The educational thought and practices of Padre Luís Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga S. J.

Justo Gallardo

University of Northern Iowa

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THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICES OF PADRE LUIS ALBERTO HURTADO CRUCHAGA S. J.

A Dissertation
Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Approved:

Dr. John K. Smith, Committee Chair

Dr. Carolyn R. Bair, Committee Member

Dr. Deborah K. Deemer, Committee Member

Dr. Nile D. Vernon, Committee Member

Dr. Radhi H. Al-Mabuk, Committee Member

Justo Gallardo

University of Northern Iowa

May 2003
THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICES OF PADRE LUIS ALBERTO
HURTADO CRUCHAGA S. J.

An Abstract of a Dissertation

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Approved:

Dr. John K. Smith
Faculty Advisor

Dr. John W. Somervill
Dean of the Graduate College

Justo Gallardo

University of Northern Iowa

May 2003
ABSTRACT

The memory of the Jesuit Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga S. J. is deeply held by the people of Chile. Most are aware of his main activities in favor of the poor. More than 50 years after his death, he is undeniably remembered for his main social work, El Hogar de Cristo, the largest welfare institution in Latin America. His importance for education in Chile, however, is less well-recognized. This historical case study is intended to address this less well-known aspect of his life.

As such, the purpose of this study is to examine Padre Hurtado's influence on Chilean education in the 20th century. In order to realize this goal, this study focuses on four major research questions:

1. Who was Padre Hurtado?
2. What was his political stance?
3. What influenced his view of education?
4. What influence did he have on contemporary education?

The data gathered to respond to the questions above came from primary as well as secondary sources; however, crucial information was collected from key informants for this historical case study. The method used to present data was a descriptive historical and philosophical discussion.

The study as a final product provides a thick description on the emblematic figure of Padre Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga S.J. and his main influential offices and practices upon Chilean education.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When most of my departmental faculty colleagues at the University of Tarapacá, Arica, Chile, were more focused on their last part of their careers, prior to their retirement plans, which eventually would also be my concern, I decided to pursue the doctoral degree in education at UNI. Apparently, this drive to start new phases in my life is part of my own self. Though I must admit to have experienced some very serious difficult moments, which were mostly related to family issues, I believe I have been most fortunate to have taken the right decision. However, everything would have not been so rewarding if I had not counted on the invaluable help of many good-hearted and extraordinarily well-intended people.

Throughout the program I was gifted to have had invaluable insights from the faculty at the College of Education. In the same context, I thank Drs. Carolyn R. Bair, Deborah K. Deemer, Nile D. Vernon, and Radhi H. Al-Mabuk, who all agreed to serve on my committee and provided their valuable help and insights. As Chair and as Academic Adviser, Dr. John K. Smith provided the most crucial orientation I needed. Indeed, it is my belief that he nurtured the main academic propelling force and guidance, which I could count on throughout the program.

Other persons I am most grateful to are all of those who made possible to carry out this study. Key informants, mostly Jesuits, who provided the focus required to make the investigation operational. My friends as Donald Knight whose invaluable help and rich insights were crucial for the fulfillment of this study; Adolfo Franco not only provided rich moments of discussion, but also logistic resources; Samuel Nodarse and James Ives...
whose deep reflections on social issues made things clearer to me; Barbara Dodge helped me in important matters. I believe it would be too lengthy to name them all. However, those I mentioned above, somehow represent the many to whom I owe so much.

My family was the most fundamental support to complete this task successfully. My beloved wife Lina, “Monita,” has always been the most important pillar of whatever I have done in my life. By the same token, my sons, Jaime and Ricardo, and my daughter Lisa, my “new son” Christian, and my dearest grand child, Nicolás, paved the way to successfully culminate my aim. However, my words of acknowledgments would be incomplete if my Dad, “mi querido Viejito” is not mentioned in this section. I have always thanked God to have given me the parents I had. I have always recognized my Dad’s wisdom, whose last words to me were of support in pursuing this goal. Only God knows when I will next have the opportunity to enjoy the rich and productive talks my “Viejito” and I used to have.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"I’m happy, oh Lord, I am happy" the 51-year-old Jesuit priest replied when he was formally advised he had a terminal pancreatic cancer. He provided a rationale for this statement in the almost immediate meeting with Father Alvaro Lavín, his superior in the Jesus Order in Chile. “How couldn’t I be thankful to God?... I won the lottery! How fine He is to me! Instead of having a sudden death He allows me time to get ready. Indeed, He has been the best of all fathers...” (Nurse Marta Holley’s diary cited in Correa, 1997, p. 81)

Such a reaction from Padre Hurtado to his deadly announcement attracted my attention deeply. In my country, Chile, people call priests padres, and in this study I will address this Jesuit priest, who is the unique figure of this research, as Padre Hurtado. However, I will also refer to him as Hurtado, or by his full name of Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga.

Purpose of Study

For this historical case study research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Eisner, 1991; Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999; Wiersma, 2000), the purpose is to examine Padre Hurtado’s influence on Chilean education in the 20th Century. Specifically, this study will focus on the following main questions:

1. Who was Padre Hurtado?
2. What was his political stance?
3. What influenced his view of education?
4. What influence did he have on contemporary education?

Outline

Accordingly, Chapter 2, "Who was Padre Hurtado? His life and priesthood" and Chapter 3, "Who was Padre Hurtado? His apostleship" will respond to Question 1 above. Chapter 2 will mainly refer to the first part of his life, his family life, schooling, and priesthood as related to the First General of the Society of Jesus, St. Ignacio de Loyola and the Compañía de Jesús. In Chapter 3 on his apostleship, his main works will be discussed. Thus, this chapter will be devoted to his activities at the Catholic Action, The Hogar de Cristo, [Christ's Home], the Catholic workers union (ASICH), and the Catholic monthly journal Mensaje.

Chapter 4 will respond to the second research question on his political stance. The discussion will be focused on the following main parts: (a) Historical and political background, antecedents that are crucial to place Padre Hurtado into the right historical, sociological and political context; (b) Marxism and religion. Recurrent traces have been found of the entwined influences on these concepts in Latin America, which make the importance of this subject matter crucial to this section; (c) Marxism and education. That a priest is an educator is an accepted fact. So, it is relevant to discuss this topic from a rather philosophical perspective in order to discuss whether Marxism could eventually be delivered in a Catholic educational system, and adhered to by a Catholic priest; and (d) other valid sources such as the interviewees, and Padre Hurtado himself, since he wrote several books on social issues, which can unveil his political views to a certain extent.
Chapter 5 will provide the answer to Question 3 above. From Hurtado’s education flows the presence of the Tomist-Aristotelian perspective, a fundamental approach within Jesuit practices, which seems to be an undeniable source of educational influence acting upon him since his school days and much more profoundly in his Jesuit formation. However, it is not my intention to refer to this sort of influence, since it would do little to add to what others have said on this matter (Bangert, 1972; Barret, 1927; Barthel, 1984; Broderick, 1940; Caiceo, 1989; Gulley, 1961; Mayer, 1929). From my perspective, it is more valid to refer to the pragmatic American thinker John Dewey as an influential source in Hurtado’s thought and doings. John Dewey’s thoughts have pervaded educational settings worldwide. Even in the U.S.A. several different groups have identified him as one of their ideologists. However, Dewey himself never declared an open and clear stand for any of these groups (Kliebard, 1995).

Hurtado’s doctoral thesis, *El sistema pedagógico de John Dewey ante las exigencias de la doctrina católica* (1989), [John Dewey’s Pedagogical System Facing the Demands of the Catholic Doctrine] was based upon Dewey’s educational insights. Such a thesis was an attempt to adopt the pedagogic principles sustained by the American thinker within the curriculum of Catholic education. Dewey, as a pragmatic thinker, was opposed to Catholic principles; or better said, the Catholic Church did not accept his ideas, hence the challenge Hurtado undertook was by itself crucial. This chapter will be divided into: (a) the philosophical shift of John Dewey from Hegelianism to his later pragmatic position and (b) his educational insights from a Catholic perspective.
Chapter 6 aims at discussing Hurtado’s influence upon Chilean contemporary education, which is addressed by research Question 4 above. I believe that the interest in education is something immanent in most, if not all, priests. Padre Hurtado was not an exception; indeed, as a Jesuit, he firmly believed that he had to prepare the best way he could to undertake such an enterprise, which is why he pursued his doctorate in education, and his dissertation was on one prominent figure in education worldwide. However, his social work for the poor has eclipsed his role in Chilean education and his commitment to what he namely called “Social Education.” Indeed, in Chile only a few people identify Padre Hurtado with educational issues, since he is best remembered for his most well known enterprise, the Hogar de Cristo, which is dedicated to assisting the most in need of his country fellows.

So, this chapter will be designed to discuss the following main points: (a) Dewey’s elements found to be accepted by the Catholic doctrine and (b) Social education from Hurtado’s perspectives.

Chapter 7 is the summary of the study. As a sort of general conclusion this chapter is designed to holistically respond to the research questions posed for this study. However, from the very beginning I must admit that it would not be possible to provide thorough responses on this figure. Indeed, I wonder whether it would be possible for any of us to portray truly vivid and adequate descriptions of people who have been somehow depicted by others and by their own actions, which as time passes have become even more important than in their origins.
An additional asset of this historical study for eventual future research on Hurtado will be the documentary file, as output of the varied and several interviews carried out in Chile. It is a fact that most of the key informants of this study are senior priests and professionals, hence the historical importance of such a file.

Though it may be considered a contradiction from what was stated above, which it is not, I believe the study fulfills its aim in the sense of illuminating certain issues on the educational thought and practices of Padre Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga S. J.

Statement of Problem

It is almost logical to expect that priests are linked to the act of educating, some will involve themselves directly, others in a more indirect fashion. After all, Jesus Christ Himself requested his disciples to do so in His name. Therefore, it is an almost natural flow to connect this Jesuit priest to education, since education for the Jesus Society is of paramount influence in its apostleship (Hanisch, 1974). Moreover, Padre Hurtado pursued a doctoral degree in Education, at the Catholic University in Lovaine, Belgium. Upon his return to Chile, in 1936, he was firstly devoted to teaching (Castellón, 1998). Although there is abundant literature on his social work devoted to the poor, which is why he is mainly identified as “the Apostle of the Poor” (Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996), there are rather unknown facets of his work on salient issues on education in Chile (Caiceo, 1987, 1989, 1994, 1995).

Therefore, a more than apparent need exists to expand the body of research and literature on this priest, declared blessed in the Catholic Church by Pope John Paul II in October 1994.
Significance of Study

The research available in Chile itself on him is not abundant in the educational area, as it was stated above. At the Catholic University Library, Padre Hurtado's thesis included, resources are limited and only a few are devoted to the topic of this research. So, within this lack of literature to the topic of our interest, a more than concrete significance of study resides. Another relevant element, from my perspective, which makes the study significant, is related to the philosophical basis underlying Chilean education; since during a long period in the contemporary history of Chilean education lay thoughts ruled the main reforms and enterprises in this arena. Such secular stance was usually the source of strong controversies among the people, since a great part of the Chilean population admitted to being Catholic. One of the main contributions rendered by Padre Hurtado in the field of education was to moderate such a controversy. He provided a new perspective to consider both the pragmatic stance and the humanistic view in education (Caiceo, 1995). Within the responses to the research questions of this study resides the most crucial significance of the study, since expected as well as unexpected outcomes constitute themselves in synergic elements for undertaking other studies in the areas that have not been necessarily investigated (Eisner, 1991).

Pilot Study

This phase of the study was crucial to define the relevance of the research questions and refine the protocol to be used in the open key informant interviews (Gall et al., 1996) carried out in some of the actual places where Padre Hurtado lived. It was also relevant to gain access to other key informants, hence its importance in internal sampling issues.
Interviews

After the approval from UNI Human Subjects Review System, on three different occasions it was possible to carry out on-site interviews. Those interviewed (14 participants) were all adults, whose actual names were protected by fictitious ones. They all volunteered their participation in the study (See Appendixes A and B, consent form and interview protocol, respectively). In order to build up a list of eventual informants, at the pilot study phase, I first interviewed a Catholic bishop in my hometown, who provided me with the required information; even phone numbers to reach others who had actually met Padre Hurtado. These individuals, in turn, connected me with some other informants during the open-ended interview phase. Most of them were more than 80 years old. Almost all of those interviewed have reached doctoral studies. Some have more than one terminal degree. Another common feature of the volunteers is their deep admiration on Padre Hurtado, since most of them are Jesuits, they actually feel proud that one of the members of the Jesus Society in Chile has been declared blessed.

After the pilot study, the first part of the interviews phase was conducted; the second part of this phase was completed in Santiago, Chile, summer 2002; and the third one in January 2003. Scheduling interviews and taped interviewing to collect data were carried out with no further inconveniences. Indeed, I would say that in a parallel fashion as these were being conducted, it was possible to collect and evaluate materials in situ. Such
feasibility was critical for external criticism, not only for primary and secondary sources, but relics as well.

**Observations**

While interviewing it was also possible to video tape and take photos not only of the participants, but also the field itself. It is my belief that this was useful for the sake of the interpretation of data gathered, since nonverbal elements could also be considered. Either way, the use of fieldnotes or logs kept during this phase was also crucial (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

**Overview**

At the outset of the 20th Century, Chile apparently was a country of promising hope for all its citizens. The Pacific War against the Peru and Bolivia coalition had given the country new lands rich in nitrate; however, in actual terms the wealthy people became wealthier and the poor only had the illusion of being better off. I dare to state that this was because of the following reasons: firstly, the capital for the exploitation of nitrate was British, so they were the ones who made a real profit out of it. The Chilean Bourgeoisie, which depended on this mineral resource, did their best to please their bosses. They actually exploited their countrymen by hiring the cheapest workforce possible. Miners in the North and rural workers in the Central and South regions worked under the most incredible conditions regarding security, health, education and indeed, religion. However, they thought they had a “promising” work at the mines, or in the farms fields. Regarding miners, all the money they could earn was spent on their basic needs at the stores of the same companies which owned the mines. As can be seen the
profit for the wealthy was actually abusive. The situation for the workers in the rural fields was even worse, since they were paid in poor quality houses, which were the properties of the landowners, and the opportunity to grow their own food on the landowners' land. Secondly, the types of education delivered to the oligarchy and the workers were quite different. While the former acquired a liberal and future-oriented type, the latter, if lucky to have some education, were offered a limited, and I dare to say, non-future-oriented education, since the most ultimate goal for them could be to become mass-workers (Hurtado, 1994). In order to envision the sort of social environment of the country at that time it is useful to draw a parallel to the Industrial Revolution social issues in Europe some time before.

At that time, the right-wing Conservative Party mainly represented the Chilean oligarchy. Its members had the best education; many received theirs in Europe, and the best positions; in short, the privileges. In fact they ruled the country with no serious opposition for several decades. In this roughly depicted scenario it might not be difficult to envision the tremendous social injustices against the poor, whose main failure was precisely being poor. And what was worse, many injustices were made with the knowledge and concurrence of the Catholic Church oligarchy. Hence it was almost a natural outcome that Emilio Recabarren founded the Marxist Political Party in the northern region in Chile.

Hurtado, who is the central topic of this study, came on the Chilean social scenario in 1936. He had recently received his doctoral degree in education and was influenced by new social perspectives from Europe (Magnet, 1994). In 1941 he actually began his
social educational apostleship with the publication of his book, which openly inquired of the Chilean society whether the country was Catholic or not ¿Es Chile un país Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic country?] Hurtado denounced that the actual roots of the social problems of the people resided in the lack of education.

Though Padre Hurtado had a prolific life, which would be an impossible mission to investigate in a study like this, it is the researcher’s belief that an important, though not exhaustive, portrait of who he was and his impact on the Chilean society is given by the research questions posed for this study.

Review of Literature

Qualitative research projects like this are somehow different from quantitative approaches. The review of the literature is one such difference, since it is not feasible to specifically know aprioristically what and how the process of the case study will evolve (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). However, for this study, the preliminary search for sources was important in the later search of primary as well as secondary sources. Therefore, as a road map, the research questions were used to build up such review. In order to examine the research questions stated above, the following themes in the literature were reviewed: (a) Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga’s life, (b) politics and religion, and (c) interacting influences on social education in Chile. Although it should be emphasized that on several instances the information is entwined.
CHAPTER 2
WHO WAS PADRE HURTADO? HIS LIFE AND PRIESTHOOD

In order to discuss adequately who this Jesuit priest was, this chapter is divided into the following main parts: (a) his ordinary life, (b) his priesthood, (c) Ignacio de Loyola and the Compañía de Jesús, and (d) the history of the Compañía in Chile.

His Ordinary Life

At the outset of the 20th Century, Chile was in an outstanding position in Latin America, since, as said, it had recently won the Pacific War against the Perú and Bolivia coalition. As a result, Chilean territory had increased both quantitatively and qualitatively. The rich nitrate mines, one of the war causes, had become part of Chile. Though from a different perspective, Chile, engaged in the aforementioned war, lost a great extension of land in the southern region, the Patagonia. Argentina, without a single shot, took possession of that land, now rich in oil; however, at that time it was considered as worthless as Darwin had previously suggested.

Either way, the triumphant and economical environment Chile experienced at that time was like a “happy land.” Being educated in Europe was a must; European fashion not only in clothing, but also in building, remodeling and furnishing houses was a common practice. According to Magnet (1994), mortgaging due to Chilean money stability, thanks be to nitrate, was very accessible for most of high middle class families who could go to Europe to spend their vacations, even with maids!

Padre Hurtado’s father, Alberto Hurtado Larraín, though related to the higher social class in Chile, which was sociably fashionable, was not a man of fortune. He and his six
other siblings inherited a ranch after their father’s death. Alberto sold them his part of the inheritance and bought another rather poor ranch near the capital, Santiago, where it was located by Casablanca (Magnet, 1994).

Hurtado’s mother, Ana Cruchaga Tocornal, a descendent from a Basque immigrant, was also related to important persons in Chilean history; but her direct family experienced a series of unexpected and unwanted incidents. Marriages and widowhoods marked her family development. At this point, it is important to point out that in Chilean society at that time, women of the upper middle class were not to work outside of their homes, and hence the eventual deaths of their husbands usually gave them little choice on how to cope with their living and their families, if not by wealthy inheritances. Ana’s was not an exception. After the death of her father, who died in bankruptcy, her mother and her 11 children had to live with other relatives.

On June 4, 1898, Ana and Alberto were married. They had two children, Luis Alberto and Miguel. The eldest child was born in Viña del Mar, currently one of the most exclusive places in Chile, was even then a fashionable summer bathing resort in the country. According to the literature (Caiceo, 1996; Castellón, 1998; Lavín, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Meléndez, 2001; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996), it was summer, January 22, 1901, when Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga was born. He was baptized the following day (Meléndez, 2001). His parents had decided to go to Viña del Mar because it was a much better place for his birth place than the country farm fields where they used to live (Castellón, 1998; Lavín, 1994).
Until Alberto was four years old, life in the country field was rather normal. His father was a rough countryman who had to work his low quality land with the greatest efforts. Moreover, he and one of his brothers, Julio, were distinguished by their fierce resolution to combat bandits that assaulted people and stole their properties. Their strong disposition against unlawful people gained deep feelings of revenge among rustlers, since both brothers had caused them to almost disappear from the area (Magnet, 1994).

Nevertheless, such resolution caused Alberto's death. Most of those who have written on Hurtado's life do not refer to this incident as openly as Monckeberg and Ortega (1996) do. They clearly detail his death stating he was shot by bandits in the area. Though Magnet (1994) refers to the incident with some bandits, he does not mention that he was killed, he only states that Alberto's wife found him dead after he returned home. Lavin (1994) only states that in June, 1905, his father passed away. Castellón (1998) in a similar fashion as Lavín does only mentions his death. Meléndez (2001) states that he had suffered a heart attack, though he admits that he had gone out in search of some rustlers. Meléndez suggests that since he had a weak heart, the efforts in the bandits search and the disappointment in not having found them triggered his attack. Similarly as Monckeberg and Ortega do, Caiceo (1996) states that some bandits assassinated him. On the antecedents provided by Caiceo; Magnet (1994) and Monckeberg and Ortega (1996) it seems to me that Padre Hurtado's father was assassinated. I wonder whether most authors do not refer as openly to this event due to the blessed status of Padre Hurtado.

As stated above on successive widowhoods in her family, Ana Cruchaga suffered the same experience. Her husband's death meant more than his early and unexpected
disappearance. Their ranch was low-quality soil; hence her husband had borrowed some money to make it more productive. Apparently, he had been working effectively, since his businesses were improving. Unfortunately, his early death dramatically changed everything for his family. Ana inherited too many debts. Under such conditions it was necessary to sell the ranch, which was sold very disadvantageously. Indeed, almost all the money she received was needed to pay debts (Castellón, 1998; Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Meléndez, 2001). This incident of the disadvantageous sale would inevitably force Ana Cruchaga and her children to live in some relatives' places, since they could not afford one by themselves. They went to Santiago and lived with one of her brothers in his apartment downtown. Unfortunately, he soon passed away. They all moved to another bigger house downtown, one of her sisters' places (Meléndez, 2001). Apparently, it was a cyclical fate of her previous and her then current family moving from one place to another.

His Schooling and Vocation

When Alberto was eight he began his elementary education at the Colegio San Ignacio, the main school founded by the Jesuit Society in Santiago. Alberto received both his elementary and secondary education from that school, thanks to the fact that his mother had obtained a scholarship for her sons in that private and exclusive institution (Castellón, 1998). According to Magnet (1994), Alberto was a fair, though not brilliant student: "...he did not have an outstanding intelligence, he only made the efforts to pass the courses satisfactorily..." (p. 29). According to "El Padre" [Father] (2001, August 14), as a student Hurtado distinguished himself more by his personal characteristics of
goodness than by his academic results. By the same token, Ganderats (2000-2001) says that he was an easy-going pupil; he was distinguished by his kindness and was very interested in religious topics. Ganderats notes that other than an award in apologetics, there are no further records of this nature of his academic competence.

In his early school days Alberto met his best friend, Manuel Larrain Errázuriz, future Bishop in Talca, who reportedly made one of the best homilies ever remembered in Chile at Padre Hurtado’s funeral (Castellón, 1998). Later Hurtado, Larrain and Augusto Salinas, who became the Assistant Bishop in Santiago, were the closest friends, and both future bishops had definitive importance in Hurtado’s future apostleship.

Another relevant antecedent on Hurtado’s school days seems to be the discipline imposed by the Spanish Jesuits who ruled the school, which by that time had become the most exclusive school in Santiago. According to Magnet (1994), when Hurtado entered school (1909), as stated above, the Colegio San Ignacio had become an exclusive unit for the Catholic aristocracy in Santiago, what is equivalent to say, for Chile. The very hard discipline imposed by the Spanish priests was rather unbearable for the Chilean students who had formed a sort of ‘lodge’ against them. Those students’ main purposes and activities were focused on playing jokes and tricks against the overly strict priests. I believe this trace of Hurtado’s school days is relevant to show that though he had been distinguished by his goodness and generosity, he was like any other boy of his age.

In the meantime, his mother, who actually had been his first teacher, having taught him reading and writing before entering school, also influenced him on his future social commitment. According to Castellón (1998), though she had experienced severe
economical difficulties and had managed to raise both of her children adequately, she was deeply socially committed. Soon Hurtado learned by her model that there were too many poor in the apparently rich country. She used to take her children to the welfare institution San Antonio, which provided education to young workers. Monckeberg and Ortega (1996) provide the following antecedent that best illustrates her social education toward her children, since she often used to tell them: “It is worthy to have both hands united together to pray, but it is better to open them up to give” (p. 7).

According to Castellón (1998), in 1917, Hurtado met Father Fernando Vives Solar (1871-1935) who came back to the country, after he had been exiled in 1913 due to his social ideas on unionization. Moreover, he was also resisted because his ideas on school discipline were very unconventional. Castellón notes that Father Vives was the spiritual adviser Hurtado required, because “…he taught Hurtado to love God by serving those who suffer” (p. 11). Monckeberg and Ortega (1996) state that Hurtado found in Vives, his history teacher, his mentor, confident, and spiritual adviser. Padre Vives seemed to have had the most crucial influence upon Hurtado’s social thought, which is why the latter dedicated to his mentor’s memory his book Sindicismo: Historia-Teoría-Práctica (1950) [Unionization: History-Theory-Practice] by stating that Vives had been the apostle of the proletariat redemption, and to whom he owed his priesthood and social vocation.

It is very likely that due to Vives’ influence upon Hurtado, he actually decided to join the Jesus Society. It is particularly relevant on this issue to cite the comparison of two letters addressed by Hurtado to his friend Manuel Larrain (as cited in Magnet, 1994). The first one had been written when Hurtado was 15. He lists the books he had read during the
summer and ends with a statement regarding their next beginning school year: “I apologize if this letter is like a repetition of others. This is due to the lack of subject. Making the best efforts to prepare myself to the most critical event of going back to school again, and many good regards, etc., etc.,” (p. 43). The other letter which was written at the age of 16 Magnet cites has several relevant passages like: “I am glad you have become so mystical. You will see I was right when advising you daily communion.” Then he adds: “I have read Saint Ignacio’s life and some other books on devotion…” Finally, Hurtado refers to his desire to become a priest, which was at that time overtly well known in school: “Regarding the possibility to leave this year, I already lost the hope, though not my desires, which are deeper every day” (pp. 43-44).

At that time, Father Vives, in response to Hurtado’s inquiries and wishes, had suggested he join the Order at a later occasion (Monkeberg & Ortega, 1996). Firstly, he advised Hurtado to finish his secondary studies. This incident might reveal how Hurtado, by accepting his spiritual adviser’s suggestions, began his actual formation as a future Jesuit, or to put it in other words; he actually began being educated according to St. Ignacio’s rules on obedience. Moreover, he had begun working very actively with his closest friends at the welfare institution, Andacollo. It could be said, then, that his mother as well as Father Vives deeply influenced him on this matter.

Another impediment Hurtado had to joining the Society was his family. He was the eldest son of Ana Cruchuga who did not remarry. So he felt the moral duty to become the provider his mother needed. That was why he postponed his intention to enter the seminary. That was precisely the event he addressed in the letter to his friend, Manuel.
Larrain, cited above, because in order to join the seminary he had to go to another city, and then to some other places as it effectively was to happen later.

After he finished his secondary education, he reconsidered his decision to somehow go to the seminary, because as stated above, his mother still did not have a stable income. Thus, he decided to study law at the Catholic University. He attended classes in the mornings and in the afternoons he worked as a clerk at the Conservative Party, which at that time was said to defend Catholicism against the reformists (Castellón, 1998; Monkeberg & Ortega, 1996).

There was considerable political, social, and economic turbulence throughout Chile at that time. The right-wing Conservative Party, which had ruled the country with no serious opposition for decades, was said to represent the interests of the Catholic Church, hence the faults of that political party, which on social grounds were abundant, were consequently assigned to the Church. According to Meléndez (2001), Hurtado had become interested in politics due to his interest in helping people. That was why he officially enrolled in the party at the time he was hired by the institution. Participant Cepeda (Interviewed in May 2002) states: “In his youth while Hurtao was studying, he enrolled in the Conservative Party and he was a hired secretary at that party, his uncle, a very important member of the Conservative Party, enrolled him.”

Capo (1997) refers to a serious incident in which Hurtado was a direct protagonist during the turbulent times alluded to above. The Conservative Party had been seriously challenged by a growing opposition led by left-wing parties and the free masons. Later, the Falange Nacional, which was a split from the Conservative Party itself, added to this
political position. Either way, the two opposing political sections had a physical confrontation in one of the several frictions they had. One night, a follower of the Conservative Party was killed by a shot from their opponents. Hurtado, perhaps imprudently, would grasp the supposedly attacking individual, but in the physical fight he was injured by a blow on his head with a stick and lost consciousness. This incident in a vivid fashion reveals, from my perspective, a characteristic feature of his personality, his determination to act. This trace of his personality shows that before becoming a Jesuit he had already certain features required by St. Ignacio, a former soldier, from those formed in the Society of Jesus regarding the attitude to act (Herrero, 2001), which does not have to be understood, as opposed to contemplation.

