estrella, Margento, Montebello, Murindó, Pavarandocito, Peque, San Luis, Toledo, Valdivia, and Zaragoza. Most of them, except Don Matías and La Estrella, were located in sparsely populated lands recently opened by spontaneous settlers, many of them with a strong black or Indian component. María Teresa Uribe has referred to peripheral areas only loosely connected to the central region of Antioquia, with Medellín at its core, as ‘areas of exclusion from the Antioqueño sociocultural ethos’. In broad outlines, the limits of the area where the Antioqueño ‘ethos’ prevailed were: Rionegro to the east; Sonsón and Caramanta to the south; Jericó and Titiribí to the south-east; Santa Fe de Antioquia to the west; and Amalfi, Yolombó, and Santo Domingo to the north-east.<sup>386</sup>

The French traveller Pierre D’Espagnat, passing through Yolombó in north-eastern Antioquia in the 1890s, perceived the frontier between

José de la Montaña, San Rafael, Sucre and Turbo. See Appendix 10: ‘Location of cultural groups and entities in Antioquia, 1850–1930’.

<sup>385</sup> Argelia, Florencia, Mesopotamia, Nare, Pensilvania, Porce, and San José de la Montaña.

<sup>386</sup> See: ‘La territorialidad de los conflictos y de la violencia en Antioquia’, Gobernación de Antioquia, ed. by A. Tirado Mejía, *Realidad social*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1990), 51–114, and map at 61.

*civilización* and *barbarie*: ‘. . . the “civilization” that has reached there is abruptly checked by the cruel and armed barbarity of the vicinity’. By this he meant the Opón and Carare Indians, whom he depicts as ‘. . . ineradicable remains of the primitive inhabitants . . . wild, naked, ferocious Indians, robbers, warriors and cannibals, with feathers on their heads . . .’.<sup>387</sup>

A panoramic view of cultural groups and entities suggests that the dividing line between central and peripheral towns was not so clearly drawn. As may be observed in Appendix 10, the following towns located in the so-called ‘excluded zone’ appear as seats of cultural associations, each with only a small number of associations, but together they amount to one-tenth of the grand total, a considerable figure: Abriaquí, Anorí, Belmira, Betania, Buriticá, Cañasgordas, Cocorná, Dabeiba, Ebéjico, Frontino, Gómez Plata, Granada, Ituango, Nariño, Puerto Berrio, Remedios, Salgar, Sabanalarga, San Carlos, Segovia, Sucre, Turbo, and Yolombó. The cultural entities found in these towns were mainly public libraries, followed in decreasing order by social clubs, mixed-purpose—literary, civic, and moralizing—associations, temperance societies, musical bands, and, lastly, civic associations.

Data published by the *Anuario General de Estadística* of 1936 suggest that Antioquia maintained the cultural dynamism described in this chapter at least until the mid-1930s. As may be observed in Table 26, Antioquia, with almost one-third of the total academic and cultural societies, occupied the first place among the departments of Colombia, and double those of Cundinamarca, which ranked second. The *Anuario* does not specify the nature of these societies, but assuming that a common parameter was used, the information at least affords a comparative vision on a national scale, something rare in other sources on the subject.

A large majority of the cultural associations described were small, but put together they form a significant universe. Their importance often went beyond the inner circle of their committed membership. This was in good part thanks to their publications, which voiced their ideas and reported their activities. As elsewhere, during the years prior to the advent of the radio, the cinema, and mass sports, voluntary associations were important centres of social life in most towns.<sup>388</sup>

<sup>387</sup> *Recuerdos de la Nueva Granada* (Bogotá, 1942), 258.

<sup>388</sup> This is documented for Britain in: R. J. Morris, ‘Clubs Societies and Associations’, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950*, vol. 3: *Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. by F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge, 1990), 395–443.

TABLE 26. *Academic and cultural societies in Colombia (by department) 1933*

Department	Number	% over total
Antioquia	26	29.55
Atlántico	—	—
Bolívar	4	4.55
Boyacá	8	9.09
Caldas	7	7.95
Cauca	1	1.14
Cundinamarca	12	13.64
Huila	3	3.41
Magdalena	4	4.55
Nariño	8	9.09
Norte de Santander	2	2.27
Santander	3	3.41
Tolima	2	2.27
Valle	3	3.41
Chocó	4	4.55
San Andrés y Providencia	1	1.44
Total	88	100.00

Source: *Anuario General de Estadística, 1936* (Bogotá, 1937), 253-5.

The wealthy and the powerful were not the only ones interested in cultural improvement. Artisans and workers, with a strong emphasis on youth, participated as well, and sometimes even took the initiative. This type of sociability established contact among sectors divided by party or status, helping to knit together the whole of society. On occasion it afforded a means for social mobility and recognition. The example of the literati is sufficient: many of them, of humble rural or mining origins, rose into higher social circles and acquired local and even national renown through their intellectual pursuits.

The upsurge of voluntary associations in Antioquia during these years, shows a vigorous cultural dynamism. In the name of progress, cultural sociability brought real advances. It encouraged the taste for reading, an interest for public instruction and pedagogy, civic consciousness, morality, temperance, the arts, and healthy recreation. A multitude of small institutions embarked upon the arduous work of assimilating and popularizing new codes of behaviour. They advocated



more openness towards general, even non-traditional, learning, and that eased the adaptation to a more modern and urban environment.<sup>389</sup>

Overall, the picture that emerges is not of a traditional, Church-ridden society but of a people aware of the need to change and eager to plunge into the '*gran corriente de la civilización*', and to become 'modern'. Cultural sociability in Antioquia did not project an image of a society frustrated or ravaged by confrontations, but rather an optimistic and constructive spirit that found a middle ground. The champions of innovation did not exhibit the mortal enmity that 'old-established and conservative' churches are said to engender. There were no violent clashes like those of the Roman Curia against the Italian Liberals, or those incited by Republican anticlericalism in Germany, Austria, France, and Spain; not even such conflict as was seen in other parts of the country.

The contribution of the Church to the increase in schooling was described in the beginning of the present chapter. Education fostered the urge to be civilized, and thus, created a propitious ground for the proliferation of cultural bodies. In a certain way, the Antioqueño Church, by helping to propagate learning, aspirations, and skills, started processes that ushered in cultural innovation. Without denying the sway of the Church in the region and the intolerance of some of its priests, cultural entities widened cultural and intellectual horizons, and provide signs of an incipient urban culture keen on civilizing itself and trustful of private initiative as the propellant of progress, a factor of modernity.

<sup>389</sup> According to Raymond Williams, in the nineteenth century and particularly in the twentieth, 'modern' became virtually equivalent to improved, satisfactory, or efficient. Before the word tended to be the equivalent to contemporary, or even sometimes had an unfavourable sense, or only a special reference to buildings, spelling, or fashion. In the twentieth century when related to institutions it normally indicated something 'unquestionably favourable or desirable'. See: *Keywords, a Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. edn. (London, 1990), 208–9 (first published, 1976).

## *Final Comments*

The social crisis experienced in the 1980s and early 1990s in Medellín and its metropolitan area revealed the existence of a society with disturbing social distances. Searching for solutions, the national and local authorities, educators, members of religious congregations, social workers, journalists, lawyers, and social science researchers have tried to identify common references and purposes that might serve the ends of integration and social control. In the spirit of the new constitutional mandate of 1991, many share hopes that political renewal might connect in better ways citizens from all social strata, both among themselves and with state institutions.

In the light of the recent crisis, it is for many a surprise to find that in the recent past Antioqueños were bound together across class by numerous associations, promoted either by individual initiative, by the Church, or by the government.

Between 1850 and 1930 almost 1,000 societies, some more formal than others, had emerged in the region. Half of them—455—pursued cultural aims, some 300 had a religious character, and about 200 were committed to charity. These operated in a hundred different towns throughout Antioquia. Nearly a third—294—were located in Medellín, a high figure considering that Yarumal, second in the list, had 33, followed closely by Sonsón with 31, Santa Fe de Antioquia with 27, and Rionegro with 24. Twenty-eight towns had just one entry, usually those located in zones then considered 'remote' (see Appendix 11).

The first upsurge in the growth of these associations occurred in the 1870s, when devout confraternities proliferated. The next boom came in the 1910s and 1920s, due to the rising number of cultural associations, followed closely by welfare societies and institutions (see Table 27).

The dynamism and positive outlook of Antioquia, mirrored in the proliferation of these societies, coincided with the economic expansion of the region. By the 1920s it was the busiest economic nucleus in Colombia, and led the modernization of the country.<sup>1</sup> From 1850 to

<sup>1</sup> See: P. Bell, *Colombia, a Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington, 1921), 39, 232-3. J. O. Melo, 'Algunas consideraciones globales sobre "modernidad" y

TABLE 27. *Date of foundation (by decades) of devotional, philanthropic, and cultural associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930*

Decade	Devotional	Philanthropic	Cultural	Total
Before 1850	5	3	—	8
1850	—	3	11	14
1860	2	12	10	24
1870	164	17	46	227
1880	25	43	31	99
1890	8	28	29	65
1900	13	16	63	92
1910	34	59	92	185
1920	42	32	164	238
1930 <sup>a</sup>	5	2	9	16
Total	298	215	455	968

<sup>a</sup> Refers only to the year of 1930.

Sources: Tables 17, 18, and 24.

1890 the region was Colombia's main exporter of gold and silver, and its agrarian frontier expanded, increasing the number of medium and small landowners. At the turn of the twentieth century the economic impetus was furthered by the growth of the coffee sector and the construction of the Antioquia and Amagá railroads, which helped to expedite coffee exports. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the industrialization of the Aburrá valley sustained this regional dynamism. Commercial and banking networks linked various subregions in Antioquia and connected them with the world economy.<sup>2</sup>

Several distinctive Antioqueño traditions must have favoured the strong sociability that from mid-nineteenth century onwards cohered around devotional, philanthropic, and cultural aims: the sharing of risks characteristic of colonial mining; the cautious diversification of investments, which created classless, apolitical bonds between miners, mer-

“modernización””; and ‘Proceso de modernización en Colombia, 1850–1930’, both in: *Predecir el pasado: ensayos de historia de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1992); L. J. Ortiz Mesa, ‘Elites en Antioquia, Colombia, en los inicios de la Regeneración, 1886–1896’, in: *ACHSC*, 20 (Bogotá, 1992), 28–30.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. Botero, ‘El desarrollo del sector exportador en Antioquia, 1850–1890’, Master’s thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1994), 1–5.

chants, farmers, and industrialists; and the existence of economic circuits that often depended on extended family networks.<sup>3</sup>

In politics, sometimes party differences were successfully overcome for the sake of mutual benefit and practical convenience. At the close of the century, prominent Antioqueño Conservatives coincided with a fraction of the Liberal party in their criticism of what they considered the exclusive, centralist, and despotic policies of the *Regeneración*, and founded the *Histórico Republican* movement. The movement supported Marceliano Vélez as candidate for the 1891 presidential elections. A few years later, the Antioqueño Liberal Carlos E. Restrepo summoned the *Unión Republicana*, backed by local Conservative leaders, among them Pedro Nel and Tulio Ospina, Miguel and Eduardo Vásquez, Alejandro Botero, Abraham Moreno, Carlos Vásquez Latorre, and Rafael Navarro y Eusse. With the aid of *Juntas Republicanas* set up in various Colombian cities, the *Unión* participated in the 1909 congressional elections that led to the fall of General Rafael Reyes's regime.<sup>4</sup> The following year the *Históricos* convoked the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* and by their majority vote elected Carlos E. Restrepo president of the republic. During his term of office (1910–14) Restrepo brought into effect an open and tolerant view of politics which transcended political parties and fostered high civic standards.<sup>5</sup>

Time and again it has been said that the influence of the Church over Antioqueño society accounted for its being 'more traditional', that it retarded its cultural progress.<sup>6</sup> Customary evidence cited to prove this point are Church campaigns against intellectuals, artisans, teachers, and workers of a liberal, pamphleteering, anticlerical, or Socialist bent. Such people were viewed with the same distrust as new rhythms, sports, fashions, secular writers, and other novelties, for there were always those who saw in them the hand of Lucifer or Communism. Manuel José Caycedo, the orthodox archbishop of Medellín 1906–34 and one prodigal with excommunications, is the most famous prosecutor.<sup>7</sup> Among the

<sup>3</sup> See R. García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín: Cien años haciendo ciudad, 1899–1999' (book in print), 13–18; and M. T. Uribe and J. M. Álvarez, 'El parentesco y la formación de las élites en la Provincia de Antioquia', *Estudios Sociales*, 3 (September 1988), 49–94.