Perhaps what best illustrates this feature is the fact that he and his closest friends, Manuel Larraín, Augusto Salinas, Alvaro Lavin, and others joined the Chilean Army as students, as a response to an eventual attack from the former Perú-Bolivia coalition. Soon this incident was proved to be a mere excuse which the government at that time had created in order not to recognize the triumph of its opponents in the election for the Chilean presidency.

In the meantime, Father Vives had been "invited" to leave the country again. Not only his study circles on the Rerum Novarum encyclical had been an eventual cause (Magnet, 1994), but he had also participated in direct politics. In this latter field he had been an active participant among those who within the Conservative Party became the split named "Falange Nacional," which later became the Christian Democratic Party; however, the political parties he founded in which he was more actively involved were
the true determinants of his new exile (Gómez, 2001). So, in January 1918, during summer when students, who might have reacted strongly against this measure, were on vacations, he left for Argentina from where he would depart to Barcelona. According to Magnet (1994), he had written a letter to Hurtado advising him that he believed he would be back in a year's time. He could not come back until 14 years later, when thanks to the Spanish Revolution he could do so. This is also a revealing incident of how religious orders were pervaded by politics at that time and how powerful the right wing Conservative Party was. Pressures existed which Hurtado would experience later as a priest.

At the Catholic University, Hurtado was a better student than at elementary and secondary school. In 1921 and 1923 he submitted his theses La reglamentación del trabajo de los niños [The rules of children work] and El trabajo a domicilio [Sweating Systems], respectively in Hurtado (1994). The choice of his theses clearly showed his social vocation.

Another relevant antecedent on this matter is the one related to the unfulfilled promises of Alessandri, free mason, who had won the presidential election in 1920. However, in order to provide the most objective information on this matter, it is necessary to say that after World War I, a nitrate substitute had been developed. This simply meant the “white gold” (as nitrate used to be called) collapsed. Thousands of unemployed marched to Santiago, the capital city, to demand from the government a solution, which it was unable to provide. The only possibility it could offer those people were several temporary shelters. That was the “crisis time.” My father and uncles who
lived in Iquique, which was the central port of the nitrate mines, used to tell me valuable information on that part of the unwritten history of Chile. At that time, Hurtado and his friends used to go to some of those shelters in the capital city to provide some help (Magnet, 1994). This shows again, from my perspective, his own and his friends' social vocation on behalf of the poor.

As a lawyer the unique case he was directly involved in was the one that could solve the impediment he had to join the Jesus Society (his mother's unstable incomes). As it can be recalled, when his father died and his mother sold the ranch, she was paid a lower price than its real value. Moreover, her children, Alberto and Miguel, were too young to agree on the sale, that is, the sale itself had been carried out without the required legal formalities. According to the Chilean law, when there were minors involved in what was sold as part of an inheritance, there were some certain legal issues which had to be protected; which were not settled in this specific case. Hence he filed a suit against the then owner of the property, though the possibilities to win the case were rather uncertain. This decision was closely related to another event that he undertook and which shows vividly his profound desire to become a priest as well as his unlimited confidence in God's will. Castellón (1998) citing father Damián Symon, Hurtado's last spiritual adviser, retells that every evening at 10 pm., during all the month long devoted to the Sacred Heart, in 1923, Hurtado went to the church to pray and offer himself to God, in so doing his main concern, as stated above, was his mother's financial situation. The last day of the month, that is, the exact day of the Sacred Heart celebration, the owner agreed to pay an extra sum of money to clean up the matter, which would allow his mother to
live adequately, and he could at last, join the Society of Jesus (Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monkeberg & Ortega, 1996). At this point I think it worthwhile to mention one element in Padre Hurtado’s family history that might have attracted the reader’s attention. This is related to his brother, who eventually could have taken care of his mother. The literature does not openly refer to this piece of information. Magnet (1994) in a subtle fashion states, “Miguel was a good man, though not strong determined. The opposite from his brother” (p. 85). However, from one of the participants, (Cepeda, interviewed in May 2002), who illustratively refers to him by noting “his brother was rather unstable...sort of gigolo...he was not very good, so to speak....” it is feasible to unveil such a piece from Hurtado’s family life and thoroughly understand why he could not join the seminary before.

His Priesthood

Even before receiving his diploma as a lawyer, he departed to Chillán to begin as a novice at the Society of Jesus; it was August 14, 1923. He wanted to be there the following day, the 15th, because it was the celebration of Virgin Mary Assumption. It is assumed that such a date had a deep significance for him, since St. Ignacio had initiated his novitiate period the same day (“Una vida” [A life], 1952b, August 21).

At the novitiate in Chillán, Father Jaime Ripoll, one of his former teachers at the Colegio San Ignacio in Santiago, was his master of novices. This priest, as a traditional Spanish father at that time, was a rough and demanding master to his students. He strongly believed that the Chilean race was soft and reluctant to do hard work. Then, he was convinced that Chilean novices first had to dominate their bodies to be fit for Jesuit
priesthood. He neither allowed novices to play certain games as table tennis, nor to take
tub baths. Indeed, he hardly accepted them taking early morning cold showers
(Monkeberg & Ortega, 1996). Magnet (1994) states that father Ripoll, like most of the
Spanish priests, thought the Chilean novices had a rather soft nature to cope with the
discipline required by the Society, hence he was extremely demanding. Probably he was
well aware that St. Ignacio had been a soldier and this order was a Company or Society,
military terms which Ignacio insisted on keeping for the order when receiving official
recognition by Pope Paulo III in 1540, though the actual history of the Jesus Society
actually begins in 1536 (Herrero, 2001).

At this point, I think it worthwhile to point out the fact that because Padre Hurtado
was a Chilean Jesuit priest, it is crucial to refer to St Ignacio, and the order he founded,
since it is my thesis of this section that most, if not all, Jesuits pursue as a final purpose in
their lives to resemble the closest they can to their First General, St. Ignacio de Loyola,
who in his own turn, did his best to imitate Jesus the closest he could. This is why for
Jesuit priests a final aim in their lives is to imitate Christ. Hence the importance to refer
to Ignacio first, then to the Society of Jesus in Chile, seems a rather logical flow to
discuss Hurtado. In order to make this reference more fluent, I will draw, when possible,
concrete links between Ignacio, the Order, and Hurtado.

Iñigo de Oñaz y Loyola was born at the Castle of Loyola, in the Basque province of
Guipúzcoa. The term "castle" under no circumstances should be considered as a fancy
one, since it was more a medieval farmhouse than a castle as we might conceive it
nowadays. He was the last of 11 children of Beltrán Yáñez de Oñaz y Loyola and Marina Sáenz de Licona. The literature agrees that his most probable birth date was 1491 (Bangert, 1972; Barthel, 1984; Brodrick, 1940; Herrero, 2001). Little is known of his early life, except that his mother had died shortly after his birth and his eldest brother's wife undertook his upbringing. This woman, Magdalena de Araoz, was one of the most influential sources on Inigo's life, who later changed his name to Ignacio. It is assumed he adopted the latter name in devotion to St. Ignatius of Antioch. According to Bangert (1972), he first signed as Ignacio in a letter dated 1537; however, according to Barthel (1984), he first used the name “Ignacio” when he enrolled as a student at the Sorbonne in 1534. F. Herrero (personal communication, March 25, 2003) believes that Barthel's position is more accurate. Though Bangert and Barthel do not agree in the exact date of this event in his life, they do on his motive as cited above regarding St. Ignatius of Antioch.

Before continuing with the provision of an outline of his life, and to be consistent with the thesis above, it is worthwhile to mention the fact that Padre Hurtado's mother, a Basque descendent, seems a natural source to link Hurtado and Ignacio. One element to be considered is the Basque features, among which strong resolution might be said to be one of the main salient features. Brodrick (1940), in defining Ignacio and perhaps his main follower, Francis Xavier, notes: “...Basque to the bone, intense, practical, steadfast, uneffusive, and completely self-forgetful” (p. 1).

Inigo, as some of his brothers had done, joined the military career. His father had died when he was sixteen, but not before he had made important decisions for the sake of
his son’s education, which was sent to Arévalo, to Juan Velásquez de Cuéllar’s house, chief treasurer of the royal court. So it was almost natural for him to practice mundane activities at a royal court such as dancing, fencing, and riding. According to Barthel (1984), from the records of the archbishop’s court of Pamplona, it is feasible to figure what sort of life he had in his youth, since he is described as “treacherous, brutal, and vindictive” (p. 21). Apparently, his future life would be expected to be as frivolous as anyone in a royal court, which at that time was widening its horizons amazingly. Incidentally, his eldest brother had taken part in the second Columbus voyage to the recently discovered America, then, his future as a mundane man was quite sure, or promissory, I would say. However, he disappeared from court for a rather long period and reappeared as a soldier, a young officer in the guard of Duke Antonio Manrique de Nájera, Viceroy of the kingdom of Navarre. I cited this part of his life on a twofold purpose. On the one hand, Inigo’s youth and Padre Hurtado’s were quite different, which does not require further arguments. On the other hand, Barthel’s assumption on Inigo’s eventual disappearance from court seems to me contradictory. He says that he had found a source, which is not mentioned, that apparently Inigo actually fell in disgrace in court due to the fact that apparently he had contracted a sexual disease (syphilis), which at that time had been epidemic in Europe. What Barthel does not say is that a disease like that was deadly in Europe at Inigo’s time, hence I seriously doubt of his conjecture’s validity on this topic.

In 1521 the French army invaded Navarre. It was at his brave defense of Pamplona’s citadel that Inigo was seriously injured in both legs. After the “butchery” as he called the
practices of the French surgeons and those at Loyola on his wounded legs, he was left with a physical trace for the rest of his life. Indeed his life was seriously in peril. He began a slow process of convalescence at his birth home in Loyola. His recovery not only restored his health, but also transformed his inner self.

At this point it is important to recall his eldest brother's wife, Magdalena de Araoz, who had taken two books to the house; in fact they were the unique books available: Life of Christ and The Golden Legend, the latter being devoted to the saints' lives. Since the days of his convalescence were long and he could do nothing but lay in bed, he became really engaged in reading those books. Íñigo had an exceptional power of concentration and reflection, a salient feature of his sanctity. Such capacities can also be found in Padre Hurtado. Hence, it may be worthwhile to mention these characteristics as another link between the Chilean Jesuit priest and his First General.

After the thoughtful and deep reading of the aforementioned books, Ignacio reached at a central idea, which is said to be the nucleus of the Society of Jesus and which Hurtado imprinted in his practices in Chile 400 years later: i.e. Christ is the King and the saints His knights, whereas the human soul is the battleground to be won in the conflict between God and Evil. Simply put, he designed his own military approach to live in and for Christianity. This is, from my perspective, why he named the order he founded as Company. As a matter of fact, its original name is "La Compañía de Jesús," which in English is known as "the Society of Jesus." I believe that in its original language the name of the order keeps its original essence better. Either way, I think it is of the most paramount importance to cite this original intention of Ignacio as linked to a crucial phase
in Padre Hurtado’s priesthood, since as adviser of the Catholic Action (CA) he used to insist on the point that to be a Christian meant to be a hero. Indeed, regarding the formative process of leaders of that Catholic movement, he used to say that it was required to prepare leaders who had to differentiate themselves from the masses. They had to be distinguished by their personal values, their training, and their heroism (Hurtado, 1994).

Regarding the central idea mentioned above, it is unavoidable to mention that one of the most relevant legacies rendered by Ignacio to Christianity is referred to as his Spiritual Exercises, in which Ignacio explicitly mentions the two opposing armies. On the one side are the forces under Christ, and on the other, those under Satan.

Another critical moment in Ignacio’s life of particular similarity to Padre Hurtado’s in their avenues to their respective priesthoods is the following: in 1522, on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, after attending mass in Montserrat Ignacio went to Manresa where he actually carried out his penitence for his past mundane life. He and his followers helped the sick in hospitals, attended daily mass, and during seven hours he daily prayed on his knees. Four centuries later, in 1923. Hurtado as a new lawyer also devoted his time to help the poor, attended mass daily and for an hour, during the month devoted to the Sacred Heart, he confessed his faults, if any, and prayed to the Lord laying on the floor of a church in Santiago, Chile.

In 1524 on his way back from the Holy Land, which was of tremendous importance for him, Ignacio decided to enter the priesthood which also meant a long period of study in Barcelona, Alcalá, and Salamanca. He would continue in Paris, where he stayed for
seven years. This period in St. Ignacio’s life could be linked to the period of study Padre Hurtado began at the Colegio San Ignacio in Chile (1909) and finished in formal terms in Belgium (1935). Ignacio was repeatedly accused of lack of study “to teach Christian religion and give the exercises” (Brodrick, 1940, p. 30). He was not only blamed on this issue by the Inquisition several times, but also went to prison. However, he always defeated his opponents in matters of faith at any trial he was forced to face. This, from my perspective, proves a twofold issue: education for the Society of Jesus has always been an issue of paramount importance. On the one hand, their own formation has always been characterized by the demanding Jesuit commitment in their scholastic formation at the highest possible excellence. This has brought, as a consequence, the formation of a sort of intellectual elite composed of the greatest minds of their respective epochs; however, such a distinction has also constituted the main source for rivalry within the Catholic world. According to Barthel (1984), the admiration for the outstanding accomplishments of the order has triggered the deepest and fiercest opposition. The desire to pursue the best scholastic formation of the Society of Jesus members is probably based upon the former accusation against Ignacio.

On the other hand, due precisely to their excellence in academic matters, secular education provided by members of the Society has been acknowledged worldwide. According to participant Maturana, “Jesuit Schools are marked by their academic, social and spiritual excellence” (Interview, May 2002). Barthel (1984), states that when on the “battleground of faith,” they were the best. He adds, “Certainly they did turn their hands to almost every learned profession or skilled pursuit-scholar, artist, technician, astrologer,
geographer, interpreter, or physician" (p. 10). The competence shown by the Jesuits has always been viewed as the means to the end, which is for the more glory of God. This axiom in the enterprises they pursue has complicated them more than once; however, in the purest Basque character of Ignacio, they have never surrendered to it. As will be seen later, what I have dared to name as an axiom is the seal of the Society. During the interview participant Herrera states, referring to Hurtado,

He was a Jesuit; hence it is feasible to identify certain guidelines in his doings, which are originated in St. Ignacio’s Spiritual Exercises. To the more glory of God to which the best means have to be used to fulfill such an aim. (Interview, August 2002)

In teaching the Christian religion, and giving the exercises to many, Ignacio was usually followed by a small group of followers. Nevertheless, the most important group was formed in Paris. They committed to the apostolic action to the end, which is why I consider that they were the real founders of the Society of Jesus. Pierre Favre, a former shepherd who very young had made a vow of chastity in his hometown Villaret, was firstly ordered as priest. Francisco Javier, a Basque, who at first was rather aloof from Ignacio, soon became influenced by the noble ideals and model of life of Ignacio and became the other pillar upon which the Society of Jesus was built. Other members were Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmerón, who met Ignacio in Paris. They were students in Alcalá at the same time Ignacio had been there. Hence it is easy to assume that the latter was a good support for these youngsters in France. By the same token, they soon became his disciples. The other new member of such an incipient group was Nicolás Bobadilla, a student who was said to be so poor that he did not even have a family name. He was addressed as Bobadilla, since that was the Valencian village he had come from. Simón
Rodriguez, a Portuguese of noble origin also joined the group. All six determined to join Ignacio and his enterprise in the service of Christ. It appears clear that the origin of the Compañía was based upon seven individuals.

In 1534, on the feast of Our Lady’s Assumption, the group went to Montmartre, to the abandoned chapel of St. Denis. Pierre Favre, the only one who at that time had been ordained as a priest, offered the mass, and they all made the vows of poverty, chastity, and a journey to Jerusalem. However, if the pilgrimage to the Holy Land could not be carried out in a year’s time, they would go to Rome and would offer themselves at the Pope’s disposal. The Montmartre oath, only witnessed by God at the mass attended by the seven, was the actual foundation stone of the Society of Jesus; though it is very difficult to imagine that they could have envisioned the magnitude of their act that evening.

This undeniable crucial event in the history of the Jesus Society by these former university students might also be related to important initiatives carried out by a Chilean student’s eventual future as a Jesuit in Chile four centuries’ time later. When Hurtado was a student at school and at the university, he also joined a group of friends who shared their deep interests to become priests, so as to provide the urgent help needed by the poor. However, they did not wait until being ordained as such. On the contrary, they actively participated in activities in favor of the most needed while being students. Their activities at the “patronatos” [welfare institutions] were already mentioned above. By the same token, it is valid to point out that Ignacio and his friends did not choose Montmartre.
for its relation to St. Dénis, but because it was the poorest shantytown in Paris where they used to assist the poor and the sick.

The original group at Montmartre had been increased by three in Paris when they moved to Venice in their vain attempt to visit the Holy Land. While in Venice they were devoted to assisting the needy in hospitals. In so doing, they were unaware that they were somehow defining the actual work the novices must carry out in contemporary times when joining the novitiate. After more than a year in Venice and due to the actual impossibility of their intended pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they decided to go to Rome; however, on June 24, 1537, five out of six who were not priests were ordained as such by the Bishop of Arbe. The exception at that time was Salmerón, due to the fact he was too young. When they departed for Rome to put themselves at the Pope’s disposal, they divided into small groups to teach the Christian religion and give exercises in widespread areas of Italy. The crucial element in doing so was that they decided that people should identify them as members of the Compañía de Jesús (Barthel, 1984). Hence given the need to be identified and/or recognized, they actually coined the name of the future order.

On his way to Rome, close to La Storta, Ignacio had a vision of God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ. He heard Jesus say: “my desire is that you be my servant” and God the Father: “I shall be propitious to you at Rome” (Bangert, 1972, p. 19). It is said that this vision increased Ignacio’s confidence in their mission in Rome where they were most welcome; Pope Paul III was occupying the post for three years at the time.

The context within which Ignacio and his followers arrived in Rome was very adequate for new orders being founded, since the Catholic Church was experiencing a
reformist tendency triggered and undermined by Luther, Calvin, and the other leaders of
the Reformation; among which Henry VIII was important. Luther's German Bible,
recently published, was apparently the urgent motive for the reformist tendency, which
pervaded the Catholic environments. The Renaissance, within which man became the
center of the universe, is probably another element affecting not only society in Rome
and the rest of Europe, but also the priesthood and its practices.

Though it is not the intention of this researcher to refer to the deviations and
distortions of religious affairs by the clergy of that epoch, to which others have referred
to, it is unavoidable to mention the scandals and corruption of the Catholic Church
bourgeoisie. In order to provide an example of this state of the art, it is illustrative to
mention just one piece of information, as an example, as provided by Barthel (1984)
when referring to Pope Paul III, former Cardinal Alexandro Farnese, who was better
known as "the petticoat Cardinal," since he apparently had forgotten to practice the vow
of chastity. In a different context, Padre Hurtado (1994) denounced the Catholic
Bourgeoisie as having done much damage to Chilean society and the Church itself in his
time.

The sociological and political context for a new order within the Catholic world
seemed to be favorable. However, things were not as easy as it might be thought for
Ignacio. Though the Pope gladly accepted their offer to be at his entire disposal, more
than two years were required for the actual papal approval, though their contribution in
religious matters in favor of the Catholic Church was important.
Since the required tasks took them to different places, they soon realized it was necessary to settle in a concrete fashion the precise nature of their Society-to-be. Though their commitment to form a new order became tangible when on April 15, 1534, at the mass celebrated by Pierre Favre, as mentioned above, Favre asked all prior to receiving communion, whether on the papal approval they would be willing to constitute a religious order. Since all responded affirmatively and received communion afterwards, the nature of their enterprise acquired a holy sense for all. So they engaged in crucial discussions related to varied and important aspects which the institution they had envisioned had to possess. At this point, it is worthwhile to highlight two relevant issues: first, the Society of Jesus actually represented a reforming stance within the Catholic Church due to the severe state of the art alluded to previously. The second issue was the role played by Favre in the Order’s birth. He was the driving force that the members of the Society of Jesus needed to become a tangible proposal. It is true that Ignacio was the most crucial pivotal human resource the Society had, not only in its origins, approval and development, but also in its structure, which has been kept through the times, but denying the impulsive strength of Fevre would be to neglect important sources in its origin. Either way, they all began the slow though crucial process to give their order the form they all envisioned.

On June 24, 1539, Ignacio submitted to the Pope the statutes of the Company or its constitutions, namely known as Formula Instituti, verbally approved by the Pope on September 3. They basically can be summarized in the following fashion: the first article of their constitutions addresses the first aim of the members of the Compañía, God is
always before their eyes. The *leit motiv* of the new order is God. The second article addresses the most unconditional obedience to the papal authority by all its members. The third article refers to the obedience within the Society and its hierarchy. The fourth article explicitly refers to the poverty to be practiced by the members of the Company, and the fifth article caused them some difficulties. The choirs in the liturgical offices, which were sacred in the traditional Church, would not be considered by this new order, because they did not need any music to the service of God.

However, prior to submitting the future Jesuit Constitutions, Ignacio had to settle the old accusations of heresy revived by the Inquisition pervaded by strong feelings against him, since as stated above, he represented a reforming effort. It was not until September 27, 1540, that the Pope finally and officially authorized *La Compañía de Jesús* by the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*.

In order to get the papal approval Ignacio showed his highly effective political intelligence, a similar feature found in Padre Hurtado which caused both of them more than one inconvenience at their respective times. Ignacio had gained several enemies from religious peers in other orders. The several accusations of heresy, which were almost systematically implemented by the Inquisition, are a tangible proof of such an animosity. According to Barthel (1984), Ignacio being aware of the environment for their eventual future new religious society, thought, perhaps recalling his first experiences in the royal court in Spain, that he had to count on powerful allies. Donna Constanza Farnese, who according to Barthel, was also the Pope’s illegitimate daughter, apparently helped Ignacio in gaining the Pope’s positive attitude toward the new order.
This political initiative from the First General of the Company may be compared to the one Padre Hurtado adopted when attempting to found the Christian workers union (ASICH) in Chile. The General of the Society, who had been Hurtado’s Superior in Lovaine, Belgium, and Pope Pío XII, were his main allies in overcoming the opposition within and outside the Chilean Catholic Church to his new and more-than-provocative project.

The opposing parties to the Company charged that its members were so much concerned with the end that they did not hesitate to take any means to help them in reaching their objectives. Machiavelli’s teachings in “The Prince” were assigned as practices of Ignacio as well as Hurtado, respectively. Such practices, as was stated above, have been usually ascribed to the practices of the members of the Jesus Society, hence it can be stated that it is a more than tangible seal of the Company upon its members. Ignacio, its First General, as a soldier envisioned in practical terms this, as I dared to call it, axiom to win the battle of the soul’s salvation. At this point I think it may be important to point out the fact that Machiavelli has been understood in a rather pejorative fashion. Usually, those practices lacking of moral basis have been labeled as practices according to Machiavelli’s views; however, it has not been clearly said that when teaching the monarch to rule his kingdom, he was addressing the need for an adequate and profitable rule; in doing so, the beneficiaries would not be only the monarch, but also the people. Unfortunately, royal practices most of the times were not as humane as they ought to have been. This might have been the origin to consider Machiavelli’s teaching as not reconciled with morality. Either way, it is not the intention
of this researcher to make a defense on his stance. Though what is of crucial relevance on this matter is to point out that while Machiavelli was addressing earthly matters, Ignacio in a military fashion was addressing Divine issues. Hence a good Jesuit, in order to fight for the salvation of souls, has the right to select and effectively use the best means which are licit and saintly for the more glory of God. Therefore, this crucial distinction should be kept in mind when dealing with this Jesuit stance.

Among the varied and several attacks Hurtado was forced to face, mention must be made of the fact he was also accused of using activities, which on this matter, were more identified with the Nazi propaganda than with Christianity. The external activities carried out by the CA were unusual at that time in Chile: parades, large meetings, flags, martial hymns, etc. It is not difficult to imagine the impact that these activities and consequent accusations had within the Catholic bourgeoisie against Hurtado at that time.

Going back to the papal approval of the Society of Jesus and Ignacio’s intelligence, which is embedded in the axiom outlined above, it is worthwhile to mention the following antecedent that illustratively shows the best selection of means of what Ignacio conceived as to the more glory of God. It was previously stated that there were two papal approvals. In order to issue the second or official approval, the Pope asked his advisers to study the proposal for the new order. The cardinals who took part in this study had different positions. Cardinal Gásparo Contarini was for a prompt approbation, while Cardinal Girolomo Ghinusi was rather doubtful due to the suppression of choirs in the new order practices, as explicitly stated in the constitutions of the Company, since it might seem as being influenced by Luther. However, the hardest position resided in
Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni who was opposed to any new religious order; indeed, he supported the idea of reducing their number to only one (Bangert, 1972). After a prolonged period of discussions, and Ignacio’s political search for influences as well as spiritual tangible tasks to be carried out such as the 3,000 masses he and the priests of the Company would offer, the latter cardinal softened his position. He indicated he would consent to the new organization only if it was limited to 60 members. Such a limitation would affect severely any new order but Jesuits, since Ignacio, in a masterful and Jesuitical approach, accepted such a restriction in the sense that the Society of Jesus would consist of only 60 members who would be permitted to take the fourth vow. What he did not say was that they would accept unlimited members who might take up to the third vow! This, from my perspective, clearly demonstrated Ignacio’s magnificence in the capacity of Jesuits to use the best means to the end for the more glory of God.

In order to provide a concrete rationale to what was stated, it is important to mention the organization of the Society of Jesus in terms of levels, professions or vows. It considers four vows or professions: (a) the Jesuit’s novitiate that takes two years at least, which is twice the time demanded by other orders. During this time the future Jesuit has to prove he is able to live within the discipline demanded by the Company, the education of the will, the body, and temper are crucial issues; (b) these hard initial two years are followed by, in many cases, a longer period, during which the novice can take the three initial vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. This level is known as the ‘scholastics,’ for whom any further education will be addressed to deepen and enrich their contribution to the Company; (c) after the scholastic has finished his education, he begins the
“tertiate” vow, which is addressed to renovate the compromise acquired in the first two vows and experiences in the Compañía. These priests are known as the “coadjutors,” “associates” or “collaborators;” and (d) finally, those that profess the fourth vow are the actual soul and brain of the Order. They are the “professores.” Previously, they were the only ones who elected their General in a restricted vote. Currently, the Superior General is elected by a majority vote from those within this group of “professores.” It is this last group to which Ignacio referred to when acquiring the compromise of the 60 members demanded by cardinal Guidiccioni for his consent. The same Pope Paul III removed the restriction of the 60 members imposed upon the Company in 1544. Pope Julius III confirmed the Society of Jesus in 1550 by the bull Exposcit Debitum (Bangert, 1972). Hence, the Compañía was granted three successive papal approvals. A fourth one would be the one issued after its suppression, but that is after Ignacio’s time.

Hierarchy in the new organization was very simple; and perhaps due to this simplicity it became so efficient and effective in a very short time. The Superior General who resided in Rome was the highest authority of the Compañía and he was directly subject to papal authority. During Lent in 1541, Ignacio had been unanimously elected as its First General.

The Company from its origins predicted its rapid expansion, since they put themselves at the papal disposal for whatever task he decided. Such a disposal was indeed explicitly stated in its Constitutions, Ignacio wrote: “the society has bound itself unreservedly to obedience to the Supreme Vicar of Christ, is that we repair to whatever
part of the world he shall determine to send us for the greater glory of God…” (as cited in Brodrick, 1940, p. 103).

Before Ignacio’s death the soldiers of the Compañía had gone to Britain, Ireland, Japan, Brazil, China, and Abyssinia. The Order’s expansion in terms of territory coverage was accompanied by a rapid growth of its members. When it was officially founded they were ten, when Ignacio died in 1556, they were 1,000 approximately.

The results of this task accomplished by the Society under Ignacio’s command may be compared as the effective results obtained by the CA under Padre Hurtado’s leadership. In 1941, when Hurtado was appointed as its national adviser, the organization consisted of 1,500 youngsters in 60 centers. In 1944, when he resigned, it consisted of 15,000 members organized in 600 centers throughout the country. The growth of that organization was quite tangible. However, perhaps the most important outcome to be mentioned on his participation in such a movement was portrayed in a public letter published in the El Diario Ilustrado newspaper, written by the National Council of the Youngsters. They stated that Hurtado had received a generous, but small organization with neither clear mission nor vision of its historical responsibility, but which at the time of his forced resignation was a disciplined and powerful movement. The most relevant issue for their adviser was to become aware that they stated they had discovered under his leadership a new mystical relationship with Christ (Magnet, 1994). One of the participants that made the speech at the closing session at the CA Fourth Conference stated:
Padre Hurtado's resignation was devastating for all the young Catholics. It was due to political motives, we could say...at that time he was branded as communist or socialist. Which is why his resignation was demanded. (Cornejo, interviewed in January 2003)

Besides the early expansion of the Compañía, a crucial event had taken part 10 years before Ignacio's death. The Council of Trent held in 1545 was very important in the Reform movement, and I would add in the Company's prestige, since the Pope asked Ignacio to have some members of his order take part in this event. Laynez and Salmerón had an outstanding participation in this council, Fevre, who had also been commissioned by Ignacio for the occasion, died in 1546. The reason to cite their participation in this crucial event within the Catholic Church is closely linked to the Jesuit participation in the field of education worldwide. Simple put, their prestige was well known.

Education was then a form of apostleship for the Society. Ignacio did not only focus on teaching the Christian religion through the Spiritual Exercises which had won widespread extraordinary acceptance in Europe, but he also made his best efforts to implement secular education for the new members of the order as well. The first step in the latter enterprise was to settle residences in cities where there were universities, since they were interested in their members attending college. Soon he realized that the Society could render a much more effective service to the Church in the field of education and faith if they got more actively involved in this task for the secular world. In 1551, he sent a circular letter to the Company recommending the installation of colleges where it was possible. The response to that letter can be easily perceived until today, with Jesuit schools worldwide. At the moment of his death, the Society of Jesus had started 33 secular schools in Europe and he had given approval to open six more.
educational institutions. As time went by Ignacio's health became more affected, finally he died on July 31, 1556, at the age of 65. As Europe began uncovering a new world, the Compañía under its First General became actively involved in the battleground for the service of Christianity worldwide.

At his turn, Hurtado also became actively engaged in regular educational tasks during the first ten years of his apostleship. Participant Herrera, when inquired on Hurtado's motives on education, states, "As a Jesuit, he could clearly see teaching in the horizon, which is a very central activity within the order" (Interview, August 2002). It was not unusual that he began teaching at the Colegio San Ignacio, the same school where he had received his first education. Moreover, he also taught at the Catholic University, though as it will be seen later, his most important educational commitment was in the field of social education. Here then is another critical resemblance of his priesthood and that of Ignacio's.

Features of the Society

Before continuing with a brief history of the Society of Jesus in Chile I believe it is important to provide an overview on the main differences of this Company and the other Catholic orders so as to provide an adequate context to discuss who Padre Hurtado was.

Perhaps the main difference which distinguishes the Jesuits from the other orders is the hierarchical relation between this organization and the Pope. The Jesuit Society has a superior general, as the Franciscans and the Dominicans have; however, the difference is that in the strictest sense, the Jesuit General is bound to Rome, or the Pope, directly. This should not be interpreted as a complete indifference to the intermediate levels of
organization within the Church, but essentially the order is directly linked to the Pope through its superior who used to have almost unlimited power on the Compañía.

Another crucial difference between the Jesuits and the others is the unconditional obedience to the papal authority. It is important to recall Broderick's citation above (1940), which is also cited by Barthel (1984), regarding the absolute obedience to the Pope. This is why I dare to suggest they were so successful in the missions worldwide.

A third difference, which is very remarkable, is the one related to, precisely, the Church organization. They are not to serve any post or office within the Church if not appointed by the Company itself, hence there is one clear and important twofold objective fulfilled by this disposition: on the one hand, the rule of obedience of the members of the Society to the General remains unbreakable, and on the other hand, the unity of the members of the order is unaltered. This is what is called the "Esprit de Corps." It is my belief that both variables, unity and obedience, vividly illustrate the military shape in which the Company works.

Another crucial difference between the Society of Jesus and the other orders, among many others that may be too lengthy to refer to, is that the Jesuit priesthood takes form in wide and varied scenarios. A Jesuit is not limited to a given parish. They carry out their missions in any conceivable setting where their assistance is needed. At this point it is worthwhile to mention that they have been distinguished by their willingness to work with the people where they actually are. The scenario where a Jesuit may act varies from a famous university to the poorest and ignored of the shantytowns in a foreign country. Regarding this latter setting I have been able to eyewitness many practices of these
priests in my country among the poor. It is precisely Padre Hurtado who seems to incarnate this office, among those that have nothing, for the members of the Society in Chile.

Hurtado was a vivid sample of these differences in his offices and practices. His obedience to his superiors, a crucial cornerstone in the Jesuit Society, was something quite tangible. As examples the two following landmarks in his priesthood are worth mentioning: as national adviser of the CA he submitted his resignation on two different occasions to his superior on this post due to essential discrepancies they held. He was really committed to his post in this institution, since he could work with the youngsters as the true educator he was. It is not a mere assumption that his resignation must have caused him a severe pain in his inner self. According to Monckeberg and Ortega (1996), his forced resignation caused him a deep feeling of impotence and pain. From my perspective, however, the most severe hard feelings he might have experienced on this event could have been mainly due to the fact that he did not feel supported by one of his closest friends since their childhood, Augusto Salinas, Adjunct Bishop at Santiago Archdioceses, who as a matter of fact, was his most immediate superior at that post. The other sample of his most strict Jesuit obedience, which I admit is also a clear trace of the axiom mentioned above, regarding the selection of the best means to the end, is referred to the fact that previously to the foundation of the Catholic Workers Union (ASICH), Hurtado got the Jesuit Superior General and the Papal approvals, respectively. Participant Cepeda notes that in 1947 when Hurtado wanted to found the ASICH, he had
gone to Rome, "because of the experience he had had with Salinas..." (Interview, May 2002).

Samples of his practices melded in the latter two Jesuit differences alluded to above, may be found in the fact that he was always a Jesuit priest (S. J.), he never assumed a post in the Church hierarchical organization.

Regarding the setting of his priesthood, which is another difference as stated above, his tasks in favor of the needy took him to the poorest shantytowns in Chile, and he also preached to persons of the Chilean aristocracy at spiritual retreats. Both types of activities were performed with the same devotion and attention. One salient feature in Hurtado was that he could interact with the persons from the highest upper social class in the most exclusive places as easily as with the poor in the poorest shantytowns.

Participant Carrasco states: "Padre Hurtado had the ability to interact fluently with the homeless children from the Mapocho River, and almost immediately he could do so with the highest social class people" (Interview, May 2002).

Another episode in his life which took him to rather unknown and/or unusual settings was his experience as a worker in one of the nitrate mines in the northern Chile (Magnet, 1994). The severe conditions of the "pampa" out in the Chilean desert, the most arid in the world where the temperature ranges from 50 to -5 Celsius degrees should have been considerably unknown for him. I was born in the pampa, so I am quite aware of the adverse conditions he would have faced there. The linking events and issues within St Ignacio de Loyola, the Society and Hurtado will continue, though briefly with the history of the Jesuits in Chile.
History of the Compañía de Jesús in Chile

The new order founded by St. Ignacio expanded first in Europe, obviously, and in Asia, before reaching the Indies, or in contemporary language, America. First, it reached Brazil in 1553, and then in 1568, it settled in Peru, and later, in 1572, in Mexico. From these latter vice kingdoms it expanded its apostleship to the rest of Latin America.

On April 11, 1550, the first eight Jesuits arrived in Chile from Peru. Though missionary work was their primary interest, quite soon they became aware that people were truly interested in schooling; hence once again, by applying the axiom on the best means to the end for the more glory of God, they soon realized that by schooling they could more easily gain adepts among the first Chileans at that time (Hanisch, 1974). Thus, in their headquarters in Santiago they founded the Colegio San Miguel.

However, their religious preaching was not detached from social issues. In their first sermons the main topics were mainly referred to the fair labor conditions the Indians deserved from the wealthy; and alcoholism, so common among the Indians. It is amazing how valid the same topics were so recurrent during Padre Hurtado’s times. While on the one hand, human exploitation seems to have been the main cause of illicit enrichment of the elites, on the other hand, alcoholism seems to have been the perennial cause of people’s misery.

According to Hanisch (1974), the Order after its foundation in Chile began growing firstly being part of the Paraguay Province (1607-1625), later it acquired the category of vice province under the Peruvian Province (1625-1683). Quite soon the Jesuits were distinguished by their determination to defend the Indians from the many abuses inflicted
upon them by the conquerors. They also intended, with little luck, to contribute in making peace with the natives. The war between the Spaniards and the Araucanos lasted for 60 years, and apparently, there was no solution, as it has never stopped until very recently. Indeed, currently there are still confrontations, which on many occasions are violent. Either way, going back to the past history of the Compañía in Chile, after an armistice advised by the Jesuits, peace was abruptly broken and as an adverse result, three Jesuit martyrs found their final fate in foreign and violent lands. This incident was wittingly used by the other orders, which considered that Jesuits were too influential in political affairs. So, the first historical phase of the Society in Chile was mainly featured by the peak and decline mentioned above.

In 1625 the Chilean Jesuit Society became a Vice Province under the Province of Perú. At that time the Order in Chile consisted of 52 members distributed in five buildings. However, the growth of the Company in Chile was too slow for its varied tasks due to the fact that Chilean vocations were scarce. It is amazing how in 1941 Padre Hurtado also claimed that national vocations were too scarce to serve the population adequately. This leads us to the crucial question Hurtado inquired of Chile more than 50 years ago, on whether it was or not a Catholic country. As stated above, though the mission’s growth was very slow, the Company managed to fulfill its apostleship somehow; however, in 1655 all the mission settlements were destroyed, except one, by a new Indian rebellion. Such an uprising, as a consequence, brought a much harder and hostile political action from the conquerors to the natives. The issue was not resolved easily until the Vatican asked Jesuit Diego de Rosales to use his influence upon Queen
Mariana of Austria to abolish Indian slavery. At the time this was a profitable business for some Spaniards. Her royal decree, issued in December of 1674, was resisted. King Charles II, in 1679, in a new decree, insisted that the ruling of his mother, Queen Mariana, be obeyed, and thus abuses reduced. Although hostilities softened, they never disappeared. Jesuits could then more easily contribute to the cultural life in the new country and to their own. Their contribution in the field of education had already proved to be excellent in Europe. The one delivered in the “new world” maintained the standards known worldwide (Barthel, 1984).

According to Hanisch (1974), the peak of their influence on this country’s development was reached during the 1683-1767 period. The Jesuit Vice Province became a Province. One of the more important political projects they carried out was the foundation of a school for the children of the Indian chiefs, that is, they thought they could civilize them by education. Therefore, it is feasible to state that this project reveals the importance given to education by Jesuits themselves in their practices. This clearly shows the seal of the order in its doings. Though redundant, it is of the most crucial importance to insist on this point, which the selection of the best means to the end is for the more glory of God. This historical period is featured by successive uprisings, destruction and restoration and settling new missions.

The Jesuits were well aware that religion hand-in-hand with education was the only key to succeed, which is why they used to go into the Indian lands to live with them, as in doing so, they preached in the field, not from the pulpit, which is one of the differences from other orders outlined above. In such efforts they also introduced the natives into the
field of education. Any mission consisted of a cultural setting with a small school in it. It is interesting to link this phase of the Jesuits settlement in Chile to how Hurtado in the 1940s used to go to the bridges over the Mapocho River where homeless children lived. That is, he went to their own territory, as a good Jesuit, in order to convince them to go to the Hogar de Cristo shelter, then to proceed to an eventual educational system. Many accepted first, but quit later, that is, they preferred their lives in the streets; however, there were some who became more intrigued than interested in the unusual offer the “Patroncito” had made them, and they would pursue a new life.

They used to call him that way, because Hurtado referred to them as such “patroncitos” [little bosses]. “¿Qué hay, patroncito?” [What’s up dear little boss?] was his traditional way of greeting; which is why people called him as “the Patroncito.”

According to Larraín (1999), Hurtado meant that typical way of saluting them, because as Jesus, “he had not come to be served, but to serve others” (p. 19). Hurtado also realized that preaching among them should go hand-in-hand with education, though he was well aware he could not preach the gospel to people who had their stomachs empty (Hurtado, 1994). That is why his main concern was the provision of shelter and some food to his “little bosses.”

Going back to the history of the Compañía in Chile, it was not until the XVIII Century that the first houses of spiritual exercises became known on the Chilean social stage, though since the Jesuits had arrived in the country they regularly dispensed them, first individually, then in small groups. Apparently, it may be said that at that time the practices of the Jesuits were mainly based upon teaching, the missions, and the spiritual
exercises. Due to such threefold entwined apostleship, according to Hanisch (1974), the prestige of the Jesuits was kept valid after their expulsion and suppression, respectively. The Jesuit contribution in the culture of the country would be too lengthy to enumerate; however, what illustrates this was pointed out by Barthel (1984), when he noted the Counter-Reformation period in Europe was distinguished by the many magnificent churches built as a response to the Puritanism of the reformers. This baroque style was also introduced in the temples they built in Chile, where the clocks, bells, carpentry and architecture all entwined in the most magnificent churches built at that time. The Temple of the Compañía de Jesús in Santiago was well known by its magnificence. The building of this temple, the best in the country in its time, took 36 years to finish. However, it must also be pointed out that due to its splendor, the fire that destroyed the temple caused so many deaths (Vicuña Mackenna, 1996).

The Expulsion and Suppression of the Society of Jesus

As the Society of Jesus gained relevant importance in the country, its decline began in Europe. The expulsion and suppression of the Society of Jesus are not clear-cut issues. Hanisch (1974) states that it is necessary to differentiate between the actual causes and those that were said to be the ones; however, it is not as easy as it might be thought of depicting the real causes of the most crucial event in the history of Chile in the XVIII Century. According to Mörner (1965), “It is difficult to find any other single event of the same magnitude in the course of Latin-American history between the Conquest and the Emancipation” (p. 3). However, in order to provide an outline of the history of the Company in Chile, it is necessary to mention this critical event in its evolution. From my
perspective, the actual causes of the Jesuits expulsion from not only the Spanish empire, but also from Portugal, hence Brazil, France and its colonies, and Italy can be found in three main sources.

1. As it might be recalled, the Society had several powerful adversaries since its early origins. Such feelings deepened with their successes in any different scenario in which they acted. Apparently, their adversaries did not welcome the Jesuit’s development. Another crucial issue to be recalled is that the Compañía embodied, though they never openly admitted it, not only a Catholic response to the Reformation, but also it constituted a reforming movement within the Catholic Church itself. It is understandable that members of the other Catholic orders felt disappointed when they were displaced by members of the Society in certain privileged positions. The Jesuits had become the favorite confessors of princes and nobles in Europe. Such a position allowed them to acquire important political posts which were previously occupied by members of the other orders (Mörner, 1965). According to Barret (1927), the wealth of the Society of Jesus was formed on the effective use of such circumstances, since the wealthy nobles, in order to have their souls saved (and I dare to add to ease their consciences) donated considerable richness to the Company. So, the tangible success of the Jesuits may be considered as one of the causes of their own end. Simply stated, both religious and secular envies seemed to have been powerful motives in the repression of the Jesuits.

2. Another actual cause for this event, from my perspective, may be traced to the Spanish colonies in Latin America. The first conquerors colonized new lands in the name of God and their king; however, quite soon with the administrative system imposed
by the Spaniards themselves, called the “encomiendas,” they realized that they could make immense fortunes based upon the exploitation of the Indians. The members of the Order were distinguished by their strong opposition to such exploitation, hence the conflicts between their desires of protecting the Indians in their missions, and the demands from the colonists for Indian labor, which meant that this sort of slavery became the main theme of conflict (Mörner, 1965).

Some other religious orders, which had been displaced by the Compañía, might have felt this was a good opportunity for them to recuperate terrain in their respective offices and practices, and take revenge on old antagonisms. According to Bangert (1972), regarding enmity against the Compañía “…of the most virulent kind there certainly was” (p. 365). Apparently, the fiercest attacks against the Society did not come from the Bourbon courts, but resided in Rome itself, where the Jansenists held strong opposition to the Jesuits. It might be said that by the time the 19th Jesuit General Congregation elected General Lorenzo Ricci, there were more enemies in Rome and in the royal courts of Europe than allies. The same disposition against the order had been developing in other European courts, such as France, Portugal, Naples, and Parma. So, it is not difficult to perceive the environment within which the Society had to develop, or I would say survive.

3. Last, but not least, the most formidable cause for the Jesuit final decline resided in the “philosophers” and Encyclopedists (Bangert, 1972; Hanisch, 1974; Krebs, 1965). It was the period of the Enlightenment. Unfortunately the Church was not aware of the new changes, which simply stated, was the movement of leaving behind the medieval era to a
new one where human dignity, feelings of freedom, and above all, criticism of ecclesiastical constraints seemed to be a common denominator.

Intellectuals considered the medieval Church as the true obstacle to the progress they intended. Inquisition practices on intellectual works were still of common practice, since authors had to submit their intellectual products to theological censors. De Madariaga (1965) states, "The current of the human mind was flowing away from the dogmatic Church which claimed the exclusive right to regulate it" (p. 34). The influences of these thinkers were considerable and widespread in Europe. In Spain Voltaire with his two disciples: Aranda and Duke of Huéscar, later Duke of Alba, were the main leaders in the successful efforts of eliminating the Society. Hanisch (1974) states that the philosophers' movement made excellent use of the two following powerful tools against the Company: on the one hand, they efficiently used the rivalry of the other Catholic orders against the Jesuits; as stated above, Jansenists played an important role in this issue. On the other hand, systematic libels undermined the Company.

The logical question is to wonder why such attacks from the philosophers focused on the Compañía, and not on the other orders. As stated above, the thinkers and Encyclopedists of the XVIII Century were against the medieval Church that constituted an annoying obstacle for them. Indeed, previously, Jesuits collaborated with the Encyclopedia by writing an article on Theology (De Madariaga, 1965). Apparently, the attacks concentrated on the Jesuits, because they offered the best defense available to the Church. The Company, with its soldiers, had to be defeated to win the war against the
Church, and so they were targeted. It should be stated that it was not the end of the war, but only a battle which the Company lost in its non-ending war against evil.

The Society was firstly suppressed in Portugal, then in France, and thirdly in Spain. The frivolous occasion for the expulsion of the Society in Spain and its colonies was a riot against the government on March 26, 1766. Though the environment had been prepared beforehand on the person of the monarch himself, Charles III, a good-hearted, though not intelligent king, who was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment philosophers. According to Krebbs (1965), another formidable enemy against the Jesuits was Pedro Rodríguez, count of Campomanes, who was appointed as prosecuting attorney in the legal strategy struggled against the Company. Indeed, Krebbs, a Chilean historian, states that Campomanes accused the “Jesuit Doctrine” as being false, heretical, and dangerous, since it had divided opinions and provoked violent events. Simply put, the elimination of the Jesuit Doctrine meant the elimination or triumph over Scholasticism and Aristotelianism in academic settings. At this point it is valid to point out, again, that for the Jesuit practices the Tomist-Aristotelian approach in any of its teaching efforts, religion included, is considered a cornerstone. On January 29, 1767, the Council appointed “to investigate” the Jesuits’ responsibility presented its conclusions recommending their expulsion, “because the whole body is corrupted and all the fathers are terrible enemies of the peace of the Monarchy” (De Madariaga, 1965, p. 39). Thus, on April 2, 1767, the expulsion of the Jesuits became official.

Such a royal decree went into force in Chile on August 26, 1767. The priests were imprisoned and their properties confiscated. Immediate inventories were carried out
A common attitude of Jesuits when being imprisoned and expelled was that of the strictest obedience to the temporal power (Bangert, 1972; Barthel, 1982; Hanisch, 1974; Mörner, 1965).

The outline of the Society of Jesus expulsion and suppression may be paralleled somehow to several episodes in Hurtado’s ministership; however, for the purposes of introducing him as a Jesuit priest accepting superior orders, it is of particular interest to do that with one crucial incident in his apostleship: his office at the Catholic Action.

It is valid to mention as an introduction to point out that Father Fernando Vives Solar S. J., Hurtado’s former mentor and spiritual guide, was exiled from his own country on different occasions. He was a teacher at the Colegio San Ignacio, where he met Hurtado. He devoted most of his life to the redemption of the Chilean proletariat. In so doing, he motivated the study and dissemination of the Catholic social doctrine among the workers and the youth. However, it is clear that he actually acted in direct politics (Gómez, 2001). He was out of the country in exile for two years the first time. The second opportunity in exile was for a similar period and his third exile took him fourteen years abroad. Therefore, it is certain that Hurtado himself was aware of the political forces present, not only in the Chilean society, but within the Catholic Church itself.

Hurtado’s appointment as the Catholic Action adviser should have been welcome by a majority in and outside the Church, because he had recently received his doctoral degree in pedagogy in Europe. It was rather understandable that he would manage well with young people, and since he had been enrolled as a member of the Conservative Party, the right-wing politicians expected that he would favor a certain influence toward
the party that “best represented the Catholic Church,” among the youngsters at the CA.

Hurtado’s concrete educational insights in his *Puntos de Educación* [Points on Education] (In Hurtado, 1994) soon revealed to the leaders of that party that he was not for influencing any one toward that party or any other (Magnet, 1994). According to Magnet, Hurtado in 1940, previously to his appointment at the CA, had made a speech at the Social Week of the Youth celebration act, which was pervaded by Maritain’s concepts on the “human person.” Jacques Maritain, the French philosopher, was highly influential in the most advanced wing of the Conservative Party, from which they later split and founded the “Falange Nacional,” which was the actual birth of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile. It is important as well to point out that the French philosopher’s influence in Chile was tangible after Hurtado’s death. Hence, it is arguable that Hurtado somehow was in advance of Maritain in the country. Either way, it is quite clear that Hurtado sooner rather than later experienced the increasing hostile pressures from his former political niche.

The successful intervention of Hurtado at the CA was not enough to avoid the attacks which began under-mining his position at that Catholic movement, just as the Jesuit success worldwide was not enough to avoid their earlier expulsion and suppression. Indeed, above I noted that a plausible cause for the decline of the Society of Jesus was its own success. By the same token, I interpret as an eventual decline of Hurtado was his own success at the CA. This can be very simply stated as human envy.

When Hurtado was forced to submit his resignation for the second time, it was then accepted. It literally meant his suppression from his office at the CA. Another similarity
to be highlighted on the Jesuits' and Hurtado's cases is the strictest obedience to accept superior decisions. For the sake of exactness it must be said that later he submitted his discharges to the special visitator of the Company in due time. To this superior Hurtado stated that the bottom line of the affair was primarily addressed to his attitude regarding the political problem (Vial, 2001). Indeed, Vial states, "The political conservative/falangist struggle actually overthrew him from his office, because it was impossible to please simultaneously, the bishops and the Conservative Party" (p. 24).

Going back to the history of the Company in Chile and its impact on educational issues, after successive restorations and suppressions due to political causes, the emancipated country would receive the first timid Jesuit reappearance in 1843. The government, pervaded by freemason thoughts, was rather reluctant. According to Hanisch (1974), this was due to the fact that the Instituto Nacional [National Educational Institute] created by the government, and strongly inspired in secular thoughts, did not satisfy the needs of a vast portion of the people. Jesuits were widely known for their educational effectiveness; so, they would become powerful competitors in the field for such a secular institute. In a political, and witty, move the government restricted Jesuits' coverage only to the Region of the Araucanos Indians, who remained as unsolved problem before and after emancipation. The government noted that this did not mean an official recognition for the Society. In their response, the Jesuits did not accept this mission but once again the incipient order in Chile, given the hostile political environment, showed its masterful use of the old axiom instituted by its First General, the selection of the means to the end. They settled as private individuals with the help of
some other open-minded persons, such as the Bishop of Ancud, to form a private society that could run a school. Such an enterprise, as private individuals, was constitutional, and could not be denied. In May 1856, they opened the first new school. Its private, non-official curriculum was the Ratio Studiorum. This is the first sign in the country of another restoration, which is crucial for the scope of this study, of the Scholastics within the Tomist-Aristotelian perspective. Apparently, it had been defeated by the philosophers of the Enlightenment in Europe and then in the colonies by the Society of Jesus expulsion and suppression.

Though the development and growth of the Society of Jesus in Chile on this new opportunity was not exempt from several difficulties, they gradually gained space in the cultural and religious universe. It is interesting to mention the antecedent provided by Hanisch (1974) that while the government imposed the most unusual artificial difficulties for the Jesuit schools growth, some government ministers had enrolled their children at the Colegio San Ignacio. By the same token, in November 1872, the San Ignacio Church was opened to the public in Santiago. Thus, the Company had reunited its most formidable weapons in its endless struggle against their former enemies before its expulsions worldwide: the teaching of the Christian religion and education.

The growth of the Compañía in Chile has been sustained and prolific; it is fair to state that during four centuries in the country, it has undoubtedly contributed in the fields of religion and education. At the time Hurtado came on the social and religious stage, the Society was widespread throughout the country, which made Chile a fertile soil for his apostleship.
CHAPTER 3

WHO WAS PADRE HURTADO? HIS APOSTLESHIP

Padre Hurtado’s apostleship of 16 years was too prolific to be thoroughly portrayed in a study like this. I will provide only a brief outline of his formation as a Jesuit to be consistent with the format used to portray his life. I will then focus on his main enterprises as a priest, which from my perspective, were framed by his conception of the Mystical Body of Christ.

His Jesuit Formation

The first phase of his formation and training as a Jesuit, the novitiate, as stated above, began in Chillán, Chile, where the Society had its main local house for novices during the early 1900s. It was also stated above that this first phase in the formation of Jesuits worldwide is one of the hardest testing processes. According to Monckeberg and Ortega (1996), novices ended the days so tired that they hardly could be awakened. It is widely known and disseminated by the members of the order as the “Jesuit style,” which is characterized by the strong testing of eventual future priests during this first phase.

Barret (1927), who was a former Jesuit, provides a rather dichotomist perspective on what is commonly acknowledged as such in his attacks against the Company:

The Jesuit “way” has reference to the traditional customs of the order; it is discreet, unemotional, calculating; it is in keeping with edification, with “good form” in its ecclesiastical kind. (pp. 86-87)

Hence it can be argued that this style or way, which Jesuits are proud of, is mere uniformity. Barret claims that the “Rules of Modesty” imposed upon all Jesuits in their external bearings prescribe uniformity in all their practices, as if they are unable to
possess individuality as human beings. However, in order to provide an adequate view on this matter, I believe it is important to mention what Barthel (1984) states regarding this issue, in the sense that the worst enemies of Jesuits are the former members of the Company. Barret's lack of objectivity not only on this matter, but also on several others such as the unconditional Jesuit stance to St. Thomas' doctrine, the teaching of spiritual exercises, and so on, is something more than apparent.

I believe that the hard and long avenue along which Jesuits are formed is precisely what makes them different. One of the differences mentioned above was the time the novitiate takes, as compared with the same formative phase of other orders. Another element that should be considered on this matter is the Compañía military essence which Ignacio imprinted from its very beginning. According to Monckeberg and Ortega (1996), this severe forming system at the novitiate level in the Society might be conceived as a depersonalizing process, but on the contrary, they say, when the Jesuit is able to dominate his own will, character, and temper, he will better devote himself to the more glory of God with all his self.