<sup>4</sup> F. Correa, *Republicanism and constitutional reform, 1891–1910* (Medellín, 1996), 11–72.

<sup>5</sup> García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín', 124.

<sup>6</sup> J. O. Melo in 'Proceso de modernización en Colombia, 1850–1930' argues that the contradictory mixture of the new and the archaic, characteristic of the modernization process in Colombia, was particularly evident in Antioquia.

<sup>7</sup> G. Loaiza Cano, 'Luis Tejada, el estudiante expulsado', *Estudios Sociales*, 7 (Medellín, June 1994), 87–96; M. B. Rojas López, 'El viajero de los tiempos', in H. Sandoval

often quoted cases of the period are those of the *Panidas*, the writer Luis Tejada, the *Sociedad Pedagógica de Medellín*, and its aborted paper *Acción Cultural*, mentioned in previous sections. Other less-publicized events also incurred ecclesiastical disapproval for straying from the conventional path. The artisan and renowned photographer Melitón Rodríguez, for instance, suffered financially for his anticlerical position; as did Federico Peña, whose pharmacy was the meeting place of a Liberal circle. In 1919 Archbishop Caycedo vetoed the thesis submitted by Fernando González to the Law School in the University of Antioquia, forcing several professors to resign; González had openly questioned ecclesiastical interference in public education.<sup>8</sup> The list could be extended further. Gilberto Loaiza's portrait of the cultural milieu in the times of writer and journalist Luis Tejada, comments on the ideological power of the Church, which, since the Constitution of 1886,

tried to combat the unstoppable wave of profane voices . . . it was a sort of Argos with a hundred open and watchful eyes that were ever alert to the ominous proximity of certain modern customs that could bring its power crashing down. In Antioquia, perhaps more than anywhere else in the country, the Catholic church exercised great control over people's behaviour, and possibly with greater venom entered into conflicts with individuals who were reluctant to accept its omnipresence.<sup>9</sup>

In recent publications María Teresa Uribe and Catalina Reyes have associated the strength of the Antioqueño Church with a slow cultural and social modernization. According to Uribe, in Antioquia leaders modernized the economy but were conservative about cultural and social development.<sup>10</sup> Reyes states that in Medellín, modernization ' . . . was attended by a strengthening of the presence of the Church in all public and private spheres . . . We might call it a technical and economic modernization with a scant cultural, social and political modernity.'<sup>11</sup> And elsewhere she labels the process as a 'traditionalistic modernization . . . The city went through a fast economic and technological transformation, but advanced slowly and unevenly in the political, social and

(ed.), *Voces de bohemia. Doce testimonios colombianos sobre una vida sin reglas* (Bogotá, 1995), 54-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Universidad de Antioquia. Historia y presencia* (Medellín, 1998), 268-70.

<sup>9</sup> Loaiza Cano, 'Luis Tejada', 91-2.

<sup>10</sup> M. T. Uribe de H., 'La territorialidad de los conflictos y de la violencia en Antioquia', *Realidad Social*, vol. 1, Gobernación de Antioquia (Medellín, 1990), 97.

<sup>11</sup> 'Grupos sociales y criminalidad, Medellín, 1900-1930', *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 34-5 (Medellín, December 1995), 67.

cultural aspects.<sup>12</sup> Reyes's book on daily life in Medellín from 1890 to 1940 reviews the transformations brought by industrialization and urbanization and emphasizes the decisive contribution of the Church towards such changes. The Church helped to train the new contingents of workers, many of them of rural origin, to manufacturing discipline. It exerted a rigid control over society, both as a whole and over individuals. For Reyes, the growing presence of the Church contrasts with other Latin American and Western countries, where '... the Church lost power and control, giving way to more lay, more culturally and politically open societies'.<sup>13</sup>

Without denying the vocal intransigence of the Antioqueño Church, abounding in the ultramontanist then in vogue in all Catholic nations, a proper assessment of the impact of the Church and religion on social relations requires us to look beyond the pronouncements of ecclesiastic hierarchies and to inquire in some detail into factors such as the particular activities of the clergy, the social origin of priests, monks, and nuns, the meaning of parish life, the charisma of religious leaders, and the achievements of religious congregations.

The panoramic view offered by the cultural associations—the most abundant among the voluntary institutions created in Antioquia from 1850 to 1930—reveals important social singularities, so far largely overlooked. Perhaps because it did not suffer so acutely the deep political and economic crises that affected other parts of the country in that period, Antioquia experienced the exultant feeling of being involved in a momentous enterprise that would surely lead to 'civilization'. Cultural societies grew in a milieu inclined to forms of sociability that had been amply nurtured in previous decades by religious and philanthropic ideals, a phenomenon which casts doubt on the conventional interpretations of the links between religion and cultural modernization.

Besides its generally recognized contribution to material progress, the Church in Antioquia also fostered certain cultural advancements, in its support for popular and technical education, with the introduction of pedagogical innovations, and it directly or indirectly encouraged numerous societies in the drive towards 'civilization'.

For Jorge Orlando Melo, Medellín at the turn of the century was peculiar, not so much for its notorious physical development, new

<sup>12</sup> See: 'Vida social y cotidiana en Medellín, 1890-1940', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996), 428.

<sup>13</sup> C. Reyes Cárdenas, *Aspectos de la vida cotidiana en Medellín, 1890-1930*, xiii-xiv, 50-1, 293-303.

public utilities, or rapid demographic growth—changes also present in other Colombian cities—but because of its cultural changes.<sup>14</sup> He identifies three ‘modernizing threads’ in this field: an efficient endeavour to adapt the population, largely of peasant origin, to urban life; an update of the ideals of civic life; and a widespread fondness for literature, which catalysed the civilizing process. Antioqueños made use of public resources for the construction of the *Bosque de Independencia*, the *Instituto de Bellas Artes*, and the Municipal Theatre, for their ‘. . . urban ideal always included, as a central element, a cultural and educational drive’.<sup>15</sup>

For Melo, late nineteenth-century Antioqueño society was comparatively better prepared for progress than other Colombian sectors: ‘the Conservative commercial, mining, and landowning élites were able to adopt modernizing attitudes without clashing with the Church, but rather enlisting its support . . . [They] mollified religious conflict in the region, and made compatible the role of the Church with the modernizing effort.’<sup>16</sup> He cites the practical spirit of the Antioqueño leadership, its strong regional identity, its trust in local effort as opposed to national aid, the relatively amicable relations between the region’s Conservatives and Liberals, and, above all, the educational advantages won by Antioqueños, pulling ahead in this respect from the rest of the country from the 1860s onwards. The leaders of the region ‘. . . shared the fascination with progress, as did many other societies of the time, but without reducing this progress to mere economic growth, for they took notice of the close connections between the diverse factors of change.’<sup>17</sup>

Fabio Botero’s recent book *Cien años de la vida de Medellín*<sup>18</sup> confirms the noticeable cultural progress that accompanied the transformation of Medellín from town to city from 1890 to 1920. He underlines the educational improvements for both sexes, especially for women, and recalls that female teachers were socially recognized ladies, *Doñas*, that busi-

<sup>14</sup> J. O. Melo (ed.), *Historia de Antioquia*, (Bogotá, 1988); and *Historia de Medellín* (Bogotá, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> J. O. Melo, ‘Medellín 1880–1930: los tres hilos de la modernización’, *Revista de Extensión Cultural*, 37 (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Medellín 1997), 11–21.

<sup>16</sup> J. O. Melo, ‘Proceso de modernización en Colombia, 1850–1930’, 131–2.

<sup>17</sup> J. O. Melo, unpublished conference at the twentieth anniversary of Proantioquia (Medellín, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> (Medellín, 1994), 1–176. J. O. Melo closely follows Botero’s point of view in: ‘Medellín 1880–1930: la transformación de la gran ciudad, imágenes y representaciones’, unpublished conference, *Cátedra Pedro Nel Gómez*, Biblioteca Pública Piloto (Medellín, 1995).

nessmen and leaders valued literary creativity, and that both eminent and common citizens frequently wrote, edited, and published. Contrary to the affected latinizing of their Bogotano counterparts, Antioqueño intellectuals kept up to date in the current European topics without neglecting the local scene. Efforts to promote a more universal culture and knowledge were made, and in this field, as in politics, Antioqueños were distinguished by their pragmatism and by their success.

Other authors have recently explored the rise of a collective will to modernize Medellín under an integral vision of progress, channelled in the early decades of the century through the *Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas*.<sup>19</sup> Civic leaders came up with numerous proposals to make the city more habitable and efficient according to the standards of the epoch, providing it with basic public services. Besides industrialization and urban planning, education and culture were high on the list. Public culture embraced both the material progress of the city and the conduct of its inhabitants.

The expansion of the Catholic Church in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930 was not as exceptional as it seems. Although it is generally assumed that the nineteenth century was the 'age *par excellence* of secularization',<sup>20</sup> from roughly 1830 to 1930 Europe experienced a series of Catholic and Protestant revivals.<sup>21</sup> It has been shown that the incipient research on such topics reflects more the secularization of scholarship in the twentieth century than nineteenth-century realities in Spain, Italy, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, France, and South America.<sup>22</sup> In recent years, a growing interest in the history of religious phenomena around the world has multiplied the studies on this field, focusing among other topics on the Catholic awakenings in nineteenth-century

<sup>19</sup> F. Botero, *Cien años de vida de Medellín* (Medellín, 1995); R. García, 'Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín.

<sup>20</sup> O. Chadwick in *Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, reprinted in 1993; first published in 1975), 3. For Chadwick, the enquiries on the impact of the Church in the European social fabric during the nineteenth century have not been open minded. In present usage the term secularization presupposes that the previous society was more religious than it really was, and that religiosity was subsequently suppressed more than in fact it was. An understandable obfuscation considering that 'the word secularization began as an emotional word, not far in its own origins from the word *anticlericalism*'. See p. 244.

<sup>21</sup> M. L. Anderson, 'The Divisions of the Pope: The Catholic Revival and Europe's Transition to Democracy', unpublished paper, Nineteenth-Century Workshop Conference: 'The Politics of Religion', Institute of Latin American Studies (London, 22 May 1997), 2-17.

<sup>22</sup> M. L. Anderson, 'The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany', in: *The Historical Journal*, 38/3 (1995), 648.



Europe.<sup>23</sup> These involved an increasing number of religious congregations, particularly of nuns, often central in the process of educating and socializing the populations of many countries. Another feature of these revivals were missions, which in Margaret Lavinia Anderson were ‘. . . the sunny twin of secularization’. The new strength of the Catholic Church coincided with the larger authority granted to the Pope in all things Catholic—the ‘Romanization’ of the Church—and with the parallel ultramontane movement, a reaction to the problems faced by the Papacy in Italy and the national Churches in Europe and Latin America.

Ultramontanes surely furnished the revivals with reactionary policies, but also brought some modern features. However, they did not always manage to impose their ideas as entirely or with the uniformity and compulsoriness desired by the Pope or denounced by contemporary anticlericals. The constant invocation of the Pope’s authority provided the sense of belonging to an international Church.<sup>24</sup> Catholics looked towards Rome, but also to Belgium, Ireland, and even to America, or, as warnings, to France and Italy.<sup>25</sup>

From 1850 onwards, Antioquia’s Catholic Church underwent a dynamic institutional expansion, evident in the growing number of parishes, cleric, nuns, and friars—both foreign and local—confraternities, sisterhoods, and missions; in the increase of religious vocations as well as of private and public expressions of faith; and in the larger pres-

<sup>23</sup> H. McLeod, ‘Secular Cities? Berlin, London and New York in the Later Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries’, in: S. Bruce (ed.), *Religion and Modernisation: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularisation Thesis* (Oxford, 1992), 59–89; C. Strikwerda, ‘A Resurgent Religion: The Rise of Catholic Social Movements in Nineteenth-Century Belgian Cities’, in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities, 1830–1930* (London, 1995), 61–89.

<sup>24</sup> Research on nineteenth-century European Catholic revivals has shown the different meanings and consequences that ultramontanism had across nations. For example, while in France it was associated with monarchist restoration, in Ireland it was related to nationalism. See: M. L. Anderson, ‘Limits of Secularization’, 663–5; and ‘Divisions of the Pope’, 3–4.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson in ‘The Limits of Secularization’ comments on this with relation to German Catholics, and shows how German ultramontanism differed from the provincial aims of the French and the nationalism of the Irish. Contrary to conventional wisdom, she found that during the *Kulturkampf* the sense of independence of the German parish clergy increased, as many bishops were in gaol or exile, easy to revere but also to ignore. Frances Lannon found that for Basque and Catalan nationalists, Catholicism was ‘. . . close to regional identities, sensitive to local issues, inherently democratic and democratising’. Besides, Catholicism widened women’s sphere, promoted technical education, and exploited the press to create public opinion. See: ‘1898 and the Politics of Catholic Identity in Spain’, Nineteenth-Century History Workshop/Conference: ‘The Politics of Religion’, ILAS (London, 22 May 1998).

ence of the Church in schools and welfare entities. As a result, the Church came to be a 'familiar' institution, closely involved with people and innovative in the forms of social organization. Religion permeated daily life and produced in Antioqueños the belief that they shared an identity and interests above their social origins. Welfare and cultural entities and societies bolstered this conviction. The politically significant cohesive strength derived from this notion was reinforced by episodic confrontations with national Liberal governments. By relying on private initiative, and by teaching members to join their efforts, to cast individual votes, to elect boards and committees, to delegate responsibilities, to reach consensus, and to face opposition as a group, many voluntary associations familiarized Antioqueños with democratic practices.<sup>26</sup>

Sociability did not, of course, abolish class distinctions. None the less, the records left by members give the impression that voluntary associations became common points of reference, created bonds, and opened channels for communication between the social classes. Members, as well as the public influenced by them, were convinced they were working towards progress and civilization. These entities, no matter individually how small and trivial, had an important political potential: they provided members with a sense of belonging and of social significance.

This book shows how a dense social fabric made up of hundreds of voluntary associations emerged in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930. The unity of purpose, the achievements, and the persistence in the ideals of these societies, all of which today seems surprising, reveal a larger society with a predominantly optimistic view of itself, with a desire for progress, for spiritual and material well-being, attainable through the promotion of such values as self-discipline, hard work, moral rectitude, thrift, and solidarity. The vitality of these social relations, the fact that men and women of all ages and conditions came to share these ideals confers on them political significance as a unifying element. Together with other peculiarities in the economic structure and the material culture characteristic of the region, these factors shortened social distances and made hierarchies more flexible.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> M. L. Anderson argues that European Catholicism propitiated a 'golden age of electoral participation'. See 'Divisions of the Pope', 17.

<sup>27</sup> In Rocio Vélez de Piedrahita's words: 'Our current values—good or bad—are dispersed, are not coherent, not even within a social class or economic class . . . We used to be a cultural block; today we are *unos desperdigados distintos* (a scattered crowd)'. Unpublished lecture, 'Cambios culturales en Antioquia durante el último siglo' Medellín, c.1999.

The Introduction mentioned some questions raised by the acute social crisis experienced by Medellín in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, which to a certain extent inspired this book, and before closing these conclusions I want to contrast what they show with the difficulties Antioquia is still experiencing. Though the topic of Antioquia's contemporary problems lies beyond the limits of my work, the risk is worth taking, as studies of the social fabric in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Latin America are scarce. Nevertheless, a growing number of recent publications, in Colombia and elsewhere, address what political scientists and sociologists refer to as social capital, civil society, and civic culture, themes explored here, with the obvious differences imposed by the distance of a century and the different language of the historian.

Many diagnoses of Antioquia's contemporary social problems suggest that little remains of the rich sociabilities that once flourished in this region. The ahistorical view predominant in most of these studies fails to answer the question of when the integrating bonds described in this book begin to fade away, what caused their decline, or whether in spite of the recent trends of violence some remnants of the region's strong historical tradition of association may be perceived. To answer these questions would require examining a whole series of complex changes. I wish only to suggest some lines of speculation that arise from this study.

As yet we have no study of the extent to which contact with secularizing forces, present with particular strength in Colombia since the 1920s, and especially during the Liberal republic of 1930–46, eroded the type of Catholic Church which for more than half a century had been a bulwark of social cohesion and cultural identity for the Antioqueños of *La Montaña*. Such a study would have to include the process by which the state, in part through the constitutional reform of 1936, began to assume the tasks of social security and education previously in the hands of the Church. The impact of the ideological and cultural changes brought by the urbanization and industrialization of the Aburrá valley are also obviously relevant. Electricity, cinema, radio, and aviation ended the long isolation of Antioquia, and encouraged a wider confrontation of ideas.<sup>28</sup>

A symptom that something was wrong in Antioqueño society was the acuteness of mid-twentieth-century political violence. Its genesis can be

<sup>28</sup> A good description of these changes at the national level is found in C. Uribe Celis, *Los años veinte en Colombia. Ideología y cultura* (Bogotá, 1985).

traced back to changes that occurred in the 1930s, when the influx of rural migrants to Medellín, the expansion of education and of the suffrage, and the growth of employment in public works introduced important economic and political changes. The Antioqueño ideal forged in the nineteenth century was questioned when the region's demographic core shifted away from the central heartland—Medellín and the surrounding areas to the north, east, and the coffee *municipios* located in the south and south-east—towards the previously sparsely populated periphery in the north-east, the Lower Cauca valley, the west, and Urabá. These peripheral *municipios*, with their ethnic diversity, lacked both the strong presence of the state and of the Catholic Church, a monogamic family structure, and the network of sociability that had guaranteed social stability in central Antioquia. Emerging leaders in these zones were indifferent to ignored Antioqueño ways and values, and challenged the restricted style of political control held by Antioquia's traditional politicians, with their entrepreneurial spirit. Contrary to the conventional view, these areas and not the south-west were the ones most affected by mid-century violence. The strategies implemented by the government to control violence on the periphery differed from the careful negotiations, replacements of policemen and of public employees, carried out in Urrao and in other central localities. In these, violence had frequently emerged not merely between Conservatives and Liberals, but also involved struggles over office and patronage between established Conservatives and aspiring partisans, often 'outsiders'. Unfortunately, in the 'excluded' areas, instead of addressing the limited nature of their democratic development, the departmental government resorted mainly to military solutions and crude coercive measures. Many of these *municipios* continue to be among the most consistently violent to this day.<sup>29</sup>

It would also be worth examining to what degree the exaggerated sense of regional identity, close to an air of superiority and arrogance characteristic of the people of *Antioquia de La Montaña (Antioquia La Grande)*, an arrogance which some still show, was fostered by the economic success attained by central Antioquia, perhaps also by the cultural homogeneity derived from the effective social control exerted in the area.

<sup>29</sup> M. Roldán, 'Genesis and Evolution of La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia, 1900–53', Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1992, introduction and ch. 2; and also her 'Violencia, colonización y la geografía de la diferencia cultural en Colombia', *Análisis Político*, 35 (Bogotá, September–December 1998), 3–23.

Jorge Robledo Ortiz, poet of *Antioqueñidad* during the second half of the twentieth century, provides excellent examples of this rhetoric. 'Hubo una Antioquia grande y altanera . . .' is the opening verse in his classic 'Siquiera se murieron los abuelos'. And his poem 'El paisa' declares 'I am antioqueño . . . And for rivals I have my cut-throat-razor'. The leaflet distributed in February 2000 by the campaign *Creo en Antioquia (I Believe in Antioquia)*, aims 'To recover the values and the leadership of our vigorous and *altanera* (arrogant) Antioquia which . . . forged the history of a triumphant race, strong and indomitable.'<sup>30</sup>

Did this *altanero* attitude, at times verging on open belligerence, lessen the capacity to accept differences, a feature often recognized as one of the faults of the *modo de ser*, or system of values of the Antioqueños?

The pre-eminent cultural attitude was made clear during the first half of the twentieth century, when Antioqueño settlers from the inner mountains colonized Urabá after this coastal region had been annexed to the department of Antioquia in 1905, particularly after 1926 with the construction of the road to the gulf. The settler from the interior arrived '*pisando duro*' (treading heavily), 'sure and proud of himself and his success', to *Antioqueñizar* the blacks, Indians, and *costeño* peasants previously installed there. The encounter was conflictive and had, and continues to have, repercussions in the subsequent development of the area. Not surprisingly, the prefect of Urabá wrote to the secretary of the governor of Antioquia in 1911 that the inhabitants of the region viewed these colonists with 'a feeling of mixed hatred and terror'.<sup>31</sup>

Of course, the accelerated social, demographic, and cultural changes of the 1960s, in the face of which the traditional elements of social integration proved obsolete, must also be considered.<sup>32</sup> By then, the enormous imbalance between the development of the Aburrá valley and the rest of Antioquia was evident. Even the way the roads in the department were laid out, extending like a spider's web with its epicentre in Medellín, responded to the centripetal force exercised by this city.<sup>33</sup> In

<sup>30</sup> The emphasis is mine. See Jorge Robledo Ortiz, *Barro de arriería* (Medellín, 1964), 105, 149.

<sup>31</sup> See C. Steiner, *Imaginación y poder: el encuentro del interior con la costa en Urabá, 1900-1960* (Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, forthcoming, ch. 2), 1.

<sup>32</sup> According to Daniel Pecault: 'The old moral order, of which the Church was the shield, tumbled by the end of the sixties and has not been replaced by anything else'. See: 'Presente, pasado y futuro de la violencia', *Análisis Político*, 30 (Bogotá, January-February 1997), 20.

<sup>33</sup> Cámara de Comercio de Medellín, 'Un informe acerca del desarrollo regional antioqueño vinculado a los problemas del desempleo en Medellín' (Medellín, May 1980), 63-80.

the 1973 census, 51 per cent of the inhabitants of Antioquia lived in Medellín and its neighbouring *municipios*. The avalanche of peasant and *publerino* immigrants coincided with the crisis in Antioqueño industry. Fortunately, the construction boom allowed some respite, until the depression between 1974 and 1979, when unemployment in Medellín surpassed that in the other main Colombian cities. At this point, the coffee bonanza and the export of bananas, flowers, and gold, and the incipient cocaine trafficking, slightly alleviated the impact of the crisis in the Antioqueño economy.

A large part of the initial labour on the new low-income neighbourhoods built in Medellín by the immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s was done as communal work. Accustomed to the peasant *convites*, communal work gatherings, the new settlers founded at least 150 civic *juntas*, a figure higher than those created in the 1980s and 1990s, to construct drainage and water systems, churches and community centres, to lay out streets, and to prevent evictions. However, once the initial needs were met, community participation diminished and, when the local *juntas* asked for financial help for education and health and other services which the neighbourhoods could not provide for themselves, they fell into the hands of the predominantly clientelistic local politicians.<sup>34</sup>

Until the early 1960s, school attendance rates in Antioquia had been similar to the national average. From then on, and for more than twenty years, the coverage and moreover the quality of public instruction fell noticeably. Poor education, poverty, and unemployment produced high rates of criminality and prostitution.

No adequate response was forthcoming, precisely when growing social problems were aggravated by rapid and chaotic urbanization and by economic crisis. The clarity and consensus in public goals which had identified this society until the 1930s were now absent.