According to Magnet (1994), the spiritual exercises, a crucial contribution from Ignacio's legacy, were important pillars in Hurtado's priesthood formation. Participant Ríos, in an interview, noted that "Hurtado was always with his mind on the Spiritual Exercises of San Ignacio" (July 2002). To Ignacio, the exercises consisted of examining one's conscience to enable the soul to focus on the divine will. They consisted of the proper use of nature to reach such a divine state (De Loyola, n.d.). In so doing, humans
should make good use of all the natural resources that aim at that end. This is the waiving of unnecessary elements for the spirit (Catholic Online Library, 2002).

Before the traditional two first years at the Novitiate would be over, Hurtado was sent to Córdoba, Argentina, on April 5, 1925, to continue his first phase as a Jesuit. Two years later, for his second phase or the "scholastics," he was sent to Sarriá, Spain, to study philosophy. In Barcelona, he had the opportunity to meet his mentor, Father Vives, for the last time, since the latter would soon be allowed to go back home, where he finally died. The political events in Spain were twofold for the master and his disciple. Since the Spanish Monarchy was tied to the Catholic Church, when the Republic was settled, the latter experienced some difficulties, mainly to foreign priests. Thanks to the collapse of the Monarchy, that Vives’ exile was over and he was allowed to go back to Chile. By the same token, Hurtado was sent to Ireland to continue his studies on philosophy. Later, in 1931, he was sent to Lovaine, Belgium, where he continued his theological studies and also pursued his doctorate in pedagogy. In Lovaine his superior was Father John Bautista Janssens, S. J., who later became the General of the Society of Jesus. This relation between Hurtado and his superior later proved to be an excellent contact for Hurtado to put into practice the old Jesuit axiom on the selection of the best means to the end, particularly during his priesthood in Chile.

On August 24, 1933, he was ordained priest, and offered his first mass the following day. Regarding this event, his most important day, a peculiar piece of information is worthwhile to be added at this point. Ignacio took a year and a half for his first mass after being ordained priest, this is a tangible difference between his First General and
Hurtado which shows how impatient Hurtado was to begin his priesthood. However, what most clearly illustrates his genuine happiness was the telegram he sent to his mother and family, which in few words revealed his inner state: “Priest. Bless you” (Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996).

In 1935, he took his “tertiate” vow, which, as stated before, consists of a sort of second novitiate. According to Lavin (1994), it is the last touch in the Jesuit priest formative process. He also received his doctoral degree in pedagogy from the University of Lovaine, Belgium. His doctoral thesis consisted of a novel attempt at that time. He attempted to reconcile Dewey’s pedagogical system according to the Catholic Doctrine. The pragmatically philosophical posture of Dewey made Hurtado’s work a novel enterprise; however, Hurtado was aware of the social, political and educational development and needs of his country, since he had always been in contact with his superiors, friends and family. In Chapters 5 and 6, this link between the American pragmatic thinker and Hurtado will be dealt with thoroughly. In 1936, he finally arrived back in Chile to begin his apostleship.

As stated above, in order to provide a tangible and feasible approach to this phase in his life, it is much more manageable to refer to the main enterprises he carried out in this last part of his life, since in doing so, its genuine apostleship may be more easily grasped. This phase of his life will be divided into: (a) the Catholic Action, (b) the Hogar de Cristo, (c) the Catholic workers union (ASICH), and (d) the monthly Catholic journal Mensaje.
The Catholic Action

When Hurtado took his admission exam at the Society of Jesus, he stated that his main interests were focused on religious matters and social issues. Evidently, he had been inspired by his own mother and his mentor, Father Vives; however, he had been required to study education, and his superiors logically thought that he could undertake his main tasks in this field. After all, it has been vastly alluded to in this study that education has always been a central enterprise for the Jesuit Society. Moreover, Hurtado had recently taken his “tertiate” vows; hence this fact and his educational background made him a solid candidate for the educational arena. Jesuit Hurtado following the “way” he had been taught, obediently agreed with his superiors’ disposal. Here is then, a clear similarity with his First General, or stated differently, he made his best efforts to imitate him. His own will or desires were irrelevant if those chosen by his superiors were the best means to the final end. Therefore, he devoted his first years to regular teaching, though as it will be seen, he was never actually detached from education.

He was a religion instructor at the Colegio San Ignacio. Castellón (1998) cites a couple of Hurtado’s students who were deeply impressed by the new religion teacher. One of them said that Hurtado had marked him by his extraordinary love of Jesus Christ, and because his approach was so vivid, he remembered one of his lessons when almost everyone was crying at the end of the class, Hurtado included. This shows Hurtado’s act of giving himself with no restriction to Jesus’ cause. The interviewees of this study who were his students remembered him as: “Padre Hurtado was a very good teacher. I was one of his students in Religion and Apologetics. He insufflated soul into his classes. He
truly convinced us on God's existence" (Carrasco, interviewed in May 2002). Participant Galaz states,

Hurtado was a person, who became an image. How many are those who can become an image? Only a few...He was very strong in what he taught. He was so fascinating that I have never wondered whether he was demanding or not.

(Interview, July 2002)

One of his students at the Colegio San Ignacio and at the Catholic University, Ríos, portrays a dual opinion:

At the University he was not good (laughs). That was not his field. I think he was not prepared to teach Professional Ethics in Law. I actually did not like that part of his teaching. But in Religion...Oh, I liked it so much. I became really interested in it. (Interview, July 2002)

At the Catholic University he greatly contributed to the formation of the College of Theology, even before actually being in Chile (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2003). He taught pedagogy and applied psychology there from 1936 to 1942, under the format of lectures. According to Caiceo (1985), the teaching program was founded the following year, thus his influence on this educational area was something more than apparent. Nevertheless, his appointment as adviser at the Catholic Action (CA) in 1941 is considered by the literature as one of his most relevant first educational tasks (Caiceo, 1996; Capo, 1997; Castellón, 1998; Correa, 1997; Larraín, 1999; Lavín, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). From my perspective, it is not properly highlighted that this appointment coincided with two other crucial moments or tangible issues in his life: his fourth vow as a Jesuit, which meant unconditional obedience to the Pope, and his waiver to be appointed in ecclesiastical posts within the Church hierarchy. It also meant that he had become part of the soul and brain of the Company (Barthel, 1984). This is the
same vow Ignacio agreed to consider as part of a limit of 60 members for the new order to get the final papal approval. The other event of paramount importance in Chilean society in 1941 was the publication of his book ¿Es Chile un país Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic country?]. Padre Hurtado in this book questioned his society which allowed the coexistence of extreme abundance and most absolute misery in Chilean social reality. The controversy that his book provoked was premonitory in his endeavors at the CA.

One of his best friends since his student’s life, Augusto Salinas, who had become Bishop in Temuco, was appointed as Auxiliary Archbishop in Santiago. There he proposed Hurtado as the new adviser at the CA. They were close old friends, so Salinas was aware of Hurtado’s capacity to work with youngsters. The CA had been founded ten years before, and though it was apparently developing with certain fluency, it is quite clear to me that the Chilean Catholic Church was not very satisfied with it. The causes for such a state of satisfaction are not explicitly stated, but my hypothesis is that it was due to the radical political changes experienced in the country. At this point it is necessary to recall that the Catholic Church was tied to the right-wing Conservative Party, and abuses from that party had deteriorated the image not only of that contingent social niche, but also of the Catholic Church itself. By the same token, it is of particular interest to recall the collapse of the Spanish Monarchy, which had also been tied to the Catholic Church. Hence it is not illogical to assume that the concern of the Catholic Church in Chile was also pervaded by politics. This was certainly Hurtado’s views, as expressed after he was forced to resign, as it will be seen later.
At first, he was appointed as the adviser in Santiago, but very soon he became the national adviser of that Catholic movement. His management style was a sort of reflection of his temper and personality, which, as it has been intended to prove, was similar to Ignacio’s. Regarding this issue their Basque inheritance could be said to be a crucial determinant; however, it is my belief that it was due to the old axiom within the Jesuit doctrine on the selection of the best means to the end. The adherence to this axiom, or perhaps better said, this philosophy, so many times severely critiqued by the Jesuit enemies is, from my perspective, the essence of the most genuine soul of the members of the Company which makes them “mystical in action.” So, as soon as Hurtado realized the religious importance of the task he had undertaken, he devoted himself unconditionally to it. Indeed, I would say he might have thought that this task was the most important issue he had in his hands at that specific time. This must not be understood to mean that he neglected his several other duties such as teaching, priesthood, giving the spiritual exercises, and mainly the motivation of priesthood vocations (Castellón, 1998). I ventured to make such a statement because he surely realized the paramount importance his action might have had upon that Catholic movement, and upon Chilean society, respectively. After all, it was a tangible action to win souls in the battlefield against evil. Here is the other facet of the Jesuit acting as imprinted by his First General and founder, that is, its military conception in its apostleship.

According to Magnet (1994), Hurtado seemed to be “like a marine whirlwind that made his greatest efforts to become a soft breeze” (p. 165). This meant that he was so
immersed in his task that he wanted to get many things done in the shortest period of
time, and this is what he expected from his collaborators. According to informant
Peralta, Padre Hurtado was very demanding from his collaborators. She says:

He demanded from me so much...the welfare institution was in a very poor
shantytown...needs were too many. Thus, he demanded from me more, and more,
that I had to go there more frequently. (Peralta says as if resenting Hurtado’s
eagerness) In that sense, he was almost sort of aggressive.... (Interview, July 2002)

As stated above, his dedication to this movement was incredible. Hurtado understood
that the mission of the CA was the actual transformation of the world into the world of
Jesus Christ. “If we work with Christ in the extension of the world of God, the victory
will be ours” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 161). So the scope of the CA was all of the Chilean
society, its schools, universities, factories, etc. Consequently, from Hurtado’s point of
view the CA aimed at the whole transformation of individuals who would change, at their
own turn, the world. Such a change would only be feasible if it was inspired in the spirit
of Jesus Christ (Castellón, 1998). By the same token, Hurtado was very clear on keeping
in mind the image of Christ. The puritan Jesus, the one that does not sin, is not the
genuine image of the savior of love, conception and salvation for all. According to Cruz-
Coke (2001), Hurtado was ahead his time. In her findings she points out that he
anticipated Vatican Council II by twenty years. In so doing, Hurtado suggested that the
exam to our conscience embedded in the spiritual exercises provided the required light on
this matter. One thought he coined and constantly preached in his doings was “What
would Christ do if He were in my place?” Simply put, what Hurtado aimed at in the field
of faith was an actual revolution, and if we add that he also preached radical changes in
education and social issues it is feasible to admit he was a genuine revolutionist.
Hurtado’s main concern at the CA focused on the formation of leaders. He thought that they should be able to disseminate Jesus’ message effectively and actively. Thus, he based his teaching in leaders’ formation by stressing such human virtues as discipline, responsibility, the spirit of sacrifice, organizational features, etc. Such virtues should be the ground to the most crucial spiritual feature: the unlimited love to Jesus Christ. As a coincidental element the interviewees who shared with him responsibilities at the CA pointed out this recurrent feature: “to become nuts for Christ’s sake.” (Carrasco, May, 2002; Cornejo, January, 2003; Galaz, July 2002; Herrera, August, 2002; Polanco, May 2002; Ríos, July 2002). He used to say that according to an English proverb any good and successful enterprise required three types of men: a dreamer, a worker, and an organizer. From his perspective, a CA leader had to be the synthesis of the three types (Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996).

Since, as stated above, he was a man of action, he rapidly put hands on the physical expansion of the CA and began traveling and founding new CA centers throughout the country, from North to South. However, the fact of being ‘a man of action’ should not be misunderstood. Herrera (Interview, August 2002) says, “His spirituality excelled his social commitment.” In the same context, Alvear says,

He was a man of deep praying and energetic activity. It is that Jesuit spirituality, which is acknowledged as “mystical in action.” He was an extraordinary creative man, but at the same time he belonged to God profoundly. The grace of God and important humane conditions intertwined in him were duplicated or multiplied by the grace of God. (Interview, January 2003)

Polanco, another participant who worked closely with Hurtado, states:

That sentence “What would Christ do if He were in my place?” Compelled him not only to speak, but also to act. Moreover, when Padre Hurtado realized that there
were homeless children, he was convinced that preaching was not enough. It was sort of a starting point, but... he immediately rented a house to shelter children, he went to the Mapocho River to rescue children... that is to say, he was a man that not only preached, but also attempted to do what he thought God was requesting him to do. That is, he is (he uses the present tense) a man of action, not only ideas. (Interview, May 2002)

It is quite clear that within a Jesuit perspective Hurtado could meld the natural means with his spirituality, or as repeatedly stated in the so-named Jesuitical axiom, he could select the best means to the end for the more glory of God.

Going back to the expansion of the CA, which could be compared as the expansion of the first phase of the Company, Hurtado became very popular among the young ones. They used to wait for him at the railroad stations as a popular person. Monckeberg and Ortega (1996) say that he was an actual leader. As seen above, the 1,500 youngsters in the 60 centers of the CA throughout the country in 1941 became 15,000 members in 600 centers in 1944 when he finished his task at the CA. On this matter, Participant Rios says,

He was charismatic. His personality was something that literally dragged us. He used to tell us we had to become nuts for Christ... and he genuinely was... with passion, but it was a nice passion. (Said in a convinced fashion) From the University, many students followed him. Then, I unconditionally became one of his followers. In the period of 1942-1944 I was the National Secretary, even the President. At that time I had a closer contact with him. From then on, I already had the seed of the vocation. If we were to be like Christ, how could we do that?... Well, simply trying to emulate Padre Hurtado. (Interview, July 2002)

In order to accomplish his task effectively, Hurtado employed both divine and human means, which will be more fully detailed in the chapter regarding his political stance.

However, he was seriously attacked from within and outside the Church for his practices,
which were detailed somehow in the letter of defense he addressed to Presbyter Silva, after his resignation at the CA.

According to Castellón (1998), Hurtado summarized in five different points the critiques to his endeavors at the CA: (a) he was accused of having given too much importance to the organization of the movement; (b) excessive use of human means such as parades, processions, large meetings; (c) excessive exaltation of Christ as a King, and not the humble and patient Christ; (d) the conception of apostleship sustained by Hurtado, which was mystical, but one of action. Apparently, he was accused to favor action above all. Lastly, (e) the employment of human means such as sports among the youngsters, so it was supposed that they participated in the CA for the sake of mundane activities, not inspired in religious motives.

Instead of referring to Hurtado’s defense directly, I would rather point out the fact that eventually Ignacio would have done something very similar if he had been in Hurtado’s position in a movement like the Chilean CA. After all, it is a mere matter of recalling that the Inquisition on eight different occasions accused him of heresy and of lacking the qualified training to teach the Christian religion and give the spiritual exercises.

Concerning the first type of these accusations, organizational issues, it is a matter of recalling how Ignacio and the first members of the Society devoted to elaborate the Constitutions to conclude that Hurtado was doing something that his First General had done 400 years before.
The axiom instituted by Ignacio himself, recurrently cited through the development of this study, on the selection of the best means to the end for the more glory of God, perfectly fits in an eventual rationale of Hurtado’s practices, which caused most of the accusations. However, it is important to refer to the recurrent one he faced along his career, that of being an activist with little spiritual essence, though he had clearly delimited the field and interaction of both spiritual and human existence, that is, the mystical and activist trends he pursued. Though the interviewed participants’ information cited above provides light on this matter, it is important to refer to Hurtado’s own stance as well. Concerning the main obstacles to make the CA a genuine Catholic movement he pointed out:

The first one is to remain in a formative interior phase, thus making the Catholic Action an exclusively mystical movement. The second one consists of suppressing those interior forming phases to merely engaging in a propaganda human campaign with no supernatural support. Such an acting should be condemned to failure, as any other action which is not supported on God. (Hurtado, 1994, p. 264)

By the same token, Costadoat (2000-2001) states that Hurtado was an authentic mystical Christian, whose main legacy to the contemporary generations was his unlimited love to Christ neighbor and Christ poor.

I believe that in order to understand his practices it is crucial to consider him as “a soldier” of the Company against the armed forces of evil. Hence it is almost undeniable to admit his actions as valid and required. Hurtado considers that opposing contemplation with action is worthless, since, as Ignacio had proved before, contemplation by itself with no sharing of a person’s will is as sterile as the mere material action. He thought that human action might be extremely fertile when human will was
tied to God (Castellón, 1998). Here again is the actual landmark in the Jesuit practices: the means to the end for the more glory of God.

The rather logical question on this matter is then, why did he have opponents in this arena, since apparently he was acting according to his Company teachings and God? Within such a context it is important to state that this study encompasses the broad topics specified in the research questions that are all entwined in the field of social issues: his apostleship, his political stance, and his educational sources, and influence. So, his practices were very often more provocative than what the Chilean Catholic oligarchy would have wished. The reaction from those who certainly were affected by his constant claims became the response to his doings. Moreover, it is important to point out a sociological feature among people that had impeded on many occasions better outcomes in social grounds: human envy. This was experienced by the Company worldwide four centuries before, and in Hurtado’s case could be a plausible explanation for the abundant accusations he faced.

However, I believe that Hurtado’s provocative stance was not only controversial in the lay society, but also provoked adverse reaction within the Catholic Church itself. Indeed, according to participant Galaz (Interview, July 2002), he also faced difficulty within the Company, since when asked on collateral issues, he said:

“No...I did not expect anything...the most important pieces of information I could have provided you have been already mentioned... Let’s see if there is something else to say, (while figuring on something not mentioned, then he adds), ah...his difficulties with the Jesuits. Shut down that....” (He referred to the tape recorder)

Hence it is quite clear to me that Hurtado received diverse sort of pressures, even from within the Company itself in Chile. Either way, he never referred to any difficulty he
might have experienced at the Society of Jesus, but only from some other "respectable" circles as the right-wing politicians. According to Hurtado in his letter to the Company visitor and cited in Magnet (1994): "The bottom line of this problem is political. There are some who are interested that the Company supports a given political option, and that it should not interfere in social matters" (p. 192). Actually, as stated above, the Conservative Party implemented the fiercest and effective attacks against Hurtado which forced him to resign. To conclude on this important task carried out by Hurtado, it is feasible to say that the main cause of his unwanted, though expected, resignation had clear political connotations. The occasion for that event was related to the continuous misunderstandings and differences of opinions with his superior on this matter, Auxiliary Archbishop Augusto Salinas, who had formerly proposed him as the CA adviser.

Participant Ríos states: "We left the political options at home. That is something that people did not understand. They did not understand him, which is why they overtly persecuted him" (Interview, July 2002). However, participant Cepeda was the most categorical on this issue when stating that "Salinas had pulled him out from his post at the CA" (Interview, May 2002).

The Hogar de Cristo

It has been stated above that Hurtado is widely known for one of his main works, the largest welfare shelter for the poor in Latin America or "that love miracle," El Hogar de Cristo [Christ’s Home] (Arthur, 2001). Arthur states that it is an actual miracle of love because since its foundation it has provided not only temporary shelter to thousands of human beings, but also different purposes and horizons in their lives. At the same time, it
has provided to so many a genuine social sense to their lives by learning the true meaning of giving. This is truly held in what Hurtado used to preach on this topic: “it is necessary to give, until it aches!”

Participant Carrasco (Interview, May 2002) makes a rich synthesis on Hurtado’s thought by making a trilogy on the classical ideas Hurtado used to share recurrently from which I summarized his main points: “What would Christ do if He were in my place?” “By this he meant the attitude we all should observe toward our neighbors, as was vividly portrayed in his genuine respect to the poor.” Then he continued, “The other thought of Hurtado was “I am happy, oh Lord, I am happy.” This was the acceptance of God’s will,” as when he was formally advised he had a terminal cancer. “The other edge of Hurtado’s thought is embedded in the last quote above, ‘it is necessary to give, until it aches!’” Carrasco says: “People think that Padre Hurtado was referring to giving money or stuff. No, what he meant was the act of giving of ourselves.” By the same token, participant Salvatierra says:

The invitation extended by Padre Hurtado is very attractive. He invites us not only to give, what is good and necessary, since resources are required, but beyond that, I believe he invites us to give ourselves, to give our lives by such a love madness. That was Padre Hurtado’s madness, which is the madness for Christ.... (Interview, May 2002)

Though Hurtado had shared his concern for the poor with several persons who used to work with him on his varied tasks, it was at one of the spiritual retreats for women to whom he preached four vows out of which the most important one was the vow to the poor, he first addressed this issue specifically (Poblete, 1994). Here he first posed his most important deed. It was coincidental with his forced resignation from the CA that he
could make his desire tangible. According to Castellón (1998) and Magnet (1994), it was at one of these spiritual retreats on its second day, October 18, 1944, while referring to a crucial element in his apostleship, the Mystical Body of Christ, he suddenly interrupted himself and began sharing with his 50 ladies' audience a rather shocking meeting he had experienced the evening before. He briefly, though dramatically, told them that as he was going back home, a man barely dressed for the rainy and cold evening had stopped him to ask for some money to pay a shelter that night. Hurtado added that he could realize the man was affected by a severe flu, and was shaking from fever. Then he continued:

Each one of these men is Christ himself. What have we done for them? What has the Catholic Church done for them? Those are the creatures that “sleep” in the protections of the gates to houses. Eventually, tonight one of these brothers of us can look for shelter in the gates of your houses.... (as cited in Magnet, 1994, p. 199)

Thus, the most successful and permanent work undertaken by Padre Hurtado was created with the support of those ladies (Arthur, 2001; Castellón, 1998; Correa, 1997; Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). As soon as the retreat session finished, the women gathered outside the chapel and made the first donations for this enterprise. Some gave money, others jewels, and another one donated the land to build the first shelter.

According to Arthur (2001), it became an endless social chain along the country and within two months' time the foundation stone of the first shelter was blessed and placed.

In the meantime, Hurtado began an important campaign for the development of this project. At that time there were no TV channels, so the best means of communications he could effectively employ were the radio and the printed press. Participant Ríos recalls:
I can recall that one day he told me, “Could you go to the radio station with me?” “OK, I replied,” and then I asked him, “What’s up?” “Well, there is a group of ladies who have offered me their collaboration for the Hogar de Cristo. We are making it work, so, we want to disseminate this by the radio...and since you have always gone with me...though it is not related to the CA...I want you to come with me.” (Ríos recreates his dialogue with Padre Hurtado as if it had taken place only a short time before, then he continues), “then I went with him, and...I also applauded him, because he said very beautiful things on behalf of the poor....” (Interview, July 2002)

The open minded and popular style Hurtado had in addressing people is somehow clearly shown by his peculiar way of referring to God. In the campaign for the first shelter Hurtado used to refer to the “Patrón” [Boss] as the provider. By such a term he meant God, since his enterprise did not have any defined and/or stable economical budget. However, in his already characteristic style, he considered it was an undeniable task for him “to help” the Patrón, so he soon organized a national campaign for funds. At that time he had already gained certain expertise in collecting money, since he had been the one in charge by the Chilean Jesuit Society to collect funds for its new house of novitiate, which was built in the town of Marruecos, currently renamed as Padre Hurtado. Participant Polanco says:

At that time these activities did not receive any collaboration from overseas; however, with Chilean help he built the new novitiate...It was millions of dollars! The House of Exercises, the Colegio San Ignacio, the Hogar de Cristo...That means that the wealthy who contributed, because the wealthy actually contributed, did not feel annoyed by his message, which was very hard. (Interview, May 2002)

As it might be understood from the quote above, Hurtado had the unusual ability to make social denunciations, but at the same time those who might have felt affected by his message constituted his best collaborators.

The old house in Chillán, former novitiate house for Hurtado, was very old and the 1939 earthquake had seriously damaged it. It was mainly due to Hurtado’s efforts the
new one could be built. Going back to the Hogar de Cristo campaign, Hurtado put into practice once again the old Jesuit axiom on the best means to the end; he wrote articles, asked journalists to interview him, asked Catholics to engage in efforts to support this enterprise, etc. Perhaps without being aware, he was actually settling the procedures and practices by means of which the shelter he had envisioned developed and came to be the outstanding shelter it is today in South America. Finally, in 1946, the first Hogar de Cristo shelter was opened. Hurtado soon defined the purpose of this enterprise: “The Hogar de Cristo aspires to provide pilgrims shelter with the same love and respect as if they were Christ, because the poor are Christ...” (Castellón, 1998, p. 95).

Since its beginnings Hurtado thought that a lay group should rule the newly formed welfare institution. I assume this was due to the fact that lay people may adapt themselves to different circumstances and social groups in collecting funds. Moreover, he envisioned that the needs of the institution would increase amazingly, as they really did, hence a secular board of directors would be more convenient.

The dramatic lack of priests in Chile, who were devoted mainly to priesthood, would have been placed in serious difficulty if this new task was added to priesthood. There is no doubt that Hurtado’s view was smartly settled. However, it must not be understood that the Jesuit presence would be absent in such an enterprise, since according to the legal constitution of this private society, the adviser or chaplain is a Jesuit. Hurtado was the first one in the post, as Ignacio was the First General of the Compañía.

Soon he realized that the best efforts had to be channeled toward homeless children. He used to drive a very old truck, which later was renewed, to pick them up from under
the bridges of the Mapocho River in Santiago, or wherever else they used ‘to live.’ By the same token, he soon realized that it was not only important to rescue children from streets, but also to provide real possibilities for their education. So, very soon the farm school in La Granja was opened.

From then on the growth and development of this institution was constant nationwide, as it would be in due time for the Society worldwide. According to Arthur (2001), the institution counts on more than 500,000 contributors, particularly when a collaborating system with factories and employees was also designed. Factories or companies duplicate the amount of money the employees have agreed to donate. Another novel financing system I could see with my own eyes on my last trip to Chile is that supermarkets or big stores voluntarily channel customers’ change to donations to this shelter. And there are several other initiatives in collecting funds and efforts that have allowed this enterprise develop. In 2000, the Hogar de Cristo in all of Chile consisted of 47 houses. Currently, the work of this institution is built on the following specific doings: children, night shelters, young people and children in social risk, the elderly, people with physical disability, with mental disability, extreme poverty shantytowns, attention to the individual, housing foundation, health, education, and pastoral activities (Hogar de Cristo, 2002).

Before ending this section on Padre Hurtado’s offices and practices, it is necessary to point out two main issues to somehow grasp his thoughts. It was stated above that Hurtado within his theological conception of the Mystical Body of Christ, which will be developed later, had identified Him in the poor. The other related element is his attitude
toward the dignity of the poor. He never preached feelings of compassion to them, but on the contrary, the deepest respect should be paid to them. He strongly believed that thanks to their needs he and the people committed in the Hogar de Cristo enterprise could serve Christ. His best friend, Manuel Larraín, Bishop in Temuco, in his funeral homily for Hurtado said: “What a great lesson he has given us! The sense of the poor! He saw Christ in them. In their sores he healed the Master’s. In their frozen members he covered Jesus’ nakedness” (Larraín, 1999, p. 23).

His last words before his death referred to his poor. In his last spiritual will before his death, which occurred on August 18, 1952, he dictated his last Christmas greeting “to the friends of the Hogar de Cristo.” According to Castellón (1998), Hurtado noted: “At leaving, going back to my Father God, I dare to trust you my last yearning: work to create an environment of true love and respect to the poor, because the poor is Christ” (p. 113). Hurtado finished his last Christmas greeting, or his last spiritual will with the following words: “while wishing to all and each one of you Merry Christmas, I trust you in the name of God, the little poor” (p. 114). Slightly prior to that event he had had the last opportunity to personally meet his collaborators at the Hogar the Cristo. According to Marta Holley’s diary, cited in Castellón (1998), this was his last message to them:

I wanted to thank you all for what you have done on behalf of God, on behalf of the Hogar, for me during all these years we have worked together. We have seen with our own eyes many miracles in the Hogar de Cristo. The Hogar was born and developed by God’s Providence, but the most important miracle is our union, the charity bond among you. That charity increases in you all. That Christ grows in each one of you. That details to dignify the poor be the most important assets. That Christ is less hungry, less thirsty. That he is more dressed thanks to you. Yes, that Christ be less naked since the poor is Christ. (p. 146)
The Catholic Workers Union (ASICH)

Hurtado had always thought that he would not live for a long time. Most of the members in his family had died relatively young; perhaps that antecedent drove him to a synergic chain of activities, which constituted an important focus of frictions within the Church and with several other respectful people. However, as repeatedly suggested, it is of crucial importance to understand his thought as a genuinely committed "soldier" at the Jesuit Compañía. That is why he was acknowledged as a mystical in action as previously stated. Though he recognized the importance of the contemplative life of religious persons, since he was a member of the Jesuit Society he could not be mystical simply for the sake of being mystical. As a soldier he was always compelled to action. Thus, only two years after the opening of the first shelter of the Hogar de Cristo, he embarked on a really audacious project: a union formed by workers and for the workers, as inspired in the Catholic Social Doctrine, the ASICH.

Since his early years he had felt inclined to help mitigate the sufferings of other people. Throughout the development of this study several of his actions have revealed not only this inclination, but also his actual endeavors as when he used to go with his mother to the welfare institutions where she worked as a volunteer. Later he became a volunteer himself at one of those institutions, the Andacollo Patronato. His theses at the Catholic University were built around social issues on the most unprotected workers in Chile. In 1941 he had shaken the Chilean Catholic bourgeoisie with his book ¿Es Chile un país Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic country?], and in 1947 he published his book Humanismo Social [Social Humanism]. Both works were pervaded by his interest in
social human problems, as he had previously stated when submitting his admission examination to the Jesuit Society. As might be appreciated, his interest in social affairs was deepening and maturing through his apostleship. However, this overview of his social development as made tangible in the first two previous works depicted by this study, and which crystallized in the foundation of the first Catholic Workers Union in Chile would be incomplete, if his mentor, his first spiritual adviser, is not mentioned again.

According to Magnet (1994) and Monckeberg and Ortega (1996), Father Fernando Vives S. J. was the most influential human source upon Hurtado. Perhaps due to the fact that his father had died when he was a child, he had not received a defined paternal guide. In this sense, the aforementioned authors say, that Vives, who had joined the Company "to serve others better" at the age of 26, and had been ordained priest when he was 43, was the most providential influence upon Hurtado. They met in 1915, after Vives' first exile. He was Hurtado's history teacher and his first spiritual adviser and confessor. He was exiled because he had experienced constant frictions with the other priests at the Colegio San Ignacio. It is valid to recall at this point that mainly Spaniards ruled the school. After they settled in Chile for the second time they imposed upon all their tasks a strong disciplinary observance. Vives was Chilean and thought that discipline for the sake of discipline was worthless and what was worse, nonsense. According to Magnet (1994), in one of his scarce confidences he had said:

When I was a kid, I never felt myself understood by the adults. They think that they are the only ones who have problems...There is nothing that bothers children more than their elderly misunderstandings. When I was 12 I promised myself to serve children, to understand them, as I wanted to be understood at that age. (p. 45)
So, it is not difficult to figure the problems he had to face whereas most of the other priests thought differently. However, it might be interesting to point out how coincident his thought was with Dewey (1980) on this matter, which amazingly might be considered as similar to the old Jesuit axiom recurrently mentioned:

Of course, order is simply a thing, which is relative to an end. If you have the end in view of forty or fifty children learning certain set lessons, to be recited to a teacher, your discipline must be devoted to securing that result. But if the end in view is the development of a spirit of social cooperation and community life, discipline must grow out of and be relative to such an aim. (p. 11)

From my perspective, this link between the thought of Vives and Dewey, and the Jesuit axiom and Dewey’s stance regarding school discipline, is reinforced by some other thoughts in another of his books, as a co-author, Schools of tomorrow

Give a child liberty to move and stretch when he needs it, with opportunities for real exercise all through the day and he will not become so nervously overwrought that he is irritable or aimlessly boisterous when left to himself. (J. Dewey & E. Dewey, 1962, p. 101)

It is crucial to understand two main issues on Hurtado’s educational thought: on the one hand, to envision that Vives was not only influential on Hurtado in social educational matters, but also on such other formal elements as school discipline. On the other hand, the relationship stated above might have been a plausible motive on Hurtado’s topic for his doctoral thesis.

Caiceo (1994, 1995) states that Hurtado as the topic for his dissertation selected Dewey’s pedagogical thought due to his influence on the New School movement, strongly influential on the Chilean educational system at that time, but little if anything is said about Vives’ influence on this specific matter. It may be audacious to state that there is an eventual influential link in Dewey’s stance regarding “a thing which is relative to an
end” and the Jesuit axiom of the best means to the end, but I will not develop this further, since that is not the scope of this study. However, it may constitute an excellent topic for further research.

As stated above, Vives and Hurtado first met in 1915. A genuine friendship was established between master and disciple that would continue for the rest of their lives. According to Magnet (1994), Vives was not only influential on Hurtado’s social vocation, but also on his Jesuit vocation. Such friendship was permanent. When it was interrupted due to the other exiles Vives faced; they continued their dialogue by regular mail.

Either way, the strongest influential facet from Vives, perhaps the most important upon Hurtado, was his social vocation. Vives had also determined to be on the side of workers. His cell at the Colegio San Ignacio was the meeting place for the people who were interested in the Catholic Social Doctrine. The 1891 *Rerum Novarum* encyclical was actively studied and discussed (Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). In those gatherings he motivated his audience to be familiar with the poor and with the unprotected workers. In doing so, he disseminated the idea that the latter should be organized in powerful and independent (from political parties) unions (Castellón, 1998).

Gradually, the young ones who had been enrolled in the right-wing Conservative Party began having differences with their own political niche, and they ended up in a new political expression, the Falange Nacional, which became later the Christian Democratic Party.

According to Gómez (2001), Vives in 1932 founded the Social Unionizing Party that sustained the following main points: (a) agricultural reform, (b) the social function of
property, (c) the defense of workers’ rights, and (d) the organization of workers into labor unions. But, this political expression had no relevance in the Chilean political scenario, so it soon disappeared. However, Father Vives, as a determined Jesuit, after two years founded another political niche: the Corporative Popular Party. On this new occasion, this political expression confronted the Conservative Party in a political election. That, from my perspective, was the actual motive for his third exile, which took him out of the country for 14 years.

Master and disciple could not meet again, as seen, until the latter, then as a member of the Compañía, was sent to Sarriá, Spain, to continue his studies in philosophy. In 1950 Hurtado published his book *Sindicalismo Historia, Teoría y Práctica* [Unionization History, Theory, and Practice] and dedicated it to his mentor: “to Father Fernando Vives Solar, S. J. apostle of the proletariat redemption, to whom I owe my priesthood and social vocation...” (as cited in Hurtado, 2001, p. 370).

By early 20th Century a new social order was coming on stage worldwide. It was not in vain two world wars have impacted societies everywhere. A new social conception had violently interrupted in the arena of social situation of workers, Marxism was not only a social response in certain areas of the globe such as Russia and China, but it was also a tangible response to the workers’ needs, independently of the political government of countries. Worker unions became fertile soil for this new social-political response to workers’ needs in many countries, where the exploitation of workers had been considered as a normal practice as a consequence of the Industrial Reform.
The Catholic Church had already clearly stated its pontifical guidance in social matters. Pope Leon XIII with the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical in 1891 provided one of the most important messages regarding social matters addressed mainly to proletariat redemption, and then considered an inexcusable duty to all Catholics. Pope Pio XI in his most important encyclical on social matters, *Quadragesimo Anno*, also provided clear orientations to the Catholic world on these matters. However, apparently, the practices on many Catholics seemed to have been divorced from the guidance from Rome. Pio XI had previously claimed that “Catholics worldwide are very knowledgeable of their individual duties; however, most of them ignore their social duties” (as cited in Hurtado, 1994, p. 80).

Hence the logical question is why did Catholics not follow the orientations from Rome? I dare to wonder why they are not currently very willing to practice in everyday life what is apparently observed at Sunday mass service. According to Hurtado (1994), the root of the social problems resided in the resistance of the Catholic bourgeoisie to social justice practices. In so doing, such oligarchy acted as bourgeoisie, not as Catholic, since Catholicism was lived and practiced at the temples, but its expected extension in the every day life was null. So workers used to face their every day adversaries in the field of economics at Church on Sundays. Such contradictions made most workers distrustful of religion, and they eventually abandoned their religious positions. It was precisely such a co-existence of the two worlds of misery and abundance that compelled Hurtado to write his first social denunciation cited above.
Eventually, this rapid growth of Marxism worldwide made the Catholic Church react and denounce that Catholics themselves were to blame on this matter. In such a context, Pope Pio XII pointed out that the proletariat redemption was an undeniable urgent need in the new social order stated above. He distinguished the mass from the people, and was convinced that organization was the solution that people had to opt for.

Within the same contextual scope Hurtado (2001) thought that the proletariat redemption was a feasible task to reach by the organized people: "The proletariat redemption has to be a work undertaken and carried out by the people themselves, strongly organized around their own union interests, with no further considerations" (p. 378). He also pointed out that it was ethical and legal that workers had the right to have a fair participation on the earthly elements provided by God himself to all men with no distinction. So, he concluded, they had only one avenue: their union.

In his theoretical approach to unionization, he stated that any social educational approach should value justice adequately, while he admitted that justice was one of the most difficult virtues to put into actual practice, he also maintained that it was easier to be benevolent than fair. Within this conceptual framework then, it is feasible to understand, though not admit as valid, the Catholic bourgeoisie attitude pointed out above regarding the Sunday observance of their religion was not their daily practice. The Catholic oligarchy believed that practicing charity was all that was demanded from them. Indeed, they claimed that the poor were not thankful for the charity they received. On that matter Hurtado (1994) was pretty clear by stating: "charity begins where justice ends. Sometimes less than what is required by justice is given, and it is believed that more than
what is fair has been given" (p. 88). What Hurtado claimed was not charity but justice for the workers.

In that context it was right then, in his views that workers needed to organize themselves in powerful and united unions to demand and obtain justice, since only through genuine justice was it feasible to have real human equality. Which is why he claimed: "man, particularly the worker, does not want benevolence, but justice. He wants his rights to be recognized, and so his dignity as a person" (Hurtado, 1994, p. 87).

Within such a context he stated that there were two senses that humans lacked: the first one was the "social sense," which he understood as "the quality that makes us interest in others, to help them in their needs, to protect the common interests" (Hurtado, 1994, p. 107). In a religious scope we could simply say that he was referring to the second of God's commandments. The other sense lacking was the sense of responsibility, which was closely tied to the former one, and which should also be considered as the attitude that needed to be fostered at school regarding the capacity to learn with social sense. It is of particular interest for this study to highlight how Hurtado links Dewey's stance on this issue. Dewey denounced that the measure for success at school was competition among students, or individualism, which is why he stated: "So thoroughly is this the prevailing atmosphere that for one child to help another in his task has become a school crime" (Dewey, 1980, p. 11).

Within the social educational conception which Hurtado sustained, education to workers was critical. He had already stated that lack of education was the primary cause of the misery of the people (Hurtado, 1994); hence in his vision of unionization, unions
were above all, effective educational sites for workers. In this sense education was a liberating tool for oppressed or unprotected workers against the abuses of their employers, or simply from the system itself.

Hurtado based most of his theoretical stance on this matter on the Rerum Novarum encyclical, since Pope Leon XIII had clearly stated that the right to form unions was as natural for workers as life itself, and no secular power could oppose this right. The systematic repression of workers' efforts in this arena in Chile at that time was similar to the situation of workers worldwide. Hurtado (2001) concludes that what is legal may not necessarily be legitimate, and what is legitimate may not necessarily be legal. He states, ...in the eventuality that what is legal is opposed to what is legitimate, that is, it not only details what it should, but it denies what cannot be denied, we have the right to defend what the natural law gives us. In such a case, what is legitimate is superior to what is legal. (p. 379)

In order to grasp the meaning of Hurtado's conclusions, and I dare to say "prescriptions," it is necessary to focus attention in the worth that education, or its absence, might have upon the so named proletariat redemption, which is why for him education was the key that would help to properly settle workers' issues. Unionization not only meant the defense of workers' rights, but also the "schools" where they could access education, which as stated above became a liberating tool for them. According to Caiceo and León (1994), education and unionization are two united concepts in the thought and praxis of Hurtado that became tangible with the foundation of the ASICH (Asociación Sindical Chilena) [Chilean Union Association].

Since we are addressing the topic of practical schooling, I believe that Hurtado also learned his lesson in such an arena. The literature refers to the fact that Hurtado went to
Europe to take part in a Jesuit conference that was held in 1947 (Caiceo, 1985; Caiceo & León, 1994; Castellón, 1998; Correa, 1997; “El apostolado” [his apostleship], 2001a, January 22; Hernández, 2001; Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). He stayed there for six more months until January 1948 and visited Spain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. He would profit from his stay there, because he made several contacts on tangible social enterprises, which were the supporting practical ground for the new project he had in mind: the Catholic union. He also had, on three different times, the opportunity to visit Father Janssens, his former superior in Lovaine, who was then the General of the Compañía. Indeed, he was also received by Pope Pio XII to whom he submitted his diagnosis of Catholicism in Chile and in so doing; he submitted his project for the Catholic union in the country. His project of the union was not a new idea, since in several other European countries there were similar experiences, but in Chile it would be something really novel.

What the literature does not openly say is that Hurtado had learnt from his past experience at the CA and therefore, before embarking on the actual task of forming the union, which he surely envisioned would create controversies in Chile; he looked for the right pillars for support. It is important to recall that in his office as adviser at the CA, his most immediate superior did not support him when he most needed it. So, I wonder whether he might have thought that the papal approval and that of his General were solid ground for his new proposal. As result, both authorities supported and encouraged his future plans. However, participant Cepeda admits that Hurtado smartly took profit out of this trip:
In 1947 Hurtado founded the ASICH, which is why he goes to Rome...after his experience with Bishop Salinas...that had pulled him out from the AC...This new opportunity he took care of himself. Then, he asked the Pope! Notice the nerves he had! (laughs) He asked the Pope himself for his authorization to found a union in Chile, where workers and capitalists were formed in the Catholic Social Doctrine. So, the Chilean Church did not have any other choice but accepting his new project. (Interview, May 2002)

This flow of procedures shows Hurtado’s political smartness in this last part of his prolific life. I stated above that Hurtado, when completing his studies in Belgium, had had Father Janssens as his superior and that he would show his masterful Jesuit domain of the old Jesuit axiom for the more glory of God in a later opportunity. This is the occasion to which I was referring. However, it must not be understood that he immediately put his hands on task on this project, since firstly, as a Jesuit he required his most immediate superior’s authorization. Father Alvaro Lavin, Vice-Provincial, agreed though he relieved Hurtado of some of his tasks of his already overloaded agenda (Magnet, 1994).

That Hurtado’s last action was pervaded by politics is proved by the fact that the most famous political journalist in Chile, Luís Hernández Parker, interviewed him as soon as he was aware of his purposes. The periodical magazine Ercilla published the interview on April 13, 1948, under the title “A Jesuit will found a Catholic Workers Union in Chile. He’s got papal approval” (as cited in Ercilla, 2001, p. 8). As it might be expected, the publication of the interview provoked a “social earthquake” in a country well-known for its recurrent natural disasters. As the interview unveils Hurtado’s thought on this matter, the most relevant passages will be transcribed:

The journalist mentioned a traditional feature in Hurtado while speaking, “He always smiles when responding.” Hurtado counter asked: “Why are you so amazed at the
idea that the Church wants to organize Chilean workers, whether they are Catholics or not, if they accept the doctrine of the encyclicals?” The journalist responded: “I think it is of the most novelty.” Immediately Hurtado stated: “But it is not a novelty. In the USA there is an important movement which counts on Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish workers adherence...” Then Hurtado stated: “There is a revolution on process on the globe.” To which the journalist objected: “But revolutions foster vindictive movements. Workers believe they have to win battles to conquer economical improvement.” To this the Jesuit began his answer with a new question: “OK. And who told you that the Church stops legitimate workers’ struggles?” then he expanded: “It is exactly the opposite! We are not afraid of battles. We don’t fear revolution, either. I am with Pégy when he says, ‘revolution is to abandon the shallow surface to go to a deeper current.’” Almost immediately the interviewee added: “Whenever a Catholic worker accepts a social movement, he won’t stop it. He insufflates in it the Christian yeast, which is the best of the revolutions.” The Journalist, as a question, makes the following statement: “The goal is the proletariat conquest...” to which Hurtado responds eagerly: “Yes, sir. It is the conquest of social justice for workers. So, one day they will stop being ‘proletariat;’ that is, machine-men that merely have strength in labor as Marx says.” Then Hurtado added strongly determined: “they will become men and women with a human and divine roles on earth. That is our goal. To conquer man, so as he can become man again. Then, he will no longer be ‘mass.’ (After some other questions and responses, I would only quote the last question and its answer of the interview, because it reveals the features of the union intended by Hurtado). The journalist asked him: “The last question, will this union be formed with priest-workers?” To which he categorically responds: “No, sir. Chilean workers will form it. And I warn you that it will be much more arrogant, combative, and powerful than the others....” (pp. 8-9)

While transcribing certain passages from the interview, I made some comments that, from my perspective, provided more clarity on the grasping of Hurtado’s thought, which is why further comments on it would be redundant.

In 1948, he founded the ASICH; however it should be understood that its foundation was not similar to that of the Hogar de Cristo. As stated above, the mere idea of a workers union fostered by a Catholic priest was in itself very controversial at that time in Chile. In order to illustrate some of the difficulties he experienced, it is illustrative to mention that the Hogar de Cristo had been growing steadily. One of the main economic sources was the donation from the wealthy; however, these people warned Hurtado that
the money they were giving away was not to be used, under any circumstances, in the ASICH. At the same time, he began receiving threatening anonymous warnings from his most radical enemies. It was during this phase of his life that he received the pejorative nickname of “the red priest,” which meant communist. Though his political stance will be dealt with in the next chapter, I believe at this point to partially quote one participant’s answer on this matter:

It is curious that anybody who might have social inclinations, concerns for justice, concerns for the poor, he/she is labeled as communist. I believe such a posture is to ignore the principles and values of the Catholic Church...because then, we should have to conclude that the whole Church...even the popes are communists, red ones! (Salvatierra, Interview, May 2002)

Salvatierra, with genuine passion, concludes his intervention in the following fashion:

Certainly, Padre Hurtado was accused of that...for his inclinations, for his search. His central search was always man, and that he lived in conditions of dignity, as a son of God. (With extraordinary strength he remarked) A son of God can not live in misery. Being unable to feed himself, to receive education...and that for him (he refers to Hurtado) was a constant concern. (Interview, May 2002)

Going back to this new project of Hurtado, it should be stated that there was strong resistance to it from within the Church itself. According to Magnet (1994), a bishop in a southern dioceses did his best to avoid having the Church appear involved in one of the offices which the ASICH was about to inaugurate in that city, and he even prohibited any Catholic priest in the dioceses from attending its meetings. This forced Hurtado to not attend the inauguration of that office.

So, as it can be seen and as it might be suspected, this new work undertaken by Hurtado was not easy at all, but he was a soldier of the Company and was strongly determined to carry out his new project as Ignacio had done previously with his. In order
to provide more clarity to what I have just stated it is of the most outstanding importance
to state that though the union was formally founded on July 7, 1948, by the decree signed
by the Auxiliary Bishop in Santiago, Augusto Salinas, Hurtado’s former superior at the
CA, the decree in comment named Hurtado as the chaplain of the ASICH (Castellón,
1998). He had begun his planning some time before, indeed before he submitted his
proposal to the hierarchical and ecclesiastical authorities mentioned previously. At the
beginning of 1947, he had several systematic meetings with the intellectual elites in
Chile, hence he met professionals, faculty and Catholic politicians, which, from my
perspective, clearly proves once again, his political smartness, and his practical use of the
old Jesuit axiom on enterprises such as this. This strategy is retold in an anecdotal
fashion by Magnet (1994) when referring to the meetings with the politicians held on this
matter. One of them with ‘a big nose’ while leaving the meeting place had said: “If this
priest gets into it, he is able to make it. He is the only one in Chile who can do it” (p.
227). I believe that Magnet, by “the man with a big nose,” was actually referring to a
leader of the Falange, later Christian Democratic Party, who became president of Chile:
Eduardo Frei Montalva.

Within a year of its foundation the union consisted of three main parts: (a) the
workers, which counted on 50 members approximately, (b) the employees that counted
on 40 members, and (c) the intellectuals section that was composed of 10 members. It
was coordinated and ruled by a central committee of 15 persons (Castellón, 1998).

Though Hurtado apparently intended to follow the same political abstinence as at the
CA, the arena of unions in my country, and I dare to state worldwide, is pervaded by
politics. In 1949 Topaze, a political magazine, charged that Hurtado supported Marxism. As a consequence, in an Argentinean Catholic magazine, Presencia, he and the Chilean clergy were fiercely attacked for their apparent defense of Communism (Castellón, 1998). However, perhaps the most critical situation and respective attacks he had to face were products of the position the union adopted when a law was passed regarding the defense of democracy. The government at that time, which had gained power with Communist political support, invalidated their pact and declared that political party as illegal by means of the so-called Defense of the Democracy Law. Since it openly affected union practices, the ASICH declared its vigorous opposition to such a law. The scandal aroused within Catholic circles by such an opposition was more than apparent. Those social circles which were mainly composed of wealthy people could not accept that a Catholic priest would adopt such a stand “on behalf of communist practices.” Hence it is not difficult to figure that Hurtado then experienced his worse times. Indeed, according to Magnet (1994), he wrote a letter to an American Jesuit who had been in Chile previously, because he thought that he could be exiled. In his letter to Father Wiegel, Hurtado advises his friend: “... I would appreciate if you look for a place for me there, (USA), if all of a sudden it is discovered that I need to study a bit...” (p. 228). This piece, that may cause a smile in the reader, shows the rather dramatic moments he might have experienced. From my perspective, it also shows his pragmatic stand and his sarcastic mood given certain conditions. I have just referred to the ‘dramatic’ moments he might have lived because he realized he could be exiled; after all, his mentor had been out of the country on three different occasions. Being exiled from one’s country is a very
hard experience for any human being. Such a practice was recurrently used by the 
Military regime which ruled my country for 17 years beginning in the early 1970s. The 
piece cited above also reveals his pragmatic or practical Jesuit feature in the sense that 
given the circumstances he had to explore the pros and cons of any course of action to 
follow. Finally, it also reveals a slight sarcasm on his part when using the expression that 
unexpectedly it could be discovered he needed to study. This meant to study abroad, or 
simply put, to be exiled as his mentor was forced on three occasions. That was why he 
addressed his friend in the USA on this matter. I think it is interesting to quote an 
opinion from one of the interviewees, whose insight is related to the American Jesuit 
mentioned above, Father Weigel:

Ten years after I had joined the Society of Jesus, in 1950, I said good bye to Hurtado, 
because I had received a scholarship to the USA where Weigel was. Then, the night 
before leaving I went to see Hurtado. I noticed he was very silent, and then he said 
to me: “There is a concern I have about you” Hurtado said. “What, that I become too Americanized?” I asked him. “No. That is not important...you will live four years next to Gringo Weigel. He will be your professor, your mentor, your friend, your 
spiritual guide, your father...everything! What can be the product next to the Gringo Weigel in four years’ time? That is my concern” (The interviewee recalls Hurtado’s words). Then he added: “To me it was a surprise that this man...so open minded, 
with whom I could speak to on any issue...then, I realized that Hurtado over valued 
some features of Gringo Weigel.” (Galaz, Interview, July 2002)

From my perspective, this quote proves what was stated above on Hurtado’s practical and 
Jesuitical style. If he thought he had to study then he looked for the best avenue, and he 
was sure of the academic excellence of the American Jesuit, which is why he wrote a 
letter to him.

In 1950, he published his book Sindicalismo Historia, Teoría y Práctica 
[Unionization History, Theory, and Practice] by means of which he portrays his thought
on educational unionization. It may be stated that he conceived of unions as being at man’s service: “The supreme aspiration of union activities aims at reaching and assuring respect for the human person and his spiritual, intellectual, physical and economical development” (Hurtado, 2001, p. 389). Within that context Hurtado was firmly convinced that unions were to adequately educate their members. So he distinguished three main educational trainings fostered by Catholic unions, (a) the technical phase, which was intended to provide the right training required by workers to work more effectively; simply put, technical competence. Workers used to learn their tasks by practicing, that is, by trial and error, hence there was a considerable waste of resources because sometimes they did not have the minimal technical knowledge for their specific tasks, and by the same reason they were unfairly paid; (b) the economical because due to the lack of basic education, workers hardly ever saved money for the needs of their families. Housing, health, and education were issues that they rarely cared for, since for them, as pointed out in the interview above, they were considered and what was worse, they considered themselves as mass; (c) moral training which was fostered in Hurtado’s ideas of educational assets by unionization, that is, he thought of individual dignity of persons, which was closely tied to freedom. It is logical to expect training in this field for any Catholic enterprise. According to Caiceo and León (1994) the ASICH marked the Christian presence in the Chilean unionization movement.

Though the ASICH extended its offices throughout the country, it may be argued that it never reached a robust presence on Chilean unionization, since most of the workers unions were under control of the more important political currents, out of which Marxism
was a strong icon. However, Hurtado thought that 25% of union leaders were affiliated to the ASICH (Castellón, 1998). Indeed, the union he founded had severe difficulties in existing due to the legal system on unionization in Chile. Therefore, the scope of this union was addressed toward the formative training of union leaders inspired in the Catholic Social Doctrine. In so doing was its real success, since the union leaders enrolled and trained at the ASICH experienced deep changes which enabled them to become effective agents of social change. Here again is a clear resemblance between the praxis of the Compañía and the one of this third enterprise undertaken by Hurtado.

Mensaje Journal

When Hurtado went to Europe in 1947 and met his General, he also shared with him another project he had in mind: a Catholic journal that could fulfill the needs of Christian orientation for professionals, university people, scholars and politicians in their lay lives.

In his letter requesting from his Vice-Provincial, the corresponding authorization, he stated that he intended a journal of ample and general orientation (Castellón, 1998; Correa, 1997; Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). In October 1951, the first number of the monthly journal Mensaje was published in Chile. Hurtado, who was also its first director, wrote the first editorial.

According to Montes (2001), Hurtado wanted to somehow share with the rest of the country his social insights. He thought that intellectuals and professionals were the most suitable to deepen and disseminate his main social concerns. This journal intended to give them a vision that would deeply mark the societal values, simply put, what Hurtado wanted was “to gospel the culture” (p. 56). Hurtado, in the first editorial, wrote that the
Society of Jesus in Chile wanted to provide a niche for those intellectuals who wanted to study and discuss, with no interference of political interests, wide and crucial social themes of common interests and, in so doing, it would be feasible “...to insert Christ’s message in intelligences, hearts, and lives of all brothers” (Hurtado, 2001, p. 68).

Participant Cepeda states, “Hurtado founded the monthly journal Mensaje, which also had an educational role for the elite...the intellectual elite” (Interview, May 2002).

This last work of Hurtado has been permanent and has never interrupted its contribution to crucial educational, religious, and social matters for more than 50 years. According to Lavin, (1994) and Monckeberg and Ortega, (1996), it has been the object of accusations and attacks; however, it has always had the official support of the Episcopate Conference of Chile because its evangelical mission has been clear and consistent within the Social Doctrine of the Church. On this matter it experienced difficult times during the Military government; however, it continued its tasks and could not be repressed, as the Catholic Church constituted the best defense from abuses in Chile.