In the 1970s, the rate of female participation in the labour market in Medellín rose by 20.4 per cent, while in the other three main cities of the country it increased by only 12.5 per cent. The changes in the habitat and the massive access by women to work modified two basic elements of the traditional Antioqueño culture: a peasant life and a strong family environment. Antioquia now achieved the highest rates of criminality in the country.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> J. J. Betancur, P. Londoño, and A. L. Serna, 'Composición social y movilización política en barrios populares de Medellín (Medellín, 1981).

<sup>35</sup> D. Jaramillo Agudelo, 'Algunos comentarios sobre la cultura antioqueña', Simposio Mundo Rural Colombiano, FAES (Medellín, 1981), 5.

The economic crisis of the 1980s was severe. Although poverty in Medellín was not as acute as in other Colombian cities, unemployment was worse. In the early 1990s, the decadence of public education deepened social inequality.

The expectation of easy and big money brought by the cocaine trade, and its impact, was notorious in Medellín, the city where this profitable business had emerged in Colombia in the early 1970s, and it turned values and behaviour upside down. The drug dealers, allied with bands of delinquents, recruited *sicarios*, *traquetos*, and *mulas* (hired killers, armed enforcers, and carriers), occupations inherited from an old tradition of smuggling. The new millionaires who acquired their colossal fortunes rapidly and illegally, and who lived surrounded by luxury and extravagance without precedent in Antioquia, multiplied the homicides, assaults, kidnappings, and massacres. Violence now permeated the fabric of society, and camouflaged the accomplishments of the average citizens. In Mary Roldán's words, 'Antioquia and Medellín seem to split into "before" and "after" cocaine'; the drug trade which 'ruptured tradition, transformed social mores, restructured morality, thought and expectations'.<sup>36</sup>

Since the 1960s Colombian guerrillas found northern Antioquia attractive for its strategic location, its rich natural resources, its remoteness, and relative absence of authority. From then until now it has been one of the major niches of the guerrilla in Colombia.<sup>37</sup> In the last ten years, guerrilla activity has expanded within Antioquia, penetrating the south of Urabá and the strip of territory that comprises the north-east and the Lower Cauca valley.

The following figures give some idea of the magnitude of the violence that Antioquia has endured in recent decades. Between 1987 and 1995 the intensity of armed conflict doubled in the department.<sup>38</sup> In those years Antioquia had the highest number of armed actions per department in the country.<sup>39</sup> Twenty-two per cent of the kidnappings committed in Colombia were in Antioquia, being the Lower Cauca, Urabá, and the Aburrá valley the most affected zones.<sup>40</sup> Between 1997 and 1998

<sup>36</sup> M. Roldán, 'Cocaine and the "Miracle" of Modernity in Medellín', to be published in *Cocaine: From 'Miracle' to 'Menace'*, ed. By P. Gootenberg (forthcoming).

<sup>37</sup> C. I. García, 'Antioquia en el marco de la guerra y la paz. Transformaciones: de la lógica de los actores armados', *Controversia*, 172 (Bogotá, July 1998), 73.

<sup>38</sup> J. A. Bejarano, director, *Colombia: inseguridad, violencia y desempeño económico en las áreas rurales* (Bogotá, 1997), 58.

<sup>39</sup> In total 1,600 armed actions in Antioquia, followed by Santander with 1,078, out of a national total of 7,904. See Bejarano, dir., *Colombia: inseguridad, violencia*, 111.

<sup>40</sup> Bejarano, dir., *Colombia: inseguridad, violencia*, 71–5.

the largest number of massacres perpetrated in the country also occurred in Antioquia.<sup>41</sup> Since the mid-1990s, paramilitary groups, which had appeared in the region in 1982, have been disputing with the guerrillas' territories in north-eastern Antioquia and the area formerly dominated by the *Ejército Popular de Liberación*, EPL, in Urabá.<sup>42</sup> In recent years, Antioquia has generated the greatest proportion of displaced persons in the country.<sup>43</sup> Urabá, together with other areas such as the Lower Cauca, located on the periphery of the department, important poles of production of regional wealth, figure among the zones most affected by the recent violence.

Robert D. Putnam's book *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* contains arguments that any student of Antioquia is tempted to put to the test. The author explores how traditions of association and civic engagement determined the performance of the decentralization reform of 1970 over the next two decades. His essential explanation of the success of the new regional government in the north is to attribute it to the historical background of a richer civic culture.<sup>44</sup> While this region, according to Putnam, inherited a tradition of dense horizontal networks of associations developed in the late medieval city-states, the south suffered from the legacy of the autocratic Norman regime.

Putnam's findings have been criticized on a number of counts, among them his selective use of historical evidence; his presenting both north and south as undifferentiated wholes when reconstructing their historical backgrounds; and for his ignoring the crime and corruption scandals that shook the north in the early 1990s that cast doubts on its civic virtues.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> 137 out of a total of 398 for Colombia. In the same period in Medellín there were 89 massacres—the act of killing a number of usually helpless human beings. See: IPC, *Antioquia, fin de milenio. ¿Terminará la crisis del derecho internacional humanitario?* (Medellín, 1999), 153, 171.

<sup>42</sup> C. I. García, 'Antioquia en el marco de la guerra y la paz', 81.

<sup>43</sup> According to a study conducted by the Episcopal Conference of Colombia published in 1995, when Colombia was estimated as having around 600,000 forced displaced persons, Antioquia's share represented nearly 18%. See: C. I. García, 'Antioquia en el marco de la guerra y la paz', 97. In response to the alarming dimensions of the problem, from 27 to 28 July 1998, the forum 'Deplazados internos en Antioquia' was organized in Medellín, sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

<sup>44</sup> (Princeton, New Jersey, 1993).

<sup>45</sup> See M. L. Mannin, *Political Studies*, 42 (1994), 533; and S. Tarrow, 'Making Social Science Work Across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*', *American Political Science Review*, 90/2 (June 1996), 389–97.



In spite of these criticisms, Putnam does make a strong case for linking a historical background that has built up 'social capital, indispensable for democracy to flourish', with the level of performance of present-day political institutions. It is all the same clear that societies which have managed to form substantial 'social capital' throughout a specific time period are not exempt from threats that can undermine their social and political structure.

Returning to Antioquia, some components of the contemporary crisis, such as narcotics trafficking and guerrilla conflict, obey dynamics that transcend the region and even the nation. Fernando Gaitán Daza in his 1995 essay exploring the causes of violence in Colombia affirms,

There is no doubting the assertion that from 1970 onwards special factors began to exist in Antioquia that provoked a drastic increase in violence. Recent history shows us that the new phenomena which appeared in Antioquia in the past years are linked with the narcotics trafficking and the growth of the guerrilla in various zones of the department.

And he adds:

Equal or more important in explaining the regional dynamic of violence is to be more aware that a significant portion of the violence is not the result of particular social, economic or cultural configurations. What in major part apparently explains the violence of the regions is that they find themselves located within the same State, government, institutions and justice system, inside this country.<sup>46</sup>

What is surprising is that Antioqueño society, after facing for more than a decade the threats posed by the drugs trade and the growth of guerrilla and paramilitary numbers and activity has shown the degree of resistance and even the capacity of recuperation that have been forthcoming from some economic, political, social, and cultural sectors.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps its past, its dense sociability, and the relatively fluid channels

<sup>46</sup> 'Una indagación sobre las causas de la violencia en Colombia', *Dos ensayos especulativos sobre la violencia en Colombia* by M. Deas and F. Gaitán Daza (Bogotá, 1995), 236.

<sup>47</sup> In the 1980s and the 1990s nearly 200 *Organizaciones no Gubernamentales*, ONG (Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs), were created by private groups, some under international auspices, to promote peaceful coexistence, education, cultural advancement, human rights protection, and the environment. In addition, Antioqueños undertook large infrastructure and cultural projects, among them Medellín Metro, the José María Córdoba Airport in Rionegro, a new state and municipal administrative centre in La Alpujarra, the gas pipeline in the Aburrá valley, Teleantioquia, Telemedellín, Channel U, the Medellín Philharmonic Orchestra, the My River Institute, the election of a new civic mayor with plans to plant 10,000 trees annually, and the Occidental Tunnel on the highway that goes from Medellín to Urabá, the latter still under construction.

that joined private initiative, government, and an institution as important as the Catholic Church in the region during the era that is the subject of this book, have played a more significant role than is now conventionally accepted in responding to the challenges posed by recent difficulties. Perhaps it deserves some credit: worse levels of social disintegration might have been the product of a different history.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Location of religious communities in Antioquia, 1850–1930\*

Town	Female	Male	Total
1. Abejorral	2	—	2
2. Andes	1	1	2
3. Anorí	1	—	1
4. Antadó	1	—	1
5. Apartadó	—	1	1
6. Arboletes	—	1	1
7. Cáceres	1	—	1
8. Caldas	1	—	1
9. Campamento	—	1	1
10. Caramanta	1	—	1
11. Caucasia	1	—	1
12. Chichiridó	1	—	1
13. Chigorodó	—	1	1
14. Chimiadó	1	—	1
15. Chontaduro	1	—	1
16. Concordia	2	1	3
17. Copacabana	—	1	1
18. Curadientes	1	—	1
19. Dabeiba	2	2	4
20. Don Matías	1	1	2
21. El Pital	1	—	1
22. Envigado	1	—	1
23. Fredonia	1	1	2
24. Frontino	1	1	2
25. Girardota	1	—	1
26. Gómez Plata	—	1	1
27. Ituango	1	1	2
28. Jardín	1	—	1
29. Jericó	3	3	6
30. Juntas de Uramita	—	1	1
31. La Ceja	1	1	2
32. La Estrella	1	1	2
33. Manizales	1	1	2
34. Marinilla	1	1	2
35. MEDELLÍN	8	7	15

Town	Female	Male	Total
36. Murindó	—	1	1
37. Murri	1	1	2
38. Nechí	1	1	2
39. Necoclí	—	1	1
40. Pavarandocito	—	1	1
41. Peque	1	—	1
42. Puerto Berrío	—	1	1
43. Puerto Cesar	2	1	3
44. Remedios	—	3	3
45. Rionegro	1	—	1
46. Rioverde	1	—	1
47. Sabanalarga	—	1	1
48. Salamina	1	—	1
49. San Jerónimo	1	—	1
50. San José de la Montaña	1	—	1
51. San José de Urama	1	1	2
52. San Juan de Urabá	—	1	1
53. San Pedro	2	2	4
54. San Roque	1	—	1
55. Santa Bárbara	1	—	1
56. Santa Fe de Antioquia	4	2	6
57. Santa Rosa de Osos	3	2	5
58. Santo Domingo	1	—	1
59. Santuario	1	—	1
60. Segovia	—	2	2
61. Sonsón	1	2	3
62. Sopetrán	2	—	2
63. Támesis	3	—	3
64. Titiribí	1	—	1
65. Turbo	2	1	3
66. Urao	2	—	2
67. Valparaiso	1	—	1
68. Vigía del Fuerte	—	1	1
69. Yalí	—	1	1
70. Yarumal	1	1	2
71. Yolombó	—	1	1
72. Zaragoza	1	—	1

\* Lists towns with schools, convents, charities, or missionary work under religious communities.

Sources: Table 19: 'Charities run by religious communities in Antioquia, 1876-1930'; Appendix 5: 'Educational institutions under female religious communities in Antioquia, 1880-1930'; Appendix 6: 'Educational institutions under male religious communities in Antioquia, 1886-1930'; and Section 'Religious Communities' in Chapter 2.

## Appendix 2. Periodical publications issued by devotional associations in Antioquia, 1872–1930

Date	Association	Publication	Place
1872–6	<i>Sociedad Católica</i>	<i>La Sociedad</i>	Medellín
1906–?	<i>Sociedad de Ejercitantes</i>	<i>El Impulso</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia
1906–32	<i>Apostolado de la Oración</i>	<i>La Familia Cristiana</i>	Medellín
1911–14	<i>Congregación de Obreros de San José</i>	<i>El Obrero</i>	Medellín
1912–20?	<i>V Orden Tercera de San Francisco de Asís</i>	<i>La Buena Prensa</i>	Medellín
1913–?	<i>Comité Diocesano Primer Congreso Eucarístico Nacional</i>	<i>Mensajero Eucarístico</i>	Medellín
1915	<i>Hermanidad del Santísimo Sepulcro de la Venerable Orden Tercera</i>	<i>Tierra Santa</i>	Medellín
1915–?	<i>Cruzada Eucarística</i>	<i>Espigas Eucarísticas</i>	Sonsón
1917–19	<i>Acción Social Católica</i>	<i>El Social</i>	Medellín
1919–30	<i>Congregación Mariana de Jóvenes or de la Inmaculada Concepción</i>	<i>Antioquia por María</i>	Medellín
1925–60?	<i>Juventud Católica</i>	<i>El Obrero Católico</i>	Medellín

Source: Chapter 3: 'Proliferation of Devotional Associations'.

### Appendix 3. Location of devotional associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930

Town	Total	Town	Total
Abejorral	5	Manizales	2
Aguadas	4	Marinilla	15
Alejandro	1	<i>Medellín</i>	62
Amagá	7	Montebello	1
Andes	2	Neira	1
Angostura	2	Nueva Caramanta	2
Anorí	2	Peñol	4
Aranzazu	1	Porce	7
Barbosa	5	Rionegro	7
Bello	5	Riosucio	1
Bolívar	1	Sabaletas	1
Cáceres	1	Salgar	1
Caldas	2	San Antonio de Prado	2
Campamento	1	San Cristóbal	3
Carmen de Viboral	3	San Jerónimo	1
Carolina	1	San José	1
Cocorná	2	San Luis	1
Concepción	2	San Pedro	5
Concordia	7	San Rafael	1
Copacabana	4	San Roque	2
Ebéjico	1	San Vicente	4
El Retiro	6	Santa Bárbara	4
Entreríos	1	Santa Fe de Antioquia	6
Envigado	5	Santa Rosa de Osos	3
Fredonia	3	Santo Domingo	10
Girardota	3	Santuario	9
Granada	8	Sonsón	5
Guarne	5	Sopetrán	1
Guatapé	3	Titiribí	4
Heliconia	1	Urrao	1
Itagüí	11	Venecia	1
Ituango	2	Yarumal	6
Jericó	5	Yolombó	2
La Ceja	6		
La Estrella	4		
		Total	298

*Sources:* AGN, Fondo República, sección 4, 'Personerías Jurídicas', Vols. 6, 17; AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, t. 2157 D. 2; *Antioquia por María* (Medellín, 1913–20); M. Archila, *Cultura e identidad obrera, Colombia, 1910–1945* (Bogotá, 1991); P. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880–1930', undergraduate thesis, Department of History, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994); E. Gómez Barrientos, *Reminiscencias de familia* (Medellín, 1919); E. Gómez Barrientos, *25 años a través del Estado de Antioquia, 1863–1875* (Medellín, 1918); C. Henríquez, 'El Sagrado Corazón: Fantasía o realidad en la historia de Colombia', Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional (Bogotá, 1995); *Mi Primera Parroquia* (San Pablo, Porce, 1929–31); *El Mensajero Eucarístico* (Medellín, 1913); *El Obrero* (Medellín, 1911, 1912, 1913); *El Obrero Católico* (Medellín, 1927); R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y Centroamérica después de su Restauración* (Valladolid, 1896); J. Piedrahita Echeverri, Pbro., *El templo y la parroquia de San José, 1720–1991* (Medellín, 1993); *Repertorio Eclesiástico* (Medellín, 1873–83); *La Sociedad* (Medellín, 1872, 1874, 1875); A. M. Vélez, *Biografía de un cura paisa* (Medellín, 1968); H. D. Villegas, *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890–1930* (Medellín, 1990).

#### Appendix 4. Location of charity hospitals, welfare institutions and associations in Antioquia, 1850–1930\*

Town	Charity hospitals	Entities and associations of social assistance	Total
Abejorral	1	1	2
Aguadas	1	—	1
Amagá	1	—	1
Amalfi	1	—	1
Andes	1	3	4
Anorí	1	—	1
Barbosa	1	2	3
Bello	—	1	1
Bolívar	1	—	1
Caldas	—	3	3
Caramanta	1	—	1
Carmen de Viboral	1	—	1
Carolina	1	—	1
Caucasia	—	1	1
Concepción	1	—	1
Concordia	1	—	1
Copacabana	2	1	3
Don Matías	1	—	1
Ebéjico	—	1	1
El Retiro	1	2	3
Entreríos	1	—	1
Envigado	1	3	4
Fredonia	1	1	2
Frontino	1	—	1
Girardota	1	1	2
Granada	1	—	1
Heliconia	1	—	1
Itagüí	1	—	1
Ituango	1	—	1
Jardín	1	2	3
Jericó	1	5	6
La Ceja	2	1	3
Liborina	1	—	1
Manizales	1	7	8
Marinilla	1	1	2
Medellín	4	80	84



Town	Charity hospitals	Entities and associations of social assistance	Total
Nariño	—	1	1
Peñol	1	—	1
Pueblo Rico	—	2	2
Puerto Berrío	1	—	1
Remedios	1	2	3
Rionegro	1	3	4
Salamina	1	1	2
Salgar	1	—	1
San Andrés	1	—	1
San Jerónimo	1	—	1
San Roque	1	1	2
San Vicente	1	1	2
Santa Bárbara	1	—	1
Santa Fe de Antioquia	1	5	6
Santa Rosa de Osos	1	4	5
Santo Domingo	1	2	3
Santuario	1	—	1
Segovia	1	—	1
Sonsón	1	5	6
Sopetrán	1	2	3
Támesis	1	—	1
Titiribí	1	—	1
Urroa	1	—	1
Valparaíso	1	—	1
Yarumal	1	6	7
Yolombó	1	2	3
Zaragoza	1	—	1
Total	62	153	215

\* The list excludes the three hospitals founded before 1850 in Santa Fe de Antioquia, Sopetrán, and Medellín.

Sources: AHA, Serie Gobierno Federal, vols. 1918, 1960, 1969, 1980, 2151, 2054, 2139, 2157, 2860, 2806; Serie Eclesiásticos, vol. 2512; G. Angulo M., *Yarumal 200 años* (n.p., n.d.); *Antioquia por María* (Medellín, 1925); *Anuario Estadístico General 1933* (Bogotá, 1935); L. G. Arango, *Mujer, religión e industria, Fabricato, 1923–1982* (Medellín, 1991); Archivo Provincia de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Caridad Dominicas de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos, Bogotá; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia. Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948); *Boletín Oficial* (Medellín, 1885); C. Botero Guerra, *Ensayo de estadística general del Departamento de Antioquia en 1888* (Medellín, 1888); H. Bronx, *La Veracruz de Medellín* (Medellín, n.d.); M. P. Castro Hernández, 'Beneficencia en Medellín, 1880–1930', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia (Medellín, 1994); Dirección Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística 1936* (Bogotá, 1937); E. Sofia, OP, *Hermanas Dominicas de la Caridad. Provincia*

de Medellín 1930-1980 (Medellín, 1980); FAES, ARN y E/C/5 y 6, 9, 15, 19, 24; poster collection; A. Farnsworth, 'Gender, the Limits of Industrial Discipline in Medellín, Colombia, 1905-1960', Ph.D. thesis, Department of History (Duke University, 1994); J. Gaviria Toro, *Monografía de Antioquia, 1675-1925* (Medellín, 1925); F. Gómez P., *Guía de Medellín* (Medellín, 1955); R. Gutiérrez, *Monografías*, vol. 1 (Bogotá, 1920); *Instrucción Pública Antioqueña*, 6/62-3 (Medellín, October 1915), 744-57; L. Londoño, *Manizales. Contribución al estudio de su historia* (Manizales, 1936); A. López, *Monografía estadística de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1915); *El Luchador* (Medellín, 1919); C. E. Mesa, CMF, *La Madre Elisa, fundadora de la Congregación de Siervas de la Madre de Dios* (Medellín, 1984); *Medellín en 1932* (Medellín, 1932); J. Mejía, *Resumen histórico de la Arquidiócesis de Medellín* (Medellín, 1967); D. Monsalve, *Monografía estadística del departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1929); J. Piedrahita Echeverri, *El templo y la parroquia de San José, 1720-1991* (Medellín, 1993); *Reglamento de la primera sociedad de mutuo auxilio* (Medellín, 1887); C. C. Restrepo, *Mensaje que el Gobernador de Antioquia dirige a la Asamblea en sus sesiones ordinarias de 1930* (Medellín, n.d.); J. Restrepo U., *Medellín: su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981); C. Reyes, '¿Fueron los viejos tiempos tan maravillosos? Aspectos de la vida social y cotidiana de Medellín (1890-1930)', Master's thesis, History Department, Universidad Nacional (Medellín, 1993); *La Sociedad* (Medellín, 1875); Sociedad Central de San Vicente de Paúl de Bogotá, *Memoria histórica. Obra arreglada por el socio Antonio José Uribe* (Bogotá, 1908); H. D. Villegas O., *La formación social del proletariado antioqueño, 1890-1930* (Medellín, 1990).

### Appendix 5. Educational institutions under female religious communities in Antioquia, 1880–1930

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
Presentation Sisters	1880	Medellín	Presentation School	elementary, secondary commerce
	1891	Manizales	school	elementary, secondary commerce
	1891	Envigado	school	elementary, secondary
	1893	Girardota	school	elementary, secondary
	1893	Salamina	school	Normal School
	1897	Santa Fe de Antioquia	school	elementary
	1898	Sonsón	school	Normal School
	1904	Abejorral	free school	Normal School
	1905	Támesis	Presentation School	elementary, secondary commerce
	1906	Jericó	Presentation School	elementary
	1912	Medellín	<i>Pensionado francés</i>	elementary, secondary, French, and fine arts
	1913	San Roque	school	elementary, secondary commerce
	1917	Jericó	children's school	elementary
	1917	Jericó	free children's school	elementary
	1917	Rionegro	free children's school	elementary, secondary commerce
	1917	La Estrella	free children's school	elementary, secondary commerce
	1917	Santo Domingo	free children's school	elementary, secondary

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
	1917	Concordia	free children's school	
	1917	Titiribí	children's school	elementary, secondary
	1917	Titiribí	free school	elementary
	1918	Marinilla	free school	elementary, secondary
	1921	Santa Bárbara	free school	elementary
	1923	Caldas	free school	elementary, secondary, commerce
	1923	Fredonia	free school	elementary, secondary
	1930	Medellín	Santa Inés free school	elementary
	1930	Medellín	Novitiate, barrio Los Ángeles	novitiate
<i>Misioneras de la Madre Laura</i>	1916	Dabeiba	school for Indian children	reading and writing to Indian children
	1918	El Pital and Antadó	home lessons for Indians	reading and writing to Indian children
	1919	Turbo	free girls school free school	reading and writing to Indian children
	1922	San Pedro	boarding school for Indian children	reading and writing to Indian children
	1924	Rioverde	—Indocrespo— School for Indian children	reading and writing to Indian children

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
	1927	Santa Fe de Antioquia	boarding school for Indian children —Indotoro—	
Salesian Sisters	1906	Medellín	<i>Casa Taller</i>	elementary
	1907	Medellín	free girls school in barrio Gerona	
	1912	La Ceja	María Auxiliadora School	elementary
	1915	Medellín	María Auxiliadora School	nursery school, elementary and normal School
	1915	Santa Rosa de Osos	<i>María Auxiliadora</i> school	Elementary and Normal School
	1922	Santuario	<i>María Inmaculada</i> school	elementary and Normal School
	1923	Concordia	<i>María Auxiliadora</i> school	
Capuchine Sisters	1912	Yarumal	Colegio de la Merced	elementary and secondary
	1916	Urreao	<i>Sagrada Familia</i> school	elementary and secondary
	1916	Támesis	<i>Sagrada Familia</i> school	
	1920	Santa Rosa de Osos	school	
Discalced Carmelite Missionary Sisters	1927	Dabeiba	School for Indian children	
	1927	Frontino	Noviciate	
	1930	Frontino	Santa Teresa School	