Concerning the main enterprises undertaken and carried out by Hurtado, it is necessary to point out two issues: on the one hand, his actual offices and practices were many more than the four works mentioned above. According to Castellón, (1998) and Magnet, (1994), Hurtado admitted in a letter to his Vice-Provincial that he was limited to “run and speak.” By that he meant that his time was too limited, since he had the following apostolic duties: (a) he taught at the Colegio San Ignacio and at the Catechist House; (b) his principleship at the Evening Institute and the St. Ignacio Social Center; (c) retreats and advising at the Female Teachers’ Association; (d) The Hogar de Cristo; (e)
the ASICH; (f) spiritual adviser for youngsters; (g) attending confessions every morning; (h) giving spiritual exercises, lectures and preaching in Santiago and in some provinces; (i) director of the Spiritual Exercises House; and (j) attention to private persons, donors, visits to the sick, etc. On the other hand, all his works, not only the ones addressed by this study, were pervaded by his thought on social education, which was mainly based upon his concept of the Mystical Body of Christ.

The Mystical Body of Christ

It is not possible to understand Padre Hurtado’s thought in any field without outlining, though briefly, his conception of the Mystical Body of Christ. According to Castellón (1998), when Hurtado went to Lovaine, Belgium, he became immersed in a rich theological and spiritual environment. At that time there was a strong impulse to that specific theological conception, which had been developing for some time before in Germany. Thus, it was not rare at all that Hurtado became deeply influenced by this theological framework. Indeed, he states: “...the dogma on the Mystical Body, key and spine of the Catholic theology. Whoever does not possess that social sense has not understood in its wide magnitude the savior message of Jesus Christ” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 7).

He was particularly influenced by the thought of Marmion (1852-1923) and Mersch (1890-1940) who were in fact the main theological writers at that time on this topic. Hurtado in his book Humanismo Social [Social Humanism] begins the section on the theological foundations of charity precisely by citing the former author: “Charity is preached by Jesus and the Church as the first of the moral obligations, precisely because
it is based upon the very essence of the Christian dogma" (Marmion, n.d. as cited in Hurtado, 1994, p. 20). Concerning Mersch and the doctrine of the Mystical Body, Hurtado noted, "...one of its greatest disseminators was Father Emilio Mersch S. J." (Hurtado, 1994, p. 21). Either way, as the old Jesuit seal, which I ventured to call an axiom, had marked Hurtado in his thoughts, life and endeavors, something similar may be said of this conception, since it is not feasible to detach the conception of the Mystical Body from him.

A very brief synopsis of this theological stance makes clear that the original sin broke man’s supernatural relationships with Heaven, that is, humans could no longer recognize or call God as their Father, as they could no longer be called as His earthly children. Hence, the nature of humans was confined to mere matter. They could no longer aspire, then, to the heavenly existence they had been given prior to the original sin.

In such a context, the relationship depicted somehow could not be renewed unless God Himself descended to the humans on earth, since they, due to their own nature, could not ascend to heaven. So, when the Verb became flesh, when Christ became one of us, when He called us brothers and when He died for humans’ sins, our redemption was feasible. That is, by divine grace, humans were given what Jesus is by nature: child of God. He transformed us as adoptive children.

Hurtado stated, "Here is the intimate reason of what Jesus calls his new commandment; since the incarnation and by the incarnation all men are united to Christ according to their rights, and many in deed" (1994, p. 20).
Within this theological concept Christ is the Head of such a Body and humankind, all of us with no exclusion, are said to be its members. The simple state of being humans provides us the right of becoming part of such a Body, if we accept that premise as valid, we can become part of the Mystical Body of Christ. Simply put, we can become Christ Himself.

From such a theological conception Hurtado (1994) built his recognition of the dignity of the poor, so often despised by their “brothers,” due to their marginal or social status. He states that if we accept incarnation, we have to accept it with all its consequences, that is, with no conditions and/or exclusions. This means then, that we must not only acknowledge the divine essence of Jesus, but of all His Mystical Body. This simply means what was stated above, that all humans with no exception could access a divine nature, that all of us could become Christ Himself. Therefore, the act of forsaking or abandoning another human being, or the act of protecting or sheltering another person means abandoning or protecting Christ Himself, respectively. At this crucial point is when Hurtado (1994) made the difference, when he saw Christ in the poor:

Christ has become our neighbor, or properly said; our neighbor is Christ who shows Himself in different forms; as a prisoner in jails, as wounded in a hospital, as a beggar in the streets, as a poor sleeping under the bridges of a river. By faith we must see Christ in the poor. If we are unable to see Him it is due to the fact that our faith is weak and our love is imperfect. (p. 21)

According to Mersch, n.d. (as cited in Castellón, 1998), all Christians are invited to participate fully in the same Christ’s life. Becoming a member of Christ is the main core of Christianity, which means the union to Him and to the others. Which is why Hurtado
used to blame Catholics who went to mass on Sundays, but they literally forgot the other members of the Mystical Body the rest of the week. Indeed, I wonder how many of us who call ourselves Christians truly fulfill such a theological foundation of Christianity. However, Cornejo and Baranda (1998) state that it is difficult to change radically. This is precisely the change Hurtado preached among his brothers. The authors claim that nowadays we tend to assume the dignity and Christ’s presence in the poor in a relative fashion, in which the poor is considered as a lack of ability and inferiority. Hurtado (1994) stated that those who had actually understood the love commandment of God should live accordingly in their ordinary daily lives. Thus a genuine devotion does not only consist of looking for God in Heavens or the Eucharistic Christ, but also in meeting and serving Him in others.

According to Sheen (1935), the term “mystical” has a wrong connotation in the sense that it is associated to what is unpractical, vague, or undefined. However, he states the conjunction of the words “Mystical Body” refers to something visible and invisible, something tangible and intangible, something divine and something human, “to the contemporary Christ: the Church” (p. 9). According to Sheen, the Church is the actual Mystical Body of Christ in which all human beings are members of Christ. He distinguishes three phases in the life of Jesus Christ: (a) the earthly life when the Verb became flesh, (b) the Glorified life which is completed after Christ’s resurrection, and (c) the Mystical life that is referred to his new life on earth in a new way. It is His presence in the Church. So, Christ’s complete life, according to Sheen, has to be considered in the three phases mentioned above. The Body of Christ by its very essence means
communion of members. An analogy could be that of the cells to the body, which is the relation that Christians are to enjoy in the Mystical Body.

It is within this theological conception that Hurtado actually and genuinely believed and lived in. This is why it is feasible to explain his love to the poor, because as it was previously stated, they are also members of the same Body. His capacity to see Christ in the poor precisely resides in this conception. By the same token, he firmly believed that our love to our brothers, mainly to the unprotected, had to be something more than mere philanthropy; it had to be giving of ourselves to our neighbors for love to Jesus Christ. This is why he used to preach in any scenario, “It is necessary to give, to give until it aches.” However, this must not be understood as the act of giving money or material things, but as previously said, it means to give of ourselves to our neighbors.

It was said above that Hurtado was a very busy man; indeed, he hardly slept more than four hours a day; however, he always had the time for those who wanted to speak to him. Those moments, those brief minutes were perhaps of the most exclusive and intense attention to that person. According to Magnet (1994), all who wanted to see him invariably found the same affective and effective reception, and as a result all were genuinely happy by a solution to their problems, or simply for the time devoted to them. Mistral (1952) depicts Hurtado’s way of speaking as gifted, as was Francisco de Asis’. His grace and simplicity while talking allowed him to conquer all. Gumucio (1999) states that he felt rewarded to have seen with his own eyes how this man engaged in monumental Christian tasks while had the same time being devoted to listen to either a school student, or a homeless child from the Mapocho River, or an outstanding politician.
According to Gumucio it was as if he were thankful for the opportunities he had been given to interact with others.

Going back to the theological conception on the Mystical Body of Christ then, it must be restated that Hurtado not only showed a practical and tangible adherence to this conception in the four main works described above, but also in any of his practices. That is why it was stated that his thought could not be detached from this theological conception.
CHAPTER 4

WHAT WAS HIS POLITICAL STAND?

Padre Hurtado was the object of severe criticisms from diverse and often opposed political perspectives. One of the most severe attacks he had to face was originated from his own former political niche, the Conservative Party, which used to proclaim itself as "the Party of the Catholics" (Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996). Hurtado was accused of possessing traces of Nazism, and was also pejoratively addressed as "the red priest." By this latter term his opponents meant that he adhered to the Communist philosophy and/or Party. Since the latter attacks were more serious and persistent, and in order to provide the most adequate portrait of his political stance, this chapter will be divided into the following main parts: (a) Historical and Political Backgrounds, as these antecedents are crucial to place Padre Hurtado into the right historical, sociological and political context; (b) Marxism and Religion. The recurrent traces that have been found of the entwined influences of these concepts in Latin America underline the importance of this subject matter to this section; (c) Marxism and education. That a priest is an educator is an accepted fact, thus it is relevant to discuss this topic from a rather philosophical perspective in order to discuss whether Marxism could eventually be delivered in a Catholic educational system and be adhered to by a Catholic priest; and (d) other valid and relevant sources such as the interviewees' information on this matter, and Padre Hurtado himself, since he wrote several books on social issues, which can help us unveil his political views to a great extent.
Historical and Political Background

At the time Hurtado returned to his country, there was considerable political, social, and economic turbulence throughout Chile. The right-wing Conservative Party, which mainly represented the Catholic oligarchy, and which had ruled the country with no serious opposition for decades, was challenged by a growing opposition led by left-wing parties, particularly the Falange Nacional, which was a split from the Conservative Party itself, and the free masons. In 1920, Arturo Alessandri Palma, a free mason, had won the election for the Chilean presidency. His political support was rooted in a political coalition. Left-wing interests were primarily represented, as opposed to the traditional conservative governments in the country. One of the basic tasks of Alessandri’s government was the secular separation of the state from the Catholic Church. Such an eventual division was wittily exploited by the Conservative Party for propagandistic motives among the Catholics, the bulk of the Chilean population, to vote for them and not for the left-wing coalition. In so doing, the Conservatives labeled themselves as the political party of Catholicism (Magnet, 1994; Monckeberg & Ortega, 1996).

Independently from political issues, Alessandri and Crescente Errázuriz, the Catholic Archbishop, managed to settle this religious-political issue impeccably, and from then on state and religious affairs went along separate avenues in Chilean society. Such a separation was officially stated in the 1925 Political Constitution (“Cronología de” [Chronology of], 2001, April). It is interesting to mention on this specific Chilean historical issue that Miguel Cruchaga Tocomal, Padre Hurtado’s uncle, had a crucial contribution in this problem solution.
Going back to Archbishop Errázuriz, he had constantly insisted upon the Chilean clergy to not be involved in political affairs. However, it must be said that not all bishops had the same political position that their superior by that time had sustained. The clearest proof of this statement is that as soon as Errázuriz died, his successor, Archbishop Gilberto Fuenzalida, attempted to change the Church orientations on this topic. As Bishop in Concepción, Fuenzalida had written a decisive pastoral, dated April 18, 1923, in which he openly stated: "...the Church recognizes its best children within the Conservative Party." Then, he added, "...to that Party the Church has its best feelings of gratitude and its best blessings" (Magnet, 1994, p. 110). So, it is clear that some important members of the Chilean Catholic Church apparently were continuing to support the oligarchy, which had exploited the poor of the country for decades.

Most of the Chilean bishops were so convinced of the validity of such a stand that the National Episcopates Assembly in 1933 decided to officially proclaim that it was compulsory for all Catholics to be registered at the Conservative Party. However, before making such an announcement public, due to the insistence of Ettori Felici, the Vatican representative in Chile, it was decided to submit such a proclamation to the Vatican for approval. The response from the Vatican was devastating for the Chilean bishops and their political interests, because on June 1, 1934, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (next Pope Pio XII), settled this issue in the sense that while it was necessary that Catholics be involved in political affairs, under no circumstances could a given political party arrogate to represent all Catholics. By the same token, Cardinal Pacelli ordered the Chilean clergy to not become involved in political issues, as Catholic people had the right to adhere to any
political stand, if it was not against the Catholic faith (Castellón, 1998). I deliberately utilized the term “devastating” to describe the effect of Pacelli’s letter, because Chilean bishops had thought differently. Indeed, they were rather reluctant to accept the mandatory content of his letter, since only after more than a year’s time would Catholics be aware of its actual text. Castellón also refers to an article in one traditional newspaper written by a Conservative leader, Carlos Aldunate Errázuriz, who stated that Cardinal Pacelli’s letter was addressed to the Chilean Episcopates, but not for Chile (sic). It is unavoidable for this researcher to point out how such a double standard, which was openly denounced by Hurtado in 1941, was clearly shown by some politicians at that time.

In 1939, Bishop José María Caro Rodríguez was appointed as the new Chilean Archbishop. He adhered to and followed Cardinal Pacelli’s instructions on political affairs for the Church. Thus, the political environment Padre Hurtado had to face was very relevant when he was appointed as the national advisor at the Catholic Action in 1941 (Castellón, 1998; Lavín, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monkeberg & Ortega, 1996).

Another critical issue to be mentioned in the process of discussing Padre Hurtado’s political stance is to point out again, as done previously, that his mentor, his first spiritual adviser, and perhaps his most social influential source was Father Fernando Vives Solar S. J. who had devoted his life to the proletariat redemption. Father Vives’ main trends in life, the workers and the youth embedded in his priesthood activities caused him, as a consequence, to be ‘invited to leave’ the country on three different occasions. The first time he was out of the country for two years, the second time for a similar time, but the
third one, for...fourteen years. According to Castellón (1998) and Magnet (1994), Vives’ activity regarding the study and dissemination of the Catholic social doctrine was his ‘main fault.’ He organized sessions of study of the *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical, which deepened and upgraded the previous *Rerum Novarum* encyclical on this matter. By that time the traditional newspaper alluded to above, El Diario Ilustrado, had refused to publish the *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical text in Chile, because “they had to defend the Church against the Pope’s imprudence” (Castellón, 1998, p. 40). However others, such as Gómez (2001), state that Vives had actually acted in direct politics, as detailed previously. Thus, it is not difficult to perceive the controversial role this priest played not only on Padre Hurtado’s social involvement, but also upon the many young people who were to continue and deepen Vives’s work.

Among the varied political attacks Hurtado had to face, mention must be made to those which criticized some of the external activities carried out and fostered at the Catholic Action. According to Monkeberg and Ortega (1996), when Hurtado was in Europe he witnessed with his own eyes the involvement of young people in quite diverse, opposing social organizations with a sort of dialectical swing. On the one hand, he could see how youngsters fanatically cried ‘Duce!’ in Italy, and ‘Heil, Hitler’ in Germany, and on the other hand, he could also appreciate the *Neue Deutschland* movement in this latter country, where German youth pervaded by Catholic principles attempted to disseminate a mystical spirit throughout the country. In Belgium and France he met participants of the Working Catholic Youth who were reliving, to certain extent, what Jesus had done at his epoch, to be and live as a worker (Hurtado, 1994, 2001).
In order to provide the right context to this new type of attack which Hurtado had to face, it is necessary, though perhaps redundant, to provide a brief synthesis of his work at the Catholic Action (CA). In 1941, he was appointed as the advisor of this Catholic organization in Santiago, only a few months later he became the national advisor. His appointment meant a great change within this organization. According to Magnet (1994), Padre Hurtado was a first class leader who rendered all he had and he was to Christ. Though redundant, it is necessary to recall that this is the main Jesuit mission, in the sense that everything they do is for the more glory of God (Hurtado, 1994).

Therefore, Hurtado changed both the internal as well as the external organization of the CA. In so doing, and perhaps in recalling the religious organizations he had previously seen in Europe, he created a sort of Society of Jesus within the CA, this was known as the King Christ Service. The members of this section within the organization were distinguished by their deepest commitment to its principles; they were also to have a profound and intense spiritual life. According to Castellón (1998), Padre Hurtado believed the mission of the CA was to change the world into the kingdom of Christ. In such an aim the aforementioned service was crucial. The external activities carried out by the CA were unusual in Chile at that time: parades, large meetings, flags, martial hymns, etc. According to Capo (1997), the National Caupolicán Theater had been filled for one of these meetings, a theater which the political parties had been unable to fill in for their meetings. This was precisely the basis for the attacks against him on this topic. He was blamed to use traces of Nazism in Catholic practices and for creating selective groups within the organization. Hevoa (1997), one of Hurtado’s followers and a former
participant in the Catholic Action, says that Hurtado was absolutely convinced of the need for active participation by the youngsters in order to build a new society with social sense. He recalled Hurtado’s words at the parades with torches, or at the giant meetings held by the CA, “...To become Christ’s witnesses is to immensely and intensely respect our neighbors, to every man in whom I see my brother that is another Christ” (para. 16). Then he adds:

> With our eyes fixed in Christ’s Heart, let us ask Him strengths, integrity, sanctity, to accomplish in the world a great revolution, the revolution of love He came to teach us by His Life and Death.... (para. 17)

Another witness, Father Gumpel, who is the relater of the cause in Padre Hurtado’s process of sanctification, says that he himself was one of the members of the Neue Deutschland in Germany from 1935 to 1939; he states that such a movement had been inspired by the best Catholic principles. Indeed, he adds that he was an eyewitness of how its members were persecuted and hassled by the Nazis, simply because they were Catholic (“Pastor de” [Shepard of], 2001b, January 8). Expanding on this issue, regarding Hurtado’s alleged use of Nazis practices, seems to me unnecessary and irrelevant, because the bases for such accusations were, when fully probed, more subjective than anything else. This is why I think the following source of criticism should be dealt with more attentively, i.e. the fact of Hurtado being accused as a Marxist.

**Marxism and Religion**

As stated above, it is more valid and worthier to focus attention on this topic, because he was systematically and repeatedly accused of being a Marxist. He was pejoratively addressed as “the red priest” or simply as a “communist priest” (Capo, 1997; “El
Some time after his death, there was a well known movement rooted in Latin America, the Theology of Liberation, which was strongly pervaded by Marxism. However, it is worthy to point out that the interest on such a theological-political stance is only tangential for this study.

In order to clarify with some accuracy the questions to be answered whenever we deal with social, cultural, and organizational issues that imply the Marxist perspective, and its social and political endeavors upon different societies worldwide in the last century, it is necessary to redefine, as clearly as possible, the meaning of the main concepts employed by Marxism to structure its ideological and practical ordering on society and state. While a portion of this matter relates to religion, from the perspective of some scholars, it has been a traditional diverging trend from Marxism.

According to Poetsch (1973), the main goal for Marxism is Man’s redemption on the earth, whereby class conflict and society issues will be settled by historical and dialectical materialism. On the contrary, Christianity fosters the belief that a real life begins only after death. So, in Poetsch’s view, both Marxism and Christianity are mutually exclusive opposites. From a rather different stand Aptheker (1974) states that Engels himself had seen remarkable resemblances between early Christianity and his contemporary working-class movements on matters related to “...the poor, the despised, the enslaved, and the oppressed...”(p. 31). Aptheker, in linking religion with Marxism, refers to the resolution of the 1972 Inter-American Assembly in Chile entitled “Christians for Socialism” which stated: “Socialism appears to be the only acceptable alternative for bringing an end to the exploitation of class society.” Then it added: “to arrive at socialism requires more than a
critical theory of capitalism. It also requires revolutionary action by the working class and a strategy that leads to the take-over of power” (p. 33). The major organizer of this assembly was a Jesuit priest, a former student of Padre Hurtado, whom I had the opportunity to interview for the fulfillment of this study.

By the same token, Ogletree (1974) states in a rather conciliatory approach that Marxism and Christianity are not necessarily opposed, because they both contribute to each other with things needed and/or not fully developed. According to Ogletree, when Marx used the word *Communism*, he meant genuine and authentic community. “It meant being bound together in ties that are far deeper than any of us could dream of” (p. 60).

As it can be appreciated, this is somewhat familiar to God’s second commandment, which Hurtado had clearly and firmly in mind when preaching the love to our brothers out when he mainly addressed to the poor. Similarly, Ogletree says that the Christian hope should not be understood as an intangible issue on Christian participation in the divine life, but it must be understood as part of a current and actual life in this world. Hurtado (1994) in a similar fashion regarding the material and spiritual worlds states, “It is almost impossible to preach the Gospel to those who have their stomachs empty!” (p. 82).

Bliss (1974) says that in Latin America they emphasize the Christian-Marxist *praxis* rather than dialogue. That is to say, that both work together in the elimination of oppression and exploitation. As additional information I can add that this author mentions the same Chilean Jesuit who had been one of Padre Hurtado’s students alluded to by Aptheker (1974) above. However, Aptheker admits that class struggle is a difficult
praxis for Christians to accept. He reconciles both positions by stating that being a Marxist or a Christian is not the crucial point, but whether it is feasible for both to struggle against injustice.

According to Vree (1976), the Marxist-Christian dialogue is part of the openness of current times. However, he has found that by a margin of three or four-to-one Christians have shown more enthusiasm for dialogue than Marxists. Though he thinks that Marxism and Christianity are disjunctive belief systems, he sees no harm if Christians collaborate with Marxists in building a better society, but only if such Christians respect other Christians' freedom to have a diverse political stand, that is if Marxist claims do not turn into issues of the Christian faith.

Bonino (1976) frames a dialogue between Marxism and Christianity toward a growing and overtly common participation in a social project. According to Bonino such a relationship is natural in the Latin American scenario. The election of the first socialist president in Chile (1970-1973) is a tangible example, as he cites in his analysis. However, he also thinks that Marx always saw the religious element as an ideological screen, which hides human beings from the nature of their alienation. The transcendent heaven within a Christian posture is, for Marx, a false remedy, which becomes the "opiate of the people." Bonino, in a similar fashion as Poetsch (1973) and Vree (1976), refers to the fact that Marxism has always been more hostile to Christianity than vice versa. To support his position he mentions the "Illitchev Report," issued by the Communist Party in the USRR in 1963. Such a report aimed at an anti-religious propaganda. It concludes: "By its very spirit, its nature, the objective meaning of its
dogmas, religion remains, under all conditions, an anti-scientific ideology, foreign to communism" (Bonino, 1976, p. 53). According to Bonino, the most crucial diverging element of Christianity and Marxism lays in their basic orientations. Marxism is to serve man by returning him to himself, with no ‘intermediate’ instance. On the contrary, Christianity at its most essential element admits one unique Mediator. Thus man can only overcome his alienation through the intervention of God.

Turner (1983) openly states that Marxism had a decidedly hostile position toward religion from the very beginning. From Turner’s perspective, both Marx and Engels showed their conflicting position against religion. Indeed, they considered religion as an ideology, and under Marxist theory, an ideology in a general sense is considered as a false consciousness of society.

By the same token, McLellan (1987) notes that it is unfair to characterize Marxism as a religion for both Marxism itself, and religion, respectively. Regarding the former, because its undeniable scientific-social approach is diminished. Concerning religion, its transcendent main characteristic is distorted by subjecting it to contingent fashionable secularizing trends. This is independent of whether they may or not adopt similar hierarchical organization. According to McLellan, in order to elaborate any sort of parallelism, or similarity between Marxism and Christianity, it is necessary to distinguish between the two main versions of Marxism. The first is as a science of society, which many of the theologians of liberation have favored. From this perspective, Marxism becomes an instrument of analysis with no intention to respond to several crucial questions raised by religion. The second is as a Weltanschauung, that is, a total view of
the world. In this version there is a metaphysical doctrine about what exists, which is only matter, in one form or another one. Paradoxically, it is this latter conception of Marxism, the one most clearly incompatible with religious belief, that those who describe Marxism as a religion have in mind. However, according to McLellan, Marx thought religion was an actual deformation of reality. In that context he raised one of the most critical differences with religion. Marxism addresses to the living, to those who will win the class struggle on the earthly reality. On the contrary, Christianity addresses to the defeated, to those who suffer, and even to the dead, whose ideal world is not material.

Rosen (1988) states that both Marx and Engels studied the history of mankind accurately to develop their own Weltanschauung, which is their hard criticism of religion that, from their perspective, is a fictitious knowledge pervaded by superstitions and myths concerning humankind and society. Rosen states that both Marxist philosophical materialism and atheism cannot be reconciled with Christian philosophical idealism and theism; however, he points out that Marxists have always been reluctant to attack religion either directly or indirectly, because they did not want it to appear as the victim. From his perspective, there is another avenue of Marxism related to the liberation theology, which has been an important political feature within the Latin American Church since the last Century. It consists of open attacks on capitalism in all its forms. So, in Rosen’s thesis, Marxism found the best avenue to reconcile the old antagonism with Christianity without surrendering its aim. In a similar context, Blasi (1977) notes that the always rather hostile relation between the Church and Marxism was primarily due to Marx’s critical views on Capitalism. However, he signals that lately, religion has become a rival
to Capitalism. That is to say, religion shares with Marxism their critiques against Capitalism. It is this sort of common enterprise that has made the most advanced representatives from religion become closer to Marxism. Costadoat (2000) and Arroyo (2001) note that Hurtado’s strongest pieces of criticisms were addressed to the evils of Capitalism.

To not mention Pope John Paul II’s decisive role in the many problems the Catholic Church had faced would be inexcusable. Eventually, his varied and public requests of forgiveness for wrong doers within the Church may be the most illustrative acts to what I refer. Only months ago we could all see with our own eyes his first public pleads in Canada regarding abuses of minors by priests worldwide.

The issue of Christianity and Marxism, more specifically, the Theology of Liberation’s aggressive impact on the Church has been moderated by his direct participation. Russell (1985) points out the importance Pope John Paul II has had in not only moderating, but annulling the undermining effects this radical movement had provoked within the Church, specifically in Latin America, the birth place of the Liberation Theology. Russell cites words from Father John Sobrino, a Jesuit liberation thinker, who best illustrates how Marxism may pervade the liberation theologians. According to Sobrino, when liberation theologians analyze the social reality in Latin America, they make use of left-wing social science. In so doing, the influence from Marx on the conception of theological understanding becomes evident. Other social historical events Russell mentions as relevant in the growth of such religious movement within the Church were the Latin American armed insurrections and the military dictatorships which
spread across the continent. As known, a military government ruled my country for 17 years. When Pope John Paul II visited Chile in 1987, he met the young people at the National Stadium, a site which had been used as a prison camp immediately after the coup. This giant meeting was pervaded with the most crucial significance for both those who were persecuted and their persecutors still in power. In the same context, Russell (1985) adds:

Ever since Puebla, during his globetrotting papacy, the Pope has consistently spoken out on behalf of the poor and against social injustice, more often and more vigorously than any of his predecessors. He has relentlessly continued to stress both the evils of Marxism and the need for priests to avoid direct involvement in politics. (para. 11)

Pope John Paul II then, may be considered as the main catalyst element in this controversial issue within the Church. After all, the Church is not a monolith, says Serbin (1992), but it is an assortment of living interests, hence it is in constant evolution. So, I dare to venture that disputes may be considered as part of its life.

By the same token, Ostling (1985) provides more information on John Paul II's crucial role concerning the liberation theology movement. While the Pope was preaching social commitment from Catholics in Venezuela, he admitted the need, "To be a friend, but...a demanding friend" (para. 2). He was also urging people not to be "dragged away by ideologies contrary to Catholic dogma" (para. 3). According to Ostling, the Pope made a clear reference to the Marxist oriented strain of liberation theology, which, as is well known, emphasizes the class struggle, which the Church does not admit as a valid procedure in social affairs.
Later, in Ecuador, Pope John Paul II emphasized his message of opposing "unacceptable" social injustices, but at the same time he urged Catholics to reject the use of violence in any attempt for social change. That was another element from which to view John Paul II as the figure who moderated the radical positions in the Church.

According to Serbin (1992), the Vatican has attempted to reassert its leadership on the Catholics in Latin America. In so doing, he outlines the route the Catholic Church has followed in the successive conferences of Latin America Bishops (CELAM). From Serbin’s perspective, the progressive movements embedded in the liberation theology, the former aggressive left-wing in the Church, have lost the impetus which was one of their salient features in the 1960s and 1970s. Serbin attempts a rationale for such a change, which may be labeled as a matter of politics from the Vatican, in which decentralization and discipline and the economic critique, against Capitalism, apparently have been the best strategy to soften the progressives within the Church. Within such a strategy the undeniable charismatic figure of John Paul II seems to have outstanding relevance, since he has very clearly fostered the Church’s determination on economic justice issues through his constant messages, visits to different countries, and his encyclicals. Another event that moderated the progressive movements was Socialism’s collapse worldwide.