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
	1930	San José de Urama	free girls school	
	1930	San Jerónimo	school	
Company of Mary	1899	Medellín	La Enseñanza school	elementary and secondary
	1900	Medellín	free girls school	elementary
Vicentian Sisters	1915	Andes	boarding school for girls	
	1915	Caramanta	<i>Inmaculada</i> school	
Sacred Heart of Jesus Society	1930	Medellín	<i>Sagrado Corazón</i> school	
	1930	Medellín	free school	
Bethlemite Sisters	1916	San Pedro	<i>Sagrado Corazón</i> school	
Daughters of Wisdom	1920	Medellín	school for blind and deaf-and-dumb girls	
<i>Terciarias Dominicanas de Santa Catalina de Siena</i>	1928	Valparaíso	<i>Santísima Trinidad</i> school	elementary and secondary

Sources: *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927); *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); Archivo Provincial de Bogotá, Hermanas de la Presentación, Libro de Establecimientos; *Bodas de diamante de la Presentación en Colombia, Provincia de Medellín* (Medellín, 1948), 74-112; J. Botero Restrepo, 'La Sierva de Dios, Madre Laura de Santa Catalina (1874-1949)', *Los diez grandes evangelizadores de Colombia* (Caracas, 1987); F. Duque Betancur, *Historia del departamento de Antioquia* (Medellín, 1967); A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952); 'Hace 90 años llegaron a Antioquia las Salesianas', *El Colombiano* (Medellín, 4 August 1996), 10B; Hermana T. de la Inmaculada, *¿Quién ha educado a la mujer colombiana?* (Bogotá, 1960); M. D. Olano García, *Las Hermanas Misioneras de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús* (Cali, 1982); M. D. Olano García,

*Monseñor Builes. El hombre, el apóstol, el místico* (Cali, 1979); Sor V. Parra Pérez, *Memorias. Inspectoría San Pedro Claver, 1897-1946* FMA Colombia (Bogotá, 1998); Severino de Santa Teresa, OCD, *Historia documentada de la Iglesia en Urabá y el Darién, desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros días*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1957).

## Appendix 6. Educational institutions under male religious communities in Antioquia, 1886–1930

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
Jesuits	1886	Medellín	San Ignacio school	
Christian Brothers	1890	Medellín	San José school	secondary
	1891	Medellín	San Juan Bautista de la Salle school	elementary
	1892	Marinilla	San José school	secondary
	1901	La Ceja	Gregorio Gutiérrez González school	elementary, secondary
	1905	Sonsón	San José school	secondary
	1905	Sonsón	free school	elementary
	1907	Jericó	San José school	
	1908	Copacabana	Juan Bautista de la Salle school	secondary
	1909	Medellín	<i>Sagrado Corazón</i> free school	elementary
	1911	Yarumal	<i>San Luis</i> school	secondary
	1916	Santa Rosa de Osos	<i>Instituto del Norte</i>	secondary
	1926	Medellín	Plaza de Flórez workshops	technical education
	1928	San Pedro	Novitiate	religious education



Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
Eudists	1888	Santa Fe de Antioquia	San Fernando seminary	seminary
	1906	San Pedro	seminary	seminary
	1908	San Pedro	<i>Juniorato</i>	secondary school to prepare candidates for the seminary
	1915	Santa Rosa de Osos	seminary	seminary
	1917	Jericó	two seminaries	seminary
Franciscan Fathers	1895	Medellín	Sunday lectures for domestic servants in the parish of San Benito	
Discalced Carmelite Fathers	1914	Sonsón	school	
Salesian Brothers	1915	Medellín	El Sufragio, an industrial school (became Pedro Justo Berrío Institute in 1925)	
	1915	Medellín	<i>Dormitorio de Limpiabotas y Niños Desamparados</i> , a night school for shoeshine boys (founded years before by the <i>Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús</i> )	

Community	Opening date	Location	Institution	Educational level
Claretians	1925	Puerto Berrio	free school	

*Sources:* *Anuario Eclesiástico de la República de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1927); *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1938); *Anuario de la Iglesia Católica en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1951); *Directorio de comunidades religiosas en Colombia* (Bogotá, n.d.); R. V. Farrell, 'The Catholic Church and Colombian Education: 1886-1930: In Search of a Tradition', Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University, 1974); A. J. Gómez, *Monografía de todas las parroquias y todos los municipios de Antioquia por un sacerdote secular colombiano* (Medellín, 1952); C. González Mejía, 'La educación primaria y secundaria 1880-1950', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 1 (Medellín, 1996); Hermano Justo Ramón, 'La trayectoria lasallista en Colombia', *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Historia Eclesiástica*, 4/13 (Medellín, January-April 1969); Hermano León, *Los Hermanos Cristianos en Colombia, 1890-1928* (Medellín, 1950); Hermanos Florencio Rafael and Andrés Bernardo, *Los Hermanos de la Salle en Colombia. Bodas de diamante, 1890-1965* (Bogotá, 1965); Instituto de los Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas, *In memoriam, 1890-1940. Bodas de oro de la llegada de los Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas a Colombia y de la Fundación del Colegio de San José de Medellín* (Medellín, 1940); *Instrucción Pública*, 2/23 and 24 (Medellín, May 1919), 773-4; R. Pérez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús en Colombia y en Centroamérica después de su restauración* (Valladolid, 1896); L. Samson and A. Echeverri, *Los eudistas en Suramérica, 1833, 1906*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1981-2).

## Appendix 7. Manuscript newspapers edited in Antioquia, 1861–1930

Date	Title	Place	Editor	Contents
1861	<i>El Catarpa</i>	Yarumal	teaching societies	
1863	<i>El Andino</i>	Andes	<i>Sociedad de Amigos de la Moral y la Educación</i>	literary, civic, and moralizing
1863–5	<i>El Pasatiempo</i>	Concepción		
1870	<i>La Sociedad Escolar</i>	Medellín	<i>Sociedad Republicana</i>	
1874	<i>El Aficionado, periódico dedicado al bello sexo</i>	Yarumal	sociedad El Aficionado	literary
1880	<i>Ecos de la Juventud</i>	Santuario	youngsters	
1883	<i>Los Anales del Club</i>	Yarumal	<i>El Club de los Amigos</i>	literary
1884	<i>El Liceo</i>	Sonsón	<i>Liceo El Estudio</i>	
1886	<i>Germen</i>	Sonsón	Fernando Botero Daniel Ramos	literary, varieties
1890	<i>El Ensayo</i>	La Ceja		
1890	<i>El Cocuyo</i>	Sonsón	<i>Liceo Gutiérrez González</i>	
1892	<i>Ecos de Anorí</i>	Anorí		literary
1897	<i>El Ensayo</i>	Copacabana		
1900?	<i>Aura del Comienzo</i>	San Pedro	literary circle founded by Luis López de Mesa	literary
1902	<i>El Trabajo</i>	Angostura	Miguel Ángel Osorio	scientific, literary, and varieties
1903	<i>La Luz</i>	Angostura	Miguel Ángel Osorio	
1906	<i>La Ceja</i>	La Ceja		
1907	<i>El Neófito</i>	Jericó	Eliseo Vinasco	
1908	<i>El Congregante</i>			
1909	<i>El Cometa</i>	Itagüi	Enrique Vélez Escobar	

Date	Title	Place	Editor	Character
1914	<i>La Voz del Pueblo</i>	Andes		literary, civic, and moralizing
1915	<i>El Esfuerzo</i>	Caldas	Francisco Correa Posada	
1920	<i>El Ideal</i>	El Carmen	Alejandro Cardona	
1920	<i>El Alacrán</i>	San Roque	Alejandro Gómez	critics
1926	<i>El Aspirante</i>	Peñol	teachers	social interest
1930?	<i>Boliviana</i>	Bolívar	Ernesto González	
1930?	<i>El Cirirí</i>			
1930?	<i>Farallones</i>			
1930?	<i>El Quijote</i>			
1930?	<i>El Perro</i>	Heliconia	Luis A. Montoya	
1930?	<i>Silfo Social</i>	Heliconia	Heriberto Sánchez	humorous

Sources: *Joyas FAES 20 años. Exposición bibliográfica y documental* (Medellín, 1996); S. Londoño Vélez, *Historia de la pintura y el grabado en Antioquia* (Medellín, 1995); S. Londoño Vélez, 'Periódicos manuscritos del siglo XIX en Antioquia', *Credencial Historia*, 2 (Bogotá, February 1990); J. A. Restrepo, *Retrato de un patriarca antioqueño Pedro Antonio Restrepo Escovar*. (Bogotá, 1992); J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981); H. Zapata Cuéncar, *Antioquia, periódicos de provincia* (Medellín, 1981).

### Appendix 8. Art and literary newspapers published in Antioquia, 1853–1930

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1853	<i>El Cometa</i>	Medellín		literary
1858	<i>El Álbum Comercial</i>	Medellín	José L. Trujillo and Demetrio Viana	news, literature, and industry
1860	<i>Orlando Parlante</i>	Medellín		literary
1864	<i>El Alcance</i>	Medellín	Camilo Antonio Echeverri	literary, theatre, political, economy
1866	<i>El Artesano</i>	Medellín	J. Eleuterio Arango and others	literary
1868	<i>El Oasis</i>	Medellín	Isidoro Isaza	literary, essay, philosophy, folk literature
1868	<i>La Aurora, periódico literario dedicado al bello sexo</i>	Medellín		literary
1868	<i>La Restauración</i>	Medellín	Isidoro Isaza	political, literary, commercial
1868	<i>El Oasis</i>	Medellín		literary, philosophy, customs
1869	<i>El Estudio</i>	Rionegro	Federico Jaramillo C.	literary
1870	<i>El Hogar</i>	Medellín	Florencio Briceño	literary
1870	<i>El Cóndor</i>	Medellín	Juan C. Aguilar	literary
1871	<i>El Cóndor</i>	Medellín	Juan C. Aguilar	literary
1872	<i>El Álbum</i>	Medellín	Demetrio Viana, Juan José Molina	literary
1872	<i>La Palestra</i>	Medellín		literary
1872	<i>La Mañana</i>	Medellín	Jesús María Trespalcios	literary

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1873	<i>El Oasis</i>	Medellín		literary
1875	<i>La Lechuza</i>	Medellín	jóvenes de la Universidad de Antioquia	literary
1876	<i>Revista de Antioquia</i>	Medellín	Liborio Echavarría and others	literary, news
1877	<i>Cinco de Abril</i>	Medellín	Manuel de J. Barrera	political, literary, news, and scientific
1878	<i>El Guardián</i>	Medellín		scientific, political, literary
1878	<i>El Eco</i>	Medellín		literary, religious
1878	<i>Novedades</i>	Medellín		literary
1879	<i>El Noticioso</i>	Medellín	Nazario A. Pineda	industry, literary, and varieties
1879	<i>Revista Industrial</i>	Medellín	Camilo Botero G., Fidel Cano, Juan B. Posada	commercial, news, literary
1880	<i>La Justicia</i>	Medellín	Nazario A. Pineda	political, literary, and news
1880	<i>El Totilimundi</i>	Medellín	José Vicente Fernández	literary and political opposition
1881	<i>El Estado</i>	Medellín		political, literary
1881	<i>La Golondrina</i>	Medellín	Juan José Botero	literary page and varieties
1881	<i>La Unión</i>	Medellín		political, literary, and news
1882	<i>La Consigna</i>	Medellín	Juan B. Posada	political, literary, industrial
1882	<i>El Aldeano</i>	Medellín	Eleuterio Martínez Gómez	religious, literary, and news

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1882	<i>El Occidental</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	José J. Escobar	literary, news
1882	<i>El Occidental</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	José J. Escobar and others	literary
1883	<i>La Lid</i>	Manizales	V. Rodas Pizano	politics, literature, varieties
1883	<i>La Legión</i>	Medellín		political, literary, and news
1883	<i>La Voz de Antioquia</i>	Medellín	Juan José Molina	political, literary, and news
1884	<i>El Trabajo</i>	Medellín	Rafael Uribe U.	industry, news, and literary
1884	<i>El Aldeano</i>	Santuario		religious, literary, and news
1884	<i>El Progreso</i>	Medellín	Pedro Restrepo Uribe	literary, scientific, industry, and news
1886	<i>La Primavera</i>	Manizales	Luis M. Mejía J. and Silverio Arango	literary, political, industry, and news
1886	<i>El Impulsor</i>	Medellín	Teodomiro Isaza and Carlos E. Restrepo	news, literature
1886	<i>La Lira Antioqueña</i>	Medellín		music
1887	<i>El Espectador</i>	Medellín	Fidel Cano	political, news, literary
1887	<i>La Tarde</i>	Medellín	Nazario A. Pineda	industry, news, literature, sciences, art

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1889	<i>Notas and Letras</i>	Medellín	Manuel Molina and Juan José Molina	literary, music, and theatre
1890	<i>El Nacional</i>	Medellín		political, literary
1890	<i>La Mañana, periódico dedicado al bello sexo</i>	Medellín	José María Trespacios	literary
1890	<i>El Reportero Ilustrado</i>	Medellín	Antonio de Narvaes and Antonio Rodríguez	literary
1891	<i>El Imparcial</i>	Manizales	General Ramón Gómez G.	civic and literary
1892	<i>La Actualidad</i>	Manizales	Jesús M. Londoño	political, literary, news
1892	<i>El Instructor de Antioquia</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	Pbro. Silvestre Ballesteros	religious, moral, literary, philosophy, news
1893	<i>El Editor</i>	Manizales	Jesús Londoño Martínez	varieties and literature
1893	<i>El Fonógrafo</i>	Medellín		literary
1893	<i>El Recreo</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	Pbro. Silvestre Ballesteros	literary
1894	<i>Los Ecos del Norte</i>	Yarumal	José M. Gutiérrez, Daniel Gil and Roberto Medina	literary and news
1895	<i>El Aviso</i>	Medellín	Carlos Fernández E., José Velásquez García	commercial, literary, and comments
1895	<i>El Sendero</i>	Medellín	Jesús Escobar C.	politics, literature
1895	<i>La Guirnalda, periódico dedicado al bello sexo</i>	Medellín		literary
1896	<i>Los Tiempos</i>	Medellín	Lázaro Toro	political, news, literary



Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1897	<i>El Iniciador</i>	Manizales	Ramón Jaramillo	literature, news, industry, commerce
1898	<i>El Chispazo</i>	Medellín	Federico Carlos Henao	critic, literature, and varieties
1898	<i>El Chisposo</i>	Medellín		critic, literary
1898	<i>El Capiro</i>	Sonsón	Liceo Gutiérrez González	literary, civic, moralizing
1898	<i>El Narrador</i>	Yarumal	Juan C. and José María Gutiérrez R.	literary, industry, customs, and news
1899	<i>El Pequeño Ateneo</i>	Manizales	Emilio Latorre; <i>El Pequeño Ateneo</i>	scientific, literary, and news
1899	<i>El Siglo 20</i>	Yarumal	Luis Mejía E.	literary, news, industry, varieties
1899	<i>El Siglo</i>	Yarumal	Ulpiano Rivera	literary, news, and industry
1900	<i>Folletos Populares</i>	Medellín		literary
1903	<i>El Trabajo</i>	Medellín	Manuel Botero	industrial, literary, news
1904	<i>La Juventud</i>	Medellín	Jesús Arango V.	literary, commerce, news, varieties
1904	<i>El Siglo Nuevo</i>	Rionegro	Carlos A. Arbeláez	general interest, literature, varieties
1905	<i>El Industrial</i>	Medellín		literary, science, and art

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1905	<i>El Medellín</i>	Medellín	José Velásquez G.	news, literary, social chronicle
1905	<i>El Labaro</i>	Medellín	Pbro. Francisco J. Rodríguez	religious, literary, news
1906	<i>Pierrot</i>	Medellín	José Velásquez	art, literature, and cultural
1906	<i>La Luneta</i>	Medellín	Enrique Castro	theatre
1906	<i>La Barra</i>	Medellín	Climaco Soto Borda	news, literary
1906	<i>La Juventud</i>	Rionegro	Círculo Entusiasta	literary and varieties
1907	<i>La Mañana</i>	Rionegro	Germán Salazar, Luis Eduardo Franco	literary and varieties
1907	<i>El Retoño</i>	Rionegro	Emilio Franco	literary, dedicated to the fair sex
1908	<i>La Verdad</i>	Abejorral	Luis Duque A., Juan J. Peláez, and H. Jaramillo A.	literary, general interest
1908	<i>La Impulsión</i>	Yarumal	Tulio Medina	literary and varieties
1909	<i>Voz de Suroeste</i>	Jericó	Jorge Juan Orozco	political, literary news
1909	<i>La Montaña</i>	Jericó	Eugenio Prieto B.	literary and varieties
1909	<i>Las Palabras del Día</i>		Medellín	literary suplement
1910	<i>El Mochuelo</i>	Jericó	Climaco Gómez Restrepo	literary, news, and political
1910	<i>La Reacción</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	Club La Esperanza	literary and varieties
1910?	<i>La Patria</i>	Medellín	J. Restrepo Rivera, Tomás Márquez, Gabriel Cano	literary
1911	<i>La Campana</i>	Jericó	Julio Roldán and Julio Toro	literary and varieties

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1911	<i>Picachos</i>	Jericó	J.B. Jaramillo Meza	literary and varieties
1912	<i>Arte</i>	Jericó	Rafael Agudelo	social and literary
1912	<i>El Niño</i>	Yarumal	Martiniano Palacio H.	children's literature
1912	<i>Orfebre</i>	Yarumal	P. Rodas Pizano, Jorge de Greiff	art, literary, and varieties
1913	<i>Ecos</i>	Jericó	Eugenio Prieto B.	literary and varieties
1913	<i>Criteria</i>	Medellín	Eusebio Jaramillo and Rafael Botero R.	cultural and literary
1915	<i>Reacción</i>	Sonsón	Heliodoro Botero Mejía	political, literary
1915 <sup>2</sup>	<i>El Esfuerzo</i>	Medellín		general interest, literary, and varieties
1916	<i>El Correo Nuevo</i>	Medellín	Nicanor Restrepo R.	industry, commerce, literary, and varieties
1917	<i>El Vuelo</i>	Fredonia	Carlos Echeverri C.	literary and varieties
1918	<i>El Amigo de la Ciencia</i>	Medellín		religious, social, scientific, and literary matters
1919	<i>El Céfitro</i>	Copacabana		literary
1921	<i>Weekly News</i>	Medellín	Joaquín Lopera Berrío	education, commerce, literary, varieties
1921	<i>El Industrial</i>	Medellín	Félix R. Restrepo	literary, sciences, arts, industry
1922	<i>Voz Nueva</i>	Yolombó	Centro Cervantes	
1922 <sup>2</sup>	<i>El Imparcial</i>	Medellín		commerce, critic, and literary

Date	Title	Place	Editors	Contents
1927	<i>Mercurio</i>	Sonsón	Manuel J. Jaramillo	literary and commerce
1928	<i>Semanario Ilustrado</i>	Medellín	Enrique A. Gaviria	literary
1928	<i>El Correo de Oriente</i>	Rionegro	Eduardo Villegas R.	general interest, literary, and varieties
1928	<i>Sangre Joven</i>	Tâmesis	<i>Centro Epifanio Mejía</i>	literary
1929	<i>El Impulso de Occidente</i>	Cañasgordas	Vicente Muñetones	literary, local, critic
1930	<i>El Labaro</i>	La Ceja	Juan B. Vélez and Cándido Uribe	education, literature, local, history

*Sources:* AGN, Fondo República. sección 4, t. 9, doc. 86; *Antonio J. Cano, El Negro Cano* (Medellín, 1992); M. Díaz, 'La prensa literaria en el siglo XIX', *Gran Enciclopedia de Colombia*, vol. 5 (Bogotá, 1992); Regom [pseud], 'Los periódicos en el trasegar histórico de los pueblos antioqueños'. 3rd place in the contest 'El archivo de mi pueblo cuenta una historia'. IDEA-SEDUCA (Medellín, 1996); J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981); M. T. Uribe and J. M. Álvarez, 'Cien años de la prensa en Colombia, 1840-1940', unpublished index, Central Library, Universidad de Antioquia; H. Zapata Cuéncar, *Antioquia, periódicos de provincia* (Medellín, 1981).

## Appendix 9. Art and literary journals published in Antioquia, 1858–1930

Date	Title	Place	Editors or assistants	Contents
1858	<i>La Miscelánea de Antioquia</i>	Medellín		literature, commerce, varieties
1881	<i>Revista Ilustrada de Literatura, Artes y Ciencias</i>	Medellín	Juan José Botero	literature page and varieties
1882?	<i>La Idea</i>	Medellín	Fidel Cano	literature
1884	<i>El Liceo Antioqueño</i>	Medellín	Alejandro Botero	literature and science
1884	<i>El Industrial</i>	Medellín		
1884	<i>El Trabajo</i>	Medellín	Rafael Uribe U.	
1886	<i>La Miscelánea</i>	Medellín	Juan José Molina	literature
1887	<i>El Estudio</i>	Antioquia	Juan C. Toro	literature and varieties
1892	<i>La Brisa</i>	Antioquia	Jesús M. del Corral	literature, news, and industry
1892	<i>El Proscenio, Teatro y Variedades</i>	Medellín		
1893	<i>El Recreo</i>	Antioquia	Pbro. Silvestre Ballesteros y Francisco Martínez B.	literature, religion, and news
1893	<i>El Libreto, Hoja de Teatro y Hariedades</i>	Medellín	Gonzalo Vidal	theatre
1893	<i>El Movimiento</i>	Medellín	Camilo Botero Guerra	industry and literature
1893	<i>El Libreto</i>	Medellín	Gonzalo Vidal	music and theatre
1894	<i>La Miscelánea</i>	Medellín	Carlos A. Molina	literature
1895	<i>La Bohemia Alegre</i>	Medellín	Julio Vives Guerra, Abel Farina, Antonio J. Cano, Saturnino	literature

Date	Title	Place	Editors or assistants	Contents
			Restrepo, Antonio José Montoya, Jesús Ferrer, Tomás Quevedo, Federico Carlos Henao	
1896	<i>El Repertorio</i>	Medellín	Luis de Greiff, Horacio M. Rodríguez	literature, fine arts
1897	<i>La Revista Industrial</i>	Medellín	Fidel Cano, Camilo Botero	industry, literature
1897	<i>El Montañés, Revista Ilustrada de Literatura, Artes y Ciencias</i>	Medellín	Francisco Gómez, Mariano Ospina Vásquez, Gabriel Latorre	literature, arts, science
1897	<i>El Cirirí</i>	Medellín	Jesús del Corral and Jesús Velásquez García	literature
1898	<i>Capiro</i>	Sonsón	Joaquín Antonio Uribe	literature, science, and varieties
1899	<i>Revista Isaac</i>	Medellín	Camilo Botero Guerra	literature
1899	<i>El Preludio</i>	Medellín	Juan José Henao	literature, varieties
1899	<i>El Tábano</i>	Rionegro	F. A. Arbeláez	literature
1900	<i>Revista Musical</i>	Medellín		music and literature
1900	<i>Revista Musical</i>	Medellín	Gonzalo Vidal	music
1902	<i>Bohemia</i>	Medellín	Abel Farina	
1903	<i>La Musa Americana</i>	Medellín		literature
1903	<i>Lectura y Arte</i>	Medellín	Marco Tobón Mejía, Francisco A. Cano, and Enrique Vidal	literature and arts
1904	<i>Vida Nueva</i>	Medellín	Félix de Bedout, Carlos E. Restrepo, Antonio J. Cano	literature
1904	<i>Lectura Amena</i>	Medellín	Luis Cano	literature