Marxism and Education

In order to construct the response on Hurtado’s political stance (though I must admit that my interest is to investigate whether he was a Marxist) due to the many accusations he had to face, an analytical critique of Marxism from an Aristotelian-Tomist philosophical and educational perspective will be developed. I will undertake such a
critical analysis from such a stance, since most Catholic principles in this field are based upon St. Thomas' philosophical insights, which adopted Aristotle's main philosophical assets. By the same token, it is necessary to recall that Padre Hurtado was a Catholic Jesuit priest, thus his priesthood formation must have been deeply rooted in such a philosophical ground. According to Caiceo (1989), this trend was namely the neotomist position.

The intended critique to Marxism will also be related to education, because it is almost logical to expect that priests be linked to the act of educating. Some will involve themselves directly, others do so in a more indirect fashion. As stated before, after all, Jesus Christ himself requested his disciples to do so in His name. This is a tangible flow of connecting Padre Hurtado to education, which for the Jesus Society it is a crucial task to be undertaken (Hanisch, 1974).

In Chile, education has been a social issue that has attracted the attention of all governments, since as a paradox, deep social inequities have had their origins in this field. This is what has been known as 'meritocracy,' which has been unable to settle social issues satisfactorily worldwide. Hurn (1993) notes that the Functional Paradigm that has promised, unsuccessfully, a plain meritocracy has dramatically influenced American education. Bell (1978) claims that meritocracy seems to bring more inequality than equality. Oakes (1986) states that the concept of school as a meritocracy implies a sorting process by means of which some will learn, but others will not.

Historically, the North of Chile, where I was born, has been a site where most of the sociological features of the country have originated and developed. People living by and
working in the many nitrate mines by the 1900s to the 1950s in the Northern Chile could be classified, if people are to be classifiable, into the professionals, that is, physicians, engineers, school teachers, etc., and the workers, that is, the miners. Even children used to call one another as 'the son/daughter of' a miner, a teacher, or a merchant, and so on. Only the children of the wealthy had the possibility to continue their studies at the few high-schools in the cities, but the others, the children of miners, as soon as they graduated elementary school, if they were lucky to complete their elementary education, were enrolled as new members of the required workforce. "They do not need further education," their parents said, in their very honest opinion, "to work at the mines." Thus, education, without their being aware, perpetuated the social division between people living in the mines in Chile at that time.

Such a dichotomy in educational affairs brought, as a consequence, that many workers in the economic 'crisis time,' became just so many unemployed miners. Another crucial element in the country was the political division among people. At that time, the State and the Catholic Church were not separate entities. On the one hand, the Catholic bourgeoisie attempted to keep its old privileges, and on the other, the social reformists aimed at the formal separation between the state and the Church (Hurtado, 1994). Therefore, in such a social scenario it was not a coincidence that Emilio Recabarren founded the Marxist political party in the northern region in Chile.

In 1936, Padre Hurtado came on the social stage in Chile. He had just received his doctoral degree in education and arrived in the country influenced by new social perspectives from Europe (Magnet, 1994). In 1941, he openly inquired of Chilean
society whether the country was Catholic or not in his book ¿Es Chile un país Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic country?]. Hurtado denounces that the actual roots of the people’s social problems reside in educational issues. He goes further when advising the ones in power to pay workers fair salaries, otherwise the people would be right to rise against unfair treatment. The government should focus on the real politics needed to solve the social needs of the people, and abandon irrelevant bread and butter issues. In so doing, the government would help to improve the educational gap in Chilean society (Hurtado, 1994).

Padre Hurtado’s book was like a slap on the face for the Chilean oligarchy, which reacted at different levels against “this priest’s insolence.” That is why he was subject to fierce attacks from within and from outside the Catholic Church in Chile. Hence he was accused of being a Marxist, and they labeled him as ‘the red priest.’ He was also blamed of lack of obedience to his superiors (Magnet, 1994). As it may be recalled, obedience within the soldiers of the Company is a cornerstone of undeniable importance, hence the seriousness of this last accusation against Hurtado.

Hum (1993), Bell (1978), and Oakes (1986) adopted a critical stance against meritocracy, which brought more inequalities than benefits for whom it was apparently, intended. Though this trend apparently has been unable to provide fair education in equity and equality, it still has the most powerful influences on the educational arena in the western civilization. However, another movement based upon the Conflict Paradigm has claimed that the so-called meritocracy is a flaw, indeed advocates of this latter perspective have stated that the educational system has not only failed in building up a
true meritocracy, but what is worse, it has deepened the gap between the privileged and the underprivileged ones. That is, the public education provided, which is paid by everybody's money, has made inequality wider in societies. Among those who support this latter view on education, it is feasible to distinguish the Neo-Marxist stand. Therefore, in order to provide a better insight on this matter, it is almost inevitable to outline a link to Marxism.

Though it may be argued that our main concern should be the Marxist influence on education so as to delineate the link between the Marxism and the Neo-Marxist stance, I believe that in order to pursue such a goal, it is of crucial importance to deal with Marxism from a rather philosophical perspective. Adopting such a stand on educational issues is to adopt a philosophical approach and/or basis. Such a posture should be assumed, I suggest, by any truly committed educator within any theoretical approach to education. By saying this, I do not mean that educators should ascribe a Marxist view. What I mean is that it is not possible to conceive any educator that might declare himself/herself "neutral" in curricular affairs, as Apple (1990) denounced. In so doing, I believe I can provide some tangible light on the response to the research question on Hurtado's political stance.

It is an undeniable fact that Marxism has strongly influenced Western and Eastern education during the 20th Century. Also undeniable is its influence upon the lives of millions. Though I do not intend to deal with the main factors and/or causes of the Marxist decline, it is a fact that whether we like it or not. It is also a fact that Communism became only a dream for millions and millions of human beings. It is said
that its decline was primarily caused by the incapacity of the Marxist philosophy to adapt itself to social, organizational, and productive changes within a global market economy. The bureaucratic, organizational, socialist system within its economy was the main agent for the agony of Marxism among socialist societies worldwide (Itzkoff, 1994). That is, the rather eternal dichotomy between Capitalism versus Marxism. Apparently, the former succeeded while the latter failed; however, there are too many traces that might suggest another view on this matter, as the Neo-Marxists argue.

Education acquires a crucial relevance in the organization of a socialist state. Indeed, it became an indispensable element in the cultural growth of socialist countries. Educational decision makers thought that the Marxist values would thus be reinforced, and cultivated by students in an environment not contaminated by the influence of other non-socialist, capitalist and/or reactionary states. Education in a socialist state was to fulfill a crucial role in the cultivation of the Marxist stance in which the universal socialist values becomes the main core. In December 1929, Mao Tse-Tung (2003), in an article submitted to the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army, stressed the needs and efforts required to implement a Marxist educational movement all over the country to correct the subjective trends in the main ideology in that country. By the same token, in January 1934, he also addressed clearly the educational problem in his speech at the Second National Congress of Workers’ and Peasants’ Representatives (Tse-Tung, 2003). However, from my perspective, it is Dechert (1999) who illustratively points out this issue in a rather global perception:

Political power in any given country or locality may assert itself in educational curricula, ideological emphases, selection of "relevant" facts, models and
interpretations—to the extent such “power” controls cultural, scientific and educational institutions and resources. (p. 265)

Although the competence and human development upon a social system of this nature would be an interesting matter to discuss, I will not attempt a values analysis of it, because that is not the aim of this approach. However, it is well acknowledged for its effective, as well as inefficient, results. Hence, I will simply focus in a rather descriptive fashion on the development of an undeniably relevant philosophical posture, which had an outstanding influence from the second half of the 19th Century until the New Millennium.

Therefore, to begin with, it is necessary to discuss the Marxist philosophy and how the origin of knowledge becomes a social and economic topic, which flows into the educational field. First, I will provide an outline of the basic concepts of such viewpoints. In so doing, I will intend to provide an analysis on the concept of matter in a rather general sense, then I will refer to what is commonly understood as materialism, to continue with dialectic materialism, and historical materialism, so as to provide a rationale on what Marxism, as a new scientific formulation of Socialism, wants to set forth.

This new conception of Marxism is associated with a new materialistic philosophy that adopts a critical view concerning the previous materialistic philosophy. Such a critical perspective is mainly addressed toward the idealistic philosophy illustrated by Hegel and Feuerbach. According to Cole (1934), Marx held different views from Feuerbach on the role of Marxism, and though Hegelian’s dialectics were crucial for Marx, it was an idealistic stance. This apparently new materialistic philosophy conceives
a new model to interpret reality, though it is not merely speculative. On the contrary, it conveys the synthesis of the explanatory pillars in a culturally diverse world where it is necessary to conciliate a new requirement for social and economic development (Marx, 1970). This is the new and main philosophical contribution by Karl Marx.

The Philosophical Concept of Matter

In a general sense, for Materialism, and as a sort of etymological definition of the Aristotelian Matter, this is the philosophical category to name the objective reality, which exists independently from consciousness, whatever this latter might mean. So, Matter is the independent and endless multiplicity of all objects and existing systems. It is the essential core, or nucleus of all features, relations, interactions, and types of movements.

Christianity, mainly through the philosophical perspectives from St. Thomas Aquinas (the conception of passing from potentiality to actuality) is mainly based upon an Aristotle-Thomas’ view that develops crucial terms in revealing the universal, which are used to prove God’s existence (Fierro, 1977; Mayer, 1929).

Marx, from his doctoral thesis on Democritus’ philosophy, coined the concept of matter (Cole, 1934). However, I would dare to say that perhaps a better term might have been material from Materialism, since in Marx’s conception, the term not only referred to an inert substance, but it also embedded social evolution and what human mind produced. In so doing, he distinguished it from the Greek concept of Substance. Aristotle focused this into Matter and Forms, the former being the actual being of substance, and the latter, the essential features of Substance which is thus divided into conceptual categories. That is, according to Aristotle’s Taxonomy in his metaphysics, matter would be the essential
core or nucleus, but not the form in the substance constitution. Catan (1981) on this Aristotelian term states, “The principle of intelligibility in a substance is its form, and its form is the primary characteristic of its matter, from the “quality-like” viewpoint” (p. 38). Simply put, for Aristotle the form essentially constitutes the substance of reality, but in Marx’s views it is the matter itself. I believe it is of paramount importance to understand this conceptual reappointment, since such an Aristotelian’s definition has lasted for more than 2,000 years within humankind, with the Western Jewish-Christian culture its main receptor.

From the materialistic perspective, matter exists only in the endless multiplicity of beings and concrete objects, each having different and distinct properties and independent interactions from the learning subject. It is a rather complex structure which, at the same time, is part of a more general system. Hence, and according to Marx (as cited in Adamson, 1985), matter cannot be conceived as such, like an unchanging raw substance. The internal essence of matter reveals itself through its different properties and interactions, and knowledge precisely means the knowledge, or appropriation, of matter itself. So, the more complex the matter is, the more differentiated are its interconnections and features. At the top of such a hierarchy, man/woman becomes the matter of the highest complexity. On the contrary, Christian philosophy coins the Aristotelian concept of substance more completely, thus matter is a necessary element, which does not have a major value; without the form, it is the essence of the substantial reality.
Materialism

Materialism from Latin "materialis" means substantial. Materialism, according to Engels (as cited in Sheehan, 1985), is the spontaneous certainty by any subject of the objective existence of the "outside" world. It distinguishes itself from the Scientific Materialism, which is a philosophical conception of the world; such a conception implies the deep and scientific development from the perspective of the spontaneous materialism.

Materialism is understood in a subjective view as surpassed by the objective view of the being as an independent entity from a learning agent; that is to say, that the first subtract from reality is an independent and external entity which legitimizes and supports the learning agent. In such a context, it not only estimates a positivist similar view, but it is able to surpass it, since it not only conveys a categorical attribution, but it extends its position to an interpretation of the history of mankind and human fulfillment.

Philosophical Materialism supports the primary character of what material is, and the secondary character of what spiritual or ideal is, which is opposite to the Christian Aristotelian-Tomist stance. Marx alters the values by giving the material substrate its condition as necessary, and considers what is formal as unintentional; however he does not explain it, perhaps due to the fact he knows he will not be able to prove it. This, in Marx's view, suggests that the physical world is endless, an external agent has not created it, and it is endless in time and space. Perhaps this is what best illustrates the dichotomy between Marxism and Christianity, since such a view denies the basic Aristotelian-Tomist concept, which is developed in the five tests on the demonstration of God's existence. The first test, which is the most crucial, alludes to the uncaused cause.
as the first being, or motor, that makes movement possible in the universe. If we admit that movement exists due to a former cause, which is a potential motor of the act, we should not continue endlessly in the dialectical relationship between causal motor and act. If that were the case, act or movement would be impossible, or it would not exist, because it would be a mere illusion. If we admit there is movement, we must also admit that there should be a first motor, an uncaused cause, which is the cause of all causes, and that is God (Gulley, 1964; Mayer, 1929).

Materialism considers that consciousness is a product of matter; consciousness is a reflex of the external world (Cole, 1934). Therefore, nature is an object possible to be known. The actual world is known by what it actually is, and not by what we think it is. Thus, the world can be known in itself and for itself. Such a position is quite different from Kant’s (Ewing, 1967; Kant, 1993), which claims that human beings cannot perceive the real world as it actually is, but only as it appears to us according to humans’ own capacities of temporary and spatial sensitivity. A vulgar and tangible example of this could be that while a cat (and some other animals) perceives the world in two colors, human beings are able to do so in a greater variety of colors. It is then possible to wonder whether we are able to know the real being in itself, or perhaps, if we may have an imperfect state that impedes us from grasping reality as it actually is. If that were the case, we should conclude that we have a one-way view to perceive the world, associated to a universal view on human perception. However, if it is true that such a position allows us to have the capacity to see reality, it does not define reality in itself. It only
provides a definition from the human perspective, as an extension from Marxism and thus conceived as the unique contrasting parameter.

As a sort of contribution and conciliation with the scientific view, and by generalizing the results from the neo-materialistic concept on sciences, the current materialism facilitates the progress of knowledge by improving the scientific methods. It facilitates knowledge and development of the empirical sciences, which are subject to contingent and causal determinability. That is why they are inductive, hence their validity and reliability are somehow limited, and they do not give full credit to the pure, abstract sciences. This, undoubtedly, would be a positive influence upon human practical activities, that is, on the development and encouraging of productive potentials (Marx as cited in Heilbroner, 1980). In other words, man/woman carries out an improving practical activity in general terms.

The materialistic doctrines appear in the history of mankind in India, China and Greece, where the first philosophical contributions were made; that is, long before the Christian era. Probably the advances of such sciences as Astronomy, Mathematics, and others triggered such contributions. The common denominator of the old Materialism could be said to be a naïve position. Heraclitus, Democritos, Epicuro and others could be mentioned as pre-Socratic philosophers, as could Lao-Tse in China. The crucial viewpoint of these philosophers was to admit the materialistic essence of the world, that is, its actual existence being independent from any spiritual human element. Their main representatives intended to find a common first starting cause to every existing element and to any happening on the world. For example, for the Greeks the “physics” was
acknowledged as the "reality," but such a reality was tied to causing forces, which were independent and external to individuals (Heilbroner, 1980). The search for a causal element or first motor was related to what we assume as "real," thus, it was a primary materialistic concept.

A relevant contribution from the pre-Socratic philosophy in the old Greece, Democritos, was the hypothesis on the atom structure of matter. However, some of those thinkers were not able to settle a clear distinction between what was "physical" and what was "psychic." They used to think that all natural elements had psychic features. The old Materialism combined the development of the materialistic and dialectical theses under the influence of the Mythological Ideology. For those thinkers causality of nature had a divine origin. They conceived primary elements for universal causes of "divine nature." The Greeks understood nature as being caused by different "gods." Any natural event was supported, or caused by a "god," for example storms, thunders, lightings, etc. were demonstrations from their "superior gods."

During the Middle Age and the Renaissance, the materialistic trends were represented under the forms of Nominalism, or Pantheism, and various other forms which stated that God and nature shared a co-eternity. The subsequent development of Materialism occurred during the 17th and 18th Centuries in Europe, where philosophers and scientists were its main agents; however, they definitively undertook the label of "materialists." Bacon, Galileo, Locke and others might be said to integrate this group (Gonzalez, 1982). Such Materialism rose from the still incipient Capitalism, the development of new producing techniques, and science. These materialistic thinkers, as
ideologists of the “progressive bourgeoisie” at that time, were opposed to the religious authorities and consequently, to the Medieval Scholastic. As seen previously, regarding the causes of the expulsion and suppression of the Society of Jesus. They considered “Experience” as their master, and “Nature” as the object of philosophy. The concept of human beings as socially involved and primarily involved in labor (a basic premise of the Historical Materialism on Marxism) was a requirement to study the nature and the concept of the essential real being in the materialistic subtract, though the purpose in doing so was different from Science’s (Jordan, 1967). It is necessary to point out the motive of the philosophical construct, since whenever a position is not universally understood and applied, this fact may cause serious and perhaps numerous mistakes among individuals. The arbitrary universal conceptualization of matter causes a serious harm to the pure sciences, as materialism justifies its relations without sufficient and clear epistemological foundations.

This Materialism is connected to and influenced by both mechanics and mathematics, which at that time were on an outstanding and fast growth. Perhaps this is the main reason why such materialism was labeled as being mechanized. Another critical feature is its tendency to analysis of the subdivision of nature into research objects in isolation with no connections among them; their examination with no consideration to their growth and development. The French materialistic philosophers of the 18th Century are said to have been the most genuine representatives of this trend, in which Descartes was an outstanding figure (Jordan, 1967). They thought that the mechanical conception of movement was a universal and inseparable property of Nature. They denied the
existence of an extra-mundane divine power. In so doing, they finally got rid of the
deified inconsistency of most of the 17th Century materialists. The organic connection
that explains and supports the divine essence through scientific explanation, which is
present in any form of materialism and atheism, was clearly present among the French
materialists. The highest point in the development of this materialism among western
cultures corresponds to the “Anthropological Materialism” by Feuerbach, one of the most
distinguished disciples of Hegel (Adamson, 1985). In his position, the contemplative
feature of the pre-Marxist Materialism becomes more evident. Feuerbach was not an
active philosopher in a creative sense, but he was actually a critic of the Idealism at his
epoch; however, according to Marxism he was deeply seated in the position of Idealism.

The highest and more consistent form of materialism is the *Dialectical Materialism*
by Marx and Engels, inspired in Hegel's “dialectical process” (Salter, 1921). Both
Dialectical and Historical Materialisms are sort of superior syntheses from old
materialistic concepts. Dialectical Materialism not only solved the deficiencies of the old
materialism mentioned above, but also does so with the idealistic and historical
conceptions of all the forms of materialism. In the subsequent history of materialism, it
is possible to distinguish two trends very clearly. On the one hand, it is feasible to
mention the development of Dialectical and Historical Materialisms, and on the other
hand, the rise of some other rather simplistic and common forms of materialism, that is
Scientific Materialism and Common Materialism (Cole, 1934). Within the last trend, the
most typical form of materialism has been the one closest to Positivism; precisely toward
Positivism there were some other forms, which developed by the 19th and 20th Centuries.
Such "new" forms of common materialism, also known as "revisionists," intended to review the Dialectical Materialism, and in so doing, they somehow distorted it (Sheehan, 1985). From the second part of the 19th Century onward the more "mature" materialism became incompatible with the narrow interests of the bourgeoisie, whose advocates blamed materialism as having no moral grounds, and of being unable to recognize the nature of consciousness. Indeed, they labeled it as one of the most primitive samples of materialism. Some of them went still further, such as Wood (as cited in Nielsen, 1989) who charged Marx with being an immoralist. However, others of them, though rejecting the atheism and the cognitive optimism, admitted some elements of the naturalistic conception of the world. Possibly this was due to the fact that they had to conciliate it with the development of material sciences. The bourgeois philosophers, most of them idealists, formed a sort of barrier between the concepts of matter and those of idea, that is, they were the ones who caused the philosophical discussion to become a dichotomist issue. Indeed, in doing so, they became the antithesis element that generated the irruption of the scientific and unconditional materialism in the Marxist perspective.

It is also important to mention that those scientists who declaring themselves to be idealists had intended to get rid of "any sort of philosophical issues," but in their research projects, they assumed rather materialistic positions. The dialectical inference is methodological, rooted in Hegel, thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. However, the epistemological content, though derived from Feurbach, is not clearly supported. That is, firstly, there is a sharp denial to non-empirical sciences, then the empirical science is acknowledged as the scientific cognitive basis, and then the empirical science is
extrapolated as the universal need for human knowledge. That is why the empirical universalism is only contingent. This places Marxism in a relative position, which in essence is a contradictory one, since when it denies pure and spiritual knowledge, it also places the person in an unstable position, whose knowledge then, should be declared as relative and contingent, which means to become framed by superfluous and superficial explanations.

One of the salient features from the development of Dialectical Materialism is derived from the enrichment of new ideas, either from the strengths of the current forms of idealism, or from the weaknesses of the theories elaborated by the materialistic naturalists. The current development of science requires that naturalists become advocates of the Dialectical Materialism (Jordan, 1967).

Another element to be mentioned is that the advances of the social-historical practice, and the sciences themselves, conditioned the subsequent progress of the materialistic philosophy. In this sense a clear rejecting position is put forward toward the thought embedded in scientific questions, as a tempting enigma requiring a revision process. This encourages scientific development as a critical position toward new and more challenging enigmas. However, according to Marxism, the Dialectical Materialism viewpoint, as an explanation of the being of reality, should be kept, because the history of mankind will somehow proceed dialectically (Cole, 1934).

**Dialectical Materialism understood as Scientific Materialism**

This is said to be a scientific conception of the world. I think that most, if not all, would agree that it is the most salient constituting element of Marxism, in other words, it
is its philosophical basis. The Maoist Documentation Project identifies it as “the philosophical heart of Marxism” (2001). By the same token, most of the attacks to this philosophical stand undermine Marxism by attacking its philosophical base. Marx and Engels’ main contribution to Marxism is considered the Scientific Materialism, and as such, it is methodical and systematic. This philosophical approach was also a crucial pillar in the macroeconomic development of both Socialist and Marxist societies. As stated above, the real source of this position is the very essence of the Marxist philosophy.

Dialectical Materialism irrupted in the 1840s and evolved in an unquestionable fashion among the working class movements. Its presence in human societies meant a real revolution in the history of human thought, and it also had a formidable impact on the history of philosophy. Hence it is feasible to state that its most relevant influence was on economics (Hamilton, 2000). However, such a revolution meant a critical re-elaboration, simply put; the remaking of human thought to where it had advanced at that point in time. According to Jordan (1967), this materialism recognizes itself as a theoretical synthesis of an absolute value in a dichotomist perspective.

Two fundamental trends of the previous philosophy melted in the new Dialectical Materialism within a new and deeply scientific conception of the world. On the one hand, there was the materialistic philosophy whose main sources were found in a distant past, as classical as the pre-Socratic thought. On the other hand, it was the trend of the dialectical world conception which was also deeply influenced by historical philosophical traditions (Jordan, 1967). Jordan states that the development of philosophical thought
was carried out in close connection to science together with the historical practices of mankind. All of this led to the materialistic conception of the world. However, the theoretical approaches of the old materialists had a crucial failure in their position; they were advocates of mechanic metaphysical theories, though their position had certain elements shared by the dialectics. They combined Materialism in the conception of nature, with idealism in the elucidation, or explanation of social phenomena. The philosophers who, in the modern era, had made the progresses in dialectical conception were essentially idealists, as was clearly shown in Hegel's system. He was recognized as the main idealist philosopher of the modern age (Cole, 1934).

Marx and Engels became actively involved in the new practical philosophy development; they effectively based their position on theories rendered by the old materialistic thinkers and the dialectics from the idealists, making a unit out of them. But, by observing the latest results from natural sciences and by doing so, on the historical experience of mankind, they were able to demonstrate that materialism, if it is dialectical can only be scientific and a consequent in itself until the very end. According to Hamilton (2000), "The Marx-Engels formulations involve what might be called presentism. They put in the present tense what at best were developing tendencies" (pp. 46-47). At the same time, dialectics can only be authentically scientific if it is materialistic, in other words, a sort of symbiosis of relative interdependence is established. Thus, there are no scientific materialisms, and dialectics, that are not also materialistic. On the speculative plan, dialectics is independent from matter; however,
within Materialism, dialectics is a constituting element of matter and, in a dual relationship, it also explains it.

In the origin of Dialectical Materialism, another crucial fact was the scientific conceptual structure and the laws of Historical Materialism. The absence of the materialistic conception would have been made impossible to surpass Idealism in its very last shelter: the explanation of the essence of human society. This is conceived as an interpretation of external and transcendental relations, that is, the social order, in this view, is subordinated to God’s laws. According to the Marxist’s perspective, this is not only a fallacy, but what is worse, unscrupulous individuals used such a fallacy to shape and govern other people’s lives. This led to the coining of the worldwide slogan “the exploitation of man by man.” This is also the main reason why Marxists have acknowledged religion as “the opium for the people” (Bonino, 1976; Marx, 1961; Poetsch 1973; Vree, 1976). It might be relevant to point out that Marx does not make a clear distinction on religious knowledge, that is, the symbolic knowledge, or common knowledge of divinity; its intellectual interpretation (theological knowledge), and the metaphysical interpretation of divinity or of philosophical knowledge as Averroes conceived it. According to Turner (2003), “Averroes advocated the principle of twofold truth, maintaining that religion has one sphere and philosophy another” (para. 2). Another plausible issue to consider on this matter is that the exclusion of the materialistic approach to society with the appropriate historical and social analysis, but perhaps most importantly, with no consideration of social production as the basis for human development, it would have been impossible to create the consequent philosophical
conception of the world. Within this perspective, it would have also been impossible to provide a rationale for the laws of human knowledge. Therefore, Dialectical Materialism became a philosophical synthesis which was able to embed in a unique conception the complex net of natural phenomena, human society, and human thought. Such a synthesis was able to link in an organic fashion the philosophical method to explain and analyze reality within the revolutionary transformative ideas in the world. This is the main Marxist purpose. Such a purpose is one of the most salient and characteristic features of Dialectical Materialism (Cole, 1934). However, according to Cole, for the old philosophical trend, the main objective was to know the world. In a different and deeper fashion, Marx states that it should not only know the world, but it should also change it. This was fertile soil for the Marxist philosophy as a new conception of the world for the working class. Its purpose was then to destroy the privileged social class that had based its power upon the exploitation of the working class. The result would be a new society with no social classes, or better said, there will be only one social class to govern people, the Communist society.

Dialectical Materialism also caused deep changes in the philosophical arena, since philosophy constituted itself as an independent science with a specific research object. Such an object was composed of more general laws of natural development; with the general principles of society and human thought being the pillars of the objective world which reflect themselves upon human consciousness. Therefore, a consequent scientific approach arose; it was both an elucidation method as well as a cognitive and practical transformation of reality. This issue was very relevant for Marx, who was primarily
concerned in emphasizing that his theory of socialism coincided with the evolution of society (Jordan, 1967).

The cornerstone of Dialectical Materialism is the theory related to the material nature of the world. There is nothing beyond matter and the natural laws of change and movement. Indeed, Bernstein, the most relevant adherent of the Neo-Kantian perspective on Marxism, in one of his most extreme pieces of criticisms about it as a philosophical trend, stated that the ultimate aim of socialism was nothing, but movement was everything (as cited in Sheehan, 1985). Dialectical Materialism is a determined opposed position toward any supernatural essence. Whatever the forms such an eventual essence might adopt, whether it be religion or idealistic philosophy, nature is able, according to this materialism, to develop itself toward higher forms; as human life and thought are caused by natural determinants. In other words, such development is due to nature itself, under no circumstances are supernatural origins accepted as causes for natural phenomena.

Sheehan (1985) points out that Marxism extended and complemented Darwinism, and it was not a coincidence that such proposals made their entries on the historical stage at the same time. The Dialectical Development Theory (Dialectics), which is a product of Dialectical Materialism, points out that the general laws are the actual causes of the processes of movement and matter changes, with their path from their lower to their higher forms. The current physical theories on matter, space and time, while admitting the matter mutation capacity, and given the endless matter characteristic to qualitatively change, not only perfectly agree with Dialectical Materialism, but they also state that
only in this materialism, it is feasible to find the actual philosophical ideas and methodological principles. Something similar could be said of some other sciences that study other natural phenomena.

An analogous position that confirms the dialectical materialism principles is the current historical practice of mankind by making a radical switch to get rid of traditional social forms, in order to adopt new socialist and superior forms. In doing so, it is feasible for this position to condense in just one unit the theory of being, that of the objective world, and the relative theory concerning man’s consciousness, Dialectical Materialism is thus Theory of Knowledge and Logics at the time. Plekhanov (as cited in Jordan, 1967) strengthened this position, though his was very pragmatic, since he wanted to avoid a revisionist examination of Marxian inheritance. The crucial step given by this materialism not only placed the Theory of Knowledge upon a solid scientific support, but it also had the merit of including practice in such a theory. According to Marx (as cited in Heilbroner, 1980), the commitment to Socialism allowed the unity of theory and practice, that is, such a unity would lead to a socialist future by means of Marx’s methods of analysis. After applying the dialectics of knowledge development, Dialectical Materialism set the historical features of human concepts. It revealed the connections between relative and absolute values in scientific truths.

Therefore, this materialism became an on-going science. Every scientific discovery and social changes implied a concrete fulfillment of the principles and theses of Dialectical Materialism, which became the philosophical basis in the programs,
strategies, and tactics in all the activities designed, planned, and carried out by Communist parties worldwide.

**Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism**

Historical Materialism is the extension of the principles of Dialectical Materialism in the study of social life. It is the practical application of Dialectical Materialism principles to social life phenomena, to the study of society and its history. According to Enguita (1998), Marx also used the term Revolutionary Humanism as being similar to Historical Materialism. Indeed Marx was identified as such in his early years. However, Marx was not actually interested in a Meta empirical interpretation, that is, the one that goes beyond the experience. Though, as stated above, knowledge related to senses has only a relative or particular value. The universalism that abstracts from this is merely arbitrary and does not explain in depth the original process of the material development, that is, why it uses the Hegelian method, the dialectics, which simply attempts to explain the movement, or what is to come about. Hegel considered it as the movement of the conscience. Within a Christian perspective the perfect conscience or pure conscience is God. What Marx does is use dialectics to provide an explanation of the movement of the matter, but such an abstraction can also be acknowledged as merely speculative. Hence the best way to understand the movement in the universe is through an explanation of the cosmos or universal order in a pure act, or God. He gives the values or features of all contingent, or particular movements. Moreover, if the Dialectical Materialism attribution is speculative and lacks validity in terms of significance, or representative value, as discussed above, Historical Materialism is weaker in the sense that it does not adequately explain the social
development and progress. Here then is the essential contradiction of Historical Materialism. It turns out to a mere history ship based upon the historian, who is a person that *interprets* a given phenomenon, but does not unveil it. That is to say, without the historian's activity it would not be possible to perceive the eventual social laws of historical change. This is the paramount difference between Marxist and Christian philosophical cornerstones. According to Zubiri (1935, 1936), the problem of atheism is not to discover God, but the opposite, to cover or hide Him.

According to the Marxist position, the important theses, though not vital to materialism, refer to Feuerbach's contribution, which considered man as the fundamental element in his philosophy (Cole, 1934). Marx and Engels only considered the essence from his materialism. They worked it out to elaborate the scientific and philosophical theory of materialism, in doing so; they discarded its idealistic influence and its ethical and religious traces. Therefore, "the Hegelian dialectics" and "Feuerbach's social anthropology" were the essential constituting elements of "Scientific Materialism," since they supported each other in the redefinition of the first motor of the world (God), and the explanation of both the development of human societies and their interpretation (Jordan, 1967). St. Thomas Aquinas in *De Magistro*, in the field of teaching in a similar fashion to settle God's causality and the teacher's, states:

> To create implies first causality which is due to God alone, but to make implies general causality. It is the same with teaching in reference to knowledge; God alone is called a creator, but God, an angel, or a man can be called a maker or a teacher. (Mayer, 1929, pp. 80-81)

According to Marxism, "dialectics," from a rather Hegelian perspective, became the dialectical method to know nature which mainly consisted in conceiving natural
phenomena as a constant and endless movement and change. The development of nature as the output of subsequent developments of contradictions in themselves, that is, the results from the contradictory forces in nature, which allow the transition from a mere contemplative method to a new explanatory hierarchy of the real world (Sheehan, 1985).

It is possible to distinguish the following features in the dialectical method by Karl Marx, which are vital for the purposes of this approach:

1. He considers nature as a causal conglomerate of objects and phenomena, as an articulated and unique whole, where objects and phenomena are organically linked to one another; they depend on and condition one another (Jordan, 1967). That is to say, that any phenomenon is an explanation of an extrinsically natural order to the knowing subject, that is, a phenomenon, simply put, is reality in itself.

2. Reality is subjected to permanent movement and change, it is not immutable, but it is an external and real order for individuals.

3. Change is not a regular phenomenon in reality. It is permanent and irregular. This is why the dialectical method understands that the development process must be conceived not as a circular movement, not as a remaking of the same road, but it should be understood as a progressive movement, as the transition from an old qualitative state to a new one, as the development from the simple to the more complex issues, as from what is inferior to what is superior (Sheehan, 1985).

4. As a counterpart to metaphysics, (Sheehan, 1985), dialectics admits that objects and natural phenomena always have implicit internal contradictions, since all of them
have both positive as well as negative elements, their past and their future, which are their old and new edges.

From the assumption that out of these permanent contradictions between what is new and what is old, between what is dying and what is being born, etc., the inner contents of the process of development is formed. This is the inner content of transformation from quantitative changes to qualitative ones. This idea came from Heraclitus: “It is not possible to step twice into the ‘same’ river.” According to Heilbroner (1980), Heraclitus referred to the movement of the real being and to the permanent change.

The dialectical method admits that the developmental process from what is an inferior to a superior phase does not flow in a fluent fashion, but phenomena are in a permanent “struggle,” or “transformation” between the opposing positions that act upon such contradictions. Such a concept leads us to understand movement as the relation between quantitative and qualitative differences. Here is the Hegelian idea on: (a) Thesis, (b) Antithesis, and (c) Synthesis. Whereas Thesis is the statement; Antithesis is the denial, and the Synthesis, the denial of the denial. Therefore, dialectics expressed in its three stages conveys the concept of the affirmation of evolution and development, while in the case of Dialectical Materialism, it affirms evolution and materialistic development (Salter, 1921).

An eventual position adaptable to Historical Dialectics would be possible if it were not isolated phenomena, if they were to be related to one another, and if they conditioned themselves. Then it is rather obvious that any social regime and any social movement in history should be considered, not from the “eternal justice” viewpoint, or any other
preconception, as historians are used to doing so, but from the viewpoint of the conditions that have engendered such a social movement and such a regime to which these conditions are related. It is evident that if social phenomena were not considered from this historical viewpoint, the historical science would have not either risen, nor developed, since this method, in order to address phenomena precisely, becomes the causal issue that has kept historical science from becoming a chaotic series of random events or the simple result of a large number of mistakes.

If the world is a series of endless movements and developments, and if the law of such developments is the extinction or disappearance of what is old, and the development of what is new, the rather evident conclusion is that there is not any social regime that may be conceived as "immutable." It is not possible any longer to conceive the "eternal principles" of private property and the exploitation of man by his fellow mates. This means that Capitalism might be replaced by Socialism, in the same fashion as Capitalism replaced Feudalism in the past. By the same token, as the Socialist regime may be surpassed, and then replaced by a new regime, this is hoped to be quantitatively and qualitatively superior: the Communist Regime.

If the path from the slow quantitative changes to the fast and unexpected qualitative changes constitutes itself a developmental law, it is evident that social transformations are the outputs from Materialistic Dialectics (Worsley, 1982). Likewise, this means that the path from Capitalism to Socialism, and the liberation of the working class people from the Capitalist yoke, cannot be carried out through a slow process by means of perhaps well intended, though ineffective, reforms, but such a change can only be

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possible through the qualitative transformation of the Capitalist regime, simply put, by the revolution (Engels as cited in Jordan, 1967). Marx, based upon Hegelian dialectics, though turning it upside down, makes conflict the required dynamic of social change (Cole, 1934). This conflict should be a harsh and definitive split which should deeply remove the old reforming plans from the former regime. Revolution is conceived as the armed working-class fighting against their oppressors, this necessary path for the final split should be considered as a requirement to surpass the Capitalist era. Therefore, it is necessary not to disguise or cover the Capitalist regime contradictions. On the contrary, it is necessary to show them as they actually are; it is necessary to publicly denounce Capitalism weaknesses in all their extensions. It is not necessary to stop the social classes’ struggles. On the contrary, they must be carried out until the very end. This is the Marxist dialectical method as applied to social life and society history. Though the Catholic Church also employs social denouncements, it is not for social classes struggle (Bonino, 1976; Ostling, 1985; Poetsch, 1973; Vree, 1976).

At this point, it is worthwhile to again point out the most salient features in the Marxist Philosophical Materialism, which is basically opposed to Idealism. According to Sheehan (1985), Dialectics in its crucial basis is opposed to the philosophical Metaphysics. So, we can say that Marx’s philosophical materialism has the following salient features as opposed to Idealism:

His materialism undertakes the premise that the world in essence is material. The several and varied phenomena constitute different forms and modalities of matter, which is in permanent movement. The natural connections and the interdependent relations
within phenomena that the dialectical method distinguishes are the laws according to
which matter in permanent movement develops (Hegel as cited in Sheehan, 1985). Thus,
the world develops according to laws that rule matter, with no external help from a
"Universal Spirit." This means that nature can develop according to its own laws, and
not according to the aforementioned spirit, or simply put, according to God. Indeed, to
assume a superhuman intelligence as a creator is to admit an absolute viewpoint on this
matter. In fact, it is an arbitrary position, which would be rightly conceived as a merely
metaphysical speculation.

According to Heraclitus, an old materialistic philosopher aforementioned, the world
is the unity of what actually exists. Neither God nor man has created it, but it is like fire
that flames and extinguishes according to its own laws, this is the explanation of the
world. Matter is not a product from any causal external and/or superior being.

Marxist Philosophical Materialism is opposed to Idealism, which states that in the
material world, nature only exists in our conscience, in our perceptions; and in our
concepts, matter, nature, the being constitute an objective and independent reality out of
our consciousness. Marxism conceives matter as a primary element, since it is the source
of our sensations, perceptions, and consciousness. Consciousness is what is secondary,
since it is a reflex from matter; thus, the act of thinking is an output of matter, which has
reached a high degree of perfection in its development. In a more concrete fashion, we
can conceive of thinking as a product from human brain, which is the organ of thinking;
hence, it is not feasible to separate thinking from matter. To do otherwise would be a
huge mistake. Therefore, the act of human thinking is just a mere product of matter.
Idealism doubts, indeed, it does not support truth from human thinking. It does not recognize the objective truth, and it conceives the world as a conglomerate of "things in themselves" that science will not be able to know. In a different perspective, the Marxist philosophical materialism as opposed to Idealism, conceives the world and its natural laws as cognitive elements feasible to know. Therefore, our knowledge on nature and its laws can be tested by experience and practice. They are pieces of true knowledge which are objectively valued truths. There are no elements that cannot be known in the world, they can only be partially unknown, since science and experience will reveal and disseminate the new knowledge appropriately whenever possible.

Those are, in a rather generic fashion, from my perspective, the most salient features of the Marxist philosophical materialism. It is not difficult thus, to envision the paramount importance of the principles of the philosophical materialism upon the study of social life and the history of society.

In order to explain Historical Materialism, Marx states that if connections among natural phenomena and their interdependencies actually represent the laws by means of which nature rules its own development, it is deduced that the connections and interdependence of social life phenomena do not represent what is randomly conceived, but such phenomena are ruled by the laws, which determine societal development. Therefore, there are social laws that explain and rule social movements. According to Jordan (1967), Marx firmly believed historical materialism expressed a universal "law of motion" of social affairs, as similar to Darwin’s theory of evolution.
Besides that, science which studies the history of society, as a "science," is able to acquire, in spite of all the social complexity, the same accuracy that other sciences such as Biology may reach. In so doing, it provides a practical explanation of the laws that rule societal development. In practical terms, this means that Socialism is no longer a dream of millions of persons for a better future for all mankind, but it is a science. This means that the relationship between science and practice, between theory and praxis, should be the "star" to guide the proletariat state. In such a guidance the 20th Century Marxist theories in the social and economic fields gain important relevance.

Therefore, in nature, the being, the material world is primary. Consciousness, thinking is secondary. If matter constitutes the objective reality that exists independently of individuals' consciousness, and consciousness is the reflected image of such objective reality, then it is possible to conclude that in the material life of society, the social being is primary as well, and its individual spirit is secondary. The material life of society is the objective reality, the one that is capable of existing independently of individuals' willingness, and the spiritual life of this society is the reflection of such an objective reality; that is, the being's reflection. This tells us that the social independent reality of individuals acquires a surplus value of significant importance, in defining the establishment of social organizational parameters for the individual behavior of human beings.

According to Marx in the Communist Manifesto, (as cited in Jordan, 1967), during different historical periods of mankind, it is feasible to distinguish different ideas, theories, social positions, and political institutions. The explanation for these differences
resides neither in "the nature," nor in "the appropriateness" of such ideas, theories, positions, and political institutions themselves, but in the different conditions of material life among societies during the diverse social developmental periods. According to actual conditions of existence in society, the conditions of material life will define to a great extent the ideas, theories, positions, and political institutions.

The new ideas and social theories can rise only after material life can effectively face new challenges. However, these new ideas and theories become important forces which make the execution of new tasks easier, so as to make material life for society effective. According to Marx (1961), the social being acquires a surplus/added-value for individuals. Among these new values, the responsibility for the social development and the new material knowledge are of the most relevant importance in the new challenges and subsequent tasks.

According to Marxism and its dialectical laws, the development of social organizations resides in surpassing what is old with what is new. In so doing, it promotes the qualitative impulse required for the organization of the socialist state. However, this does not mean that the radical split with the past social and political order should be forgotten, or somehow changed. On the contrary, such a split by means of the armed revolution is the unique way to get rid of the Capitalist state, so as to reorganize and redefine the new socialist state. According to Cole (1934), this is the theory of the class struggle in the Marxian method. A practical, though too naïve example could be chosen from the construction field, precisely because it is the construction of a new society which is our topic of interest, to provide a rationale to interpret the Marxist view on the
“split” aforementioned. If we want to build a new house on the same surface used by an older house, there is no other way but to demolish the old one to build what one wants.

**Historical Materialism**

Individuals require satisfying their basic needs to live. In order to fulfill this requirement, man/woman works in the production of goods. To have such material goods, individuals have to produce them, that is why it is necessary to have the proper productive tools; to design and produce these tools and the knowledge of the best way to use them. It is a required social element that needs certain effective organization so as to deliver goods properly, that is, goods should be for everybody, and not only for the elite. Such a function, in a socialist state, is fulfilled by state control.

According to Cole (1934), productive forces, though they constitute only one of the elements in the productive system, are the elements that reflect the relation between individuals and objects, and the natural forces employed in the material production of goods. Human beings, and their relations within the process of production, constitute the other side of production, the other aspect, in the productive system. Man/woman does not struggle against nature, and does not use it to produce material goods in isolation, disconnected from one another. On the contrary, individuals work together, in groups, in societies. This production will always be carried out in social productive conditions, hence the social commitment to the production of goods. While producing the material goods, human beings establish among them, within productive activities, mutual relations and productive relations, as well (Marx, 1961). These relations can be collaborative and they can also mutually support human beings who may be free from any source of
exploitation. In other societies, such relations may be characterized by subordination and/or dominion; indeed they can also be transitional relations between one type of productive relations and another one. Either way, according to Marx, whatever such a type might be, productive relations always constitute, in all social and political regimes, a required salient feature in production as well as the productive forces in society.

Thus, production or the productive system does not only embed the productive forces of society, but it also includes the productive relations among individuals. Such relations become the body, as a sort of union between these two elements within the productive process of material goods.

Production never reaches a deadlocked point for a rather long period of time (Marx, 1961). It is always changing and evolving, with the main feature of these changes, which happen during the productive phase, being the inevitable change of the whole social regime, of social ideas, of positions, and political institutions. That is, the changes aforementioned cause the reorganization of all social and political systems.

In the different developmental phases, individuals use varied productive types and forms, which in rather common terms can be conceived of as the fact that man/woman tends to keep different styles of life.

The developmental history of society is fundamentally the history of production development. History on the types and forms of production are clearly distinguished through mankind history. It is, simply put, the history of productive forces and the relations of people on productivity issues. The key to study the historical laws of society in depth should not be addressed to people themselves. By this I mean their ideas and
social conceptions, and the type of production utilized by society in each of its historical periods, in other words, within the economy of society. That is the main reason why in a socialist state, an economic model is required, as this determines the order and the production relations. Marx (1961) offers us an outstanding synthesis of extraordinary interpretative feasibility. However, there is no doubt that such feasibility could not be applied to modern economic realities. The irrefutable rationale to such a statement is the self-destruction of almost all of the socialist states. The case of the Soviet Union is perhaps the most illustrative example of such a decline.

Nevertheless, I think it worthy to continue our analysis of this formidable social proposal. According to Marxism, changes and productivity development always begin from changes and production of productive forces, most specifically, from those affecting the tools of production. According to Marx (1961), the productive forces become the most active and revolutionary element of productivity. Working forces, in the long run, represent individuals who actually carry out the direct productive efforts. Such productive forces affect and change the production relation between people and their economic relations. This does not mean that production relations have no influence upon the development of productivity forces, or that these latter do not depend on the former. Though the development of production relations depends on productive forces, they also act upon their own development, by making this relation faster or slower. According to Adamson (1985), from Marx's view, this is "the 'primacy of production,' and the idea that economic production always plays the determining historical role" (p. 75). At this point, I think it advisable to point out the fact that production relations cannot be divorced
from productive forces for a long time. They cannot contradict themselves, since productive forces can only openly develop whenever production relations are in an adequate state of harmony with the features and progressive states of such productive forces. Though apparently on a given occasion such forces might seem to be distant, as somehow disconnected from each other, sooner or later they adjust themselves by making suitable their apparently unbalanced harmony. If that were not the case, there should be a radical split of the unity composed of productive forces and production relations within the system, which would undoubtedly lead toward a production crisis due to productive forces destruction. Therefore, what is known as "productive forces" is not only the most active and revolutionary element in productivity, but also the most crucial determinant in its developmental evolution. Here, again is the Revolutionary Humanism that Marx did not dislike.

We may enquire, who has owned the means of production in mankind history? Who has owned agricultural resources, forests, water, raw material, tools devoted to production, means of transportation, communication, etc.? To whose services have these means been? To everybody’s service, or only to elites, small groups, or individuals that most of the time use these services and/or resources in the exploitation of other individuals, groups, or social classes? Answers to these questions might be varied in a rather external viewpoint, but essentially the core issue is that the owners of means of production are a few individuals in a Capitalist society, while in a Socialist society such a property will reside in the state. This is the nucleus of the historical switch that a socialist proposal wants to carry out, that is, to effectively surpass the basic and vital
contradictions of a Capitalist state. There must be a qualitatively superior skip from the
Capitalist state toward the Socialist state. Such a skip will be possible by means of a
mass revolution, which, as it was stated above, will allow the radical split from
Capitalism. Mao Tse-tung (1950), at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist
Party, stated that Socialism was a big battle and a huge change in the social system and
relations among individuals:

War and agrarian reform are two tests everyone and every political party in China
must go through in the historical period of New Democracy. Whoever sides with the
revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism
and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. (para. 3)

As we look back in history, it is feasible to identify the productive forces
development from ancient times to the present era. From hunting as a system of life
toward mechanical industry and the so-called technological updated society. Through
this development, which would take us too long to outline in detail, we may distinguish
people's active participation in the efficient and effective production tools for
development, which are closely related to productivity. While people change and
improve tools for production, they also change and improve themselves, since individuals
as it was stated above, are the most constituting elements in productive forces.
According to changes and development experienced by productive forces in society,
production relations among men also change and develop.

In a Capitalist society, production relations are settled upon production means and
partially conditioned property. Capitalism, according to Marx (1961), enforces the power
and control upon production means. In doing so it provokes an inevitable social
conditioning that, as a result, always renders inequality from an authoritarian,
bureaucratic structure. Perhaps, in our contemporary society, the “factory school” could be considered as one of the most illustrative examples of this in the educational arena. In a more recent, post-modernist era, the Functional paradigm in schooling has replaced (?) somehow factory schools, which in essence, constitutes a similar result rendered by the Capitalist society (Bell, 1978; Hurn, 1993; Oakes, 1986).

According to Marx (1961), only Socialism through the services of the State is able to control the production means, and thus, define the required improved delivery of final product benefits, which our society requires. This is the qualitative and quantitative difference between the anti-thesis and Capitalism, that is, the interest, or capitalist gain removed from individual and/or social production.

Inferences on Marxist Limitations on Ethics, Science, and Education

Whenever we have to deal with the Marxist position regarding education, certain small, though deep contradictions apparently arise on the stage; these are related with the values system of human beings, or their ethics. First, Dialectical Materialism uncovers the essence of the material being and its hierarchical influence, which is the case of the thinking capacity; which is understood as a superior material level. Such a position is powerful and quite clear; however, what is not quite clear to me is the thinking being’s attribution that in a normative and historical category refutes itself when admitting the material universe as an endless order in itself. This we all know from ancient times, since Aristotle stated that causality cannot be conceived as endless. There must be an original cause of the material being (in this particular case), hence, if causality were endless, there would not be any movement. In fact, Saint Thomas, in his tests on God existence,
already gave us powerful arguments on this matter. However, it is not my intention to refute the Marxist position on this issue, as I only intend to reach an understanding on science foundations, ethics, and education within a Marxist perspective. Nevertheless, I think it is necessary to admit a contradiction when recognizing the material universal being in its phylogenetic features as pure and endless in itself. I do not believe it explains movement, indeed, materialistic dialectics does not explain movement, either; it only describes it. It says nothing on the causality, or an eventual creator of the qualitative as well as quantitative change in matter. If matter were causality in itself, we would go back to Aristotle’s position regarding “the uncaused causality.”

Second, if we still admit the validity and truths of such positions, there is another crucial unanswered question: how is it possible that physical laws can become social laws? Or how do dialectical materialism laws fulfill a pattern function to historical materialism? In the long run, it is something not explained satisfactorily. Dialectical Materialism simply accedes in a rather unexpected and sudden fashion to provide a sort of relation, in an acceptable combination, between the dialectical position on matter and the social and historical rationale of human beings. In other words, we should accept universal laws that possess objectivity in them, that is, that they exist in themselves, in an independent fashion from reality. From my perspective, this is a clear contradiction in the Marxist position. Thus, if scientific laws are not universal and they only possess a relative validity, which may perfectly be assumed, this does not mean that validity of moral assumptions are equally acceptable. Hence, moral validity would become relative. Neither interpreting, nor its methods would be necessary. Then, I wonder about what
values Marxist philosophy would assign to education. According to Sarup (1978), Marx did not directly write on educational issues, hence we should envision the Marxist classroom by using a Marxist analysis on his methods as applied to a given educational environment, but in doing so, according to Sarup, we would be doing no more than a mere "translation." Accordingly, going back to our point on moral issues, they should be relative and contingent. Any moral inference would be relative and it would then be the object of arbitrary changes and/or modifications. Consequently, the logical question to ask would be why is it necessary to elaborate an historical change model, since its validity is limited as well as limiting? Here, I think, is the greatest question to Marxism, which is seldom addressed and appropriately debated. Is it feasible, then, to assume that the material reality interpretation and its dialectical laws may necessarily assume a social reality interpretation? If principles and their validity in natural science are isomorphic to state ethical principles, can the moral contingency determine the needs of social conduct parameters? In other words, Marxism goes back, somehow, to the same old problem stated by Heraclitus. It admits the contingency, or the unnecessary connection between the historical dialectics with the "should-be of being," or morality. That is, social laws, though not being absolute, lack the necessary foundations to be named as categorical imperatives, as Kant would say. Hence, what is left is a set of relatively universal rules, which also have a relative importance in elaborating human moral principles. But is that the way we are supposed to manage our social and historical acting? If that were so, then we ought to admit chaos as the essential element of the material being. Accordingly, scientific and human laws would be a mere game played by individuals to explain their
existence. In other words, we would have advanced a very short distance from the mythical way of thinking.

However, the Marxist position concerning the historical development appears to be convincing, in its direct relation to a hierarchical and real material development. Nevertheless, I strongly believe it is necessary to review the main Marxist contradictions; from my perspective, it is a fact that it convinces, since it is speculative. It takes its ideas from matter and provides a convincing interpretation, but it does not clearly test them. That constitutes itself, somehow, in the position that we firmly believe in a series of facts that show a behavior managed by certain eventual universal rules. It does not provide a solid explanation that this is a trustworthy reflection from reality. Indeed, not to explain morality in a thorough fashion, not to explain Historical Dialectics in depth, seems to me arbitrariness.

Marxism states the endless order of matter; however, it does not provide material developmental laws, but only the ones that rule science. Therefore, where and how a material developmental order is settled is not explained. If there were no intelligent order, would it be possible to have paradigms to study such universal chaos? If there were a non-intelligent universal order, wouldn’t it be required to have a randomly based system as a universal law? If randomization were the law, and it did not follow intelligent principles, how could we define that nature followed a systematical settled way? Or at least, a certain regularity that could enable us to settle our principles on science? If we are unable to count on a clear universal order, we will only have contradictions, thus causal probabilities would be very scarce. Even random order could
not provide a better alternative to settle universal laws, even in science. So, considering the foundations of Historical Dialectics, there is one more valid question to enunciate: if we are unable to define the causal order and random material order, isn’t it possible that we may also be unable to order the causal principles related to society and its predicted and expected development? This is, I believe, the most crucial and weakest point in the philosophical approach of Marxism, that is, when it denies the objectivity of an omniscient being who is the “perfect causality” of any other effect. Marxism has to assume an ethical and gnosis relativism, this means that it has to state that knowledge is imperfect, so valuing activities and human passions are to depend on contingencies, and not upon real needs. In other words, how can we dare to define universal values on human social conduct, if we are unable to settle stable physical laws? Marxism does not provide a testable causal difference which would tell us without ambiguities that material order is the cause of social order, but it only applies a materialistic dialectics to a historical dialectical hypothesis. Indeed, through the radical changes proposed in the different historical phases, it does not show us the values, structures, or the needed consensual ethics in a solid fashion. I believe the position of Marxism, on material order, is a mere interpretation of man/woman. In fact, such an order does not exist, but only a multiplicity of isolated facts. If there were no intelligent hierarchy, we would only have chaos.

The same could perfectly be said on education, if there were no universally valid moral parameters, the educational system would be devoted to fulfilling a conciliatory function on arbitrary demands from a rather self-driven game. It would be a way of
conditioning the inexplicable multiplicity of enigmatical natural events out of any paradigm, this is representing mere mythical thinking. Our culture would not differ from the ones we distantly and disdainfully called natives.

Education should be based upon scientific principles of a relative contingency. One of its main purposes should be not only to cultivate students in an informed fashion, but also to develop assertively among learners a relative objective morality, which ought to respect a universal order. If we do not admit the universal order necessity, we would favor chaos. We are thus subjected to relative laws, as was discussed previously, and we do not answer the main question concerning public morality.

Should we naively admit that we are relative beings, and should we live in the fear