Date	Title	Place	Editors or assistants	Contents
1905	<i>El Estudio</i>	Sonsón	Club 4 de diciembre	literature, scientific, and varieties
1906	<i>Alpha</i>	Medellín		literature
1907	<i>La Musa Americana</i>	Santa Fe de Antioquia	Justo Pastor Ríos	literature
1908	<i>Letras</i>	Medellín		literature
1908	<i>El Bateo Ilustrado</i>	Medellín	Enrique Castro, Director. Abel Marín, Redactor	literature
1909	<i>Palabras del Día</i> (literary supplement)	Medellín	Esmaragdo	literature Posada
1909	<i>La Patria</i> (literary edition)	Medellín	J. Restrepo Rivera, Tomás Márquez, Gabriel Cano	literature
1910	<i>Camelias</i>	Jericó	Juan Bautista Jaramillo Mesa	literature
1910	<i>Osiris</i>	Jericó	Rafael Agudelo y Joaquín Peña Ángel	literature
1912	<i>Flauta Contemporánea</i>	Jericó		literature
1912	<i>La Juventud</i>	Medellín	José Manuel Mora V., José Manuel Bernal	science and literature
1912	<i>Avanti</i>	Medellín	E. Posada Cano	literature
1913	<i>Humano</i>	Medellín	Luis Eduardo Vieco, Ángel Díaz Lemos, Julio Posada R.	literature
1913	<i>Picachos</i>	Jericó	J. B. Jaramillo Meza	literature
1913	<i>Arte</i>	Medellín	Francisco Quico Villa	art and literature
1915	<i>La Semana</i> , literary supplement of <i>El Espectador</i>	Medellín		
1915	<i>Panida</i>	Medellín	<i>Panidas</i>	literature and art

Date	Title	Place	Editors or assistants	Contents
1916	<i>Colombia, Revista Semanal</i>	Medellin	Carlos E. Restrepo, Antonio J. Cano	politics, economy, literature
1917	<i>El Social</i>	Medellin		literature
1918	<i>Studio</i>	Medellin	César Uribe Piedrahita	literature
1918	<i>Ibis</i>	Medellin	Francisco Villa López	
1919	<i>Progreso</i>	Fredonia		literature
1919	<i>Castalia</i>	Jericó	Severo Escobar, Julio Galán	literature
1919	<i>El Intelectual</i>	Medellin	Alfonso Mora Naranjo	literature
1920	<i>Dafne</i>	Yarumal		
1921	<i>Cyrano</i>	Medellin	Efe Gómez, Abel Farina, Eladio Vélez, José Posada, and others	art and literature
1921	<i>Sábado</i>	Medellin	SMP, Gabriel Cano, Ciro Mendia, Francisco Quico Villa	literature, cultural events
1921	<i>Lectura Breve</i>	Medellin	Francisco Quico Villa, Antonio J. Cano	literature, theatre, essays
1922	<i>La Pluma Semanal</i>	Medellin		
1923	<i>Progreso</i>	Medellin	Ricardo Olano	civic, literature
1926	<i>Letras y Encajes</i>	Medellin	Teresa Santamaría	literature, varieties
1927?	<i>Athenea</i>	Medellin	Suzana Olózaga de Cabo and Fita Uribe	literature
1927	<i>Voz Literaria</i>	Medellin	Francisco Villa López, Emilio Jaramillo, Efe Gómez, León de Greiff, Ciro Mendia, and others	literature, art, sciences, history
1930	<i>Claridad</i>	Medellin		literature



*Sources:* L. I. Bedoya, *Ironía y parodia en Tomás Carrasquilla* (Medellín, 1996); F. Botero Gómez, *Cien años de la vida de Medellín, 1890–1990* (Medellín, 1994); A. M. Cano, 'La prensa en Medellín', *Historia de Medellín*, vol. 2 (Bogotá, 1996); M. Escobar Calle, 'Las revistas culturales', *Historia de Antioquia* (Bogotá, 1996); C. Gómez (comp.), *Lo mejor de Efe Gómez* (Medellín, 1991); J. F. Londoño, 'Colombia Revista Semanal: Índice 1916–1922', undergraduate thesis, History Department, Universidad de Antioquia Medellín, 1995); J. Restrepo Uribe, *Medellín, su origen, progreso y desarrollo* (Medellín, 1981); B. Sanín Cano, 'Medellín hace sesenta años', *Revista Universidad de Medellín*, 46 (Medellín, 1985); M. T. Uribe and J. M. Álvarez, 'Cien años de la prensa en Colombia, 1840–1940', unpublished index, Central Library, Universidad de Antioquia); H. Zapata Cuéncar, *Antioquia: periódicos de provincia* (Medellín, 1981).

## Appendix 10. Location of cultural groups and entities in Antioquia, 1850–1930

### Conventions:

- A Literary circles
- B Public libraries
- C Academic, pedagogical, and scientific societies
- D Mixed-purpose—literary, civic, and moralizing—associations
- E Civic associations
- F Bands, orchestras, and musical academies
- G Temperance societies
- H Social clubs

Location <sup>a</sup>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
Abejorral	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	3	6
Abriaquí	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Aguadas	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Amagá	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	3
Amalfi	—	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	6
Andes	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	1	4
Anorí	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
Aranzazu	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Argelia	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Barbosa	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	3
Bello	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	5
Belmira	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Betania	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Bolívar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Buriticá	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Caldas	—	5	—	—	—	1	—	2	8
Cañasgordas	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
Carmen de Viboral	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	3
Carolina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Cocorná	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Concepción	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	4
Concordia	—	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	4
Copacabana	—	3	—	1	—	—	1	—	5
Dabeiba	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Ebéjico	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	3
El Retiro	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2

Location <sup>a</sup>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
Entreríos	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Envigado	—	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	5
Florencia	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Fredonia	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	3	8
Frontino	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	3
Girardota	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	4
Gómez Plata	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Granada	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	3
Guarne	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Guatapé	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Heliconia	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Itagüí	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Ituango	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Jardín	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	4
Jericó	—	—	1	1	2	3	1	—	8
La Ceja	—	5	—	2	—	—	1	—	8
La Unión	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Liborina	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Manizales	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	4
Marinilla	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	4
MEDELLÍN	40	20	15	5	3	24	1	40	148
Mesopotamia	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Nare	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Nariño	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Pácora	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Peñol	—	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	6
Pensilvania	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Porce	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	2
Pueblorico	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Puerto Berrío	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Remedios	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	4
Rionegro	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	13
Sabanalarga	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Salamina	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
Salgar	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
San Andrés	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
San Carlos	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
San Jerónimo	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
San José de la Montaña	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
San Pedro	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
San Rafael	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

Location <sup>a</sup>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
San Roque	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
San Vicente	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
Santa Bárbara	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Santa Fe de Antioquia	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	5	15
Santa Rosa de Osos	1	—	1	2	—	—	—	3	7
Santo Domingo	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	4
Santuario	—	2	2	1	—	2	—	1	8
Segovia	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	3	5
Sonsón	1	10	—	2	2	—	2	3	20
Sopetrán	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	4
Sucre	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Támesis	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	4
Titiribí	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	7
Turbo	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Urrao	—	2	—	—	—	2	1	1	6
Valparaíso	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Yarumal	1	7	3	—	1	4	1	3	20
Yolombó	1	3	—	—	1	—	—	2	7
Total	48	118	32	45	24	43	41	104	455

<sup>a</sup> After 1910 Aguadas, Aranzazu, Manizales, Pácora, and Salamina belonged to the Department of Caldas.

Sources: Chapter 7: New Cultural Societies.

### Appendix 11. Location of devotional, philanthropic, and cultural entities in Antioquia, 1850–1930

Location	Devotional	Philanthropic	Cultural	Total
Abejorral	5	2	6	13
Abriaquí	—	—	1	1
Aguadas	4	1	1	6
Alejandría	1	—	—	1
Amagá	7	1	3	11
Amalfi	—	1	6	7
Andes	2	4	4	10
Angostura	2	—	—	2
Anorí	2	1	3	6
Aranzazu	1	—	1	2
Argelia	—	—	1	1
Barbosa	5	3	3	11
Bello	5	1	5	11
Belmira	—	—	2	2
Betania	—	—	1	1
Bolívar	1	1	3	5
Buritica	—	—	1	1
Cáceres	1	—	—	1
Caldas	2	3	8	13
Campamento	1	—	—	1
Cañasgordas	—	—	2	2
Caramanta	—	1	—	1
Carmen de Viboral	3	1	3	7
Carolina	1	1	1	3
Caucasia	—	1	—	1
Cocorná	2	—	1	3
Concepción	2	1	4	7
Concordia	7	1	4	12
Copacabana	4	3	5	12
Dabeiba	—	—	2	2
Don Matías	—	1	—	1
Ebéjico	1	1	3	5
El Retiro	6	3	2	11
Entreríos	1	1	2	4
Envigado	5	4	5	14
Florencia	—	—	1	1
Fredonia	3	2	8	13

Location	Devotional	Philanthropic	Cultural	Total
Frontino	—	1	3	4
Girardota	3	2	4	9
Gómez Plata	—	—	1	1
Granada	8	1	3	12
Guarne	5	—	1	6
Guatapé	3	—	1	4
Heliconia	1	1	1	3
Itagüí	11	1	2	14
Ituango	2	1	2	5
Jardín	—	3	4	7
Jericó	5	6	8	19
La Ceja	6	3	8	17
La Estrella	4	—	—	4
La Unión	—	—	1	1
Liborina	—	1	2	3
Manizales	2	8	4	14
Marinilla	15	2	4	21
Medellín	62	84	148	294
Mesopotamia	—	—	1	1
Montebello	1	—	—	1
Nare	—	—	1	1
Nariño	—	1	2	3
Neira	1	—	—	1
Nueva Caramanta	2	—	—	2
Pácora	—	—	1	1
Peñol	4	1	6	11
Pensilvania	—	—	1	1
Porce	7	—	2	9
Pueblo Rico	—	2	1	3
Puerto Berrío	—	1	2	3
Remedios	—	3	4	7
Rionegro	7	4	13	24
Riosucio	1	—	—	1
Sabaletas	1	—	—	1
Sabanalarga	—	—	1	1
Salamina	—	2	2	4
Salgar	1	1	2	4
San Andrés	—	1	1	2
San Antonio de Prado	2	—	—	2
San Carlos	—	—	1	1
San Cristóbal	3	—	—	3

Location	Devotional	Philanthropic	Cultural	Total
San Jerónimo	1	1	2	4
San José de la Montaña	1	—	1	2
San Luis	1	—	—	1
San Pedro	5	—	3	8
San Rafael	1	—	1	2
San Roque	2	2	3	7
San Vicente	4	2	2	8
Santa Bárbara	4	1	2	7
Santa Fe de Antioquia	6	6	15	27
Santa Rosa de Osos	3	5	7	15
Santo Domingo	10	3	4	17
Santuario	9	1	8	18
Segovia	—	1	5	6
Sonsón	5	6	20	31
Sopetrán	1	3	4	8
Sucre	—	—	1	1
Támesis	—	1	4	5
Titiribí	4	1	7	12
Turbo	—	—	1	1
Urrao	1	1	6	8
Valparaíso	—	1	2	3
Venecia	1	—	—	1
Yarumal	6	7	20	33
Yolombó	2	3	7	12
Zaragoza	—	1	—	1
Total	298	215	455	968

*Sources:* Table 17: 'Date of foundation (by decades) of devotional associations'; and Table 18: 'Date of foundation (by decades) of charity hospitals, welfare institutions, and associations'; Table 24: 'Date of foundation (by decades) of cultural groups and entities in Antioquia'—all three in Antioquia, 1850s–1930.

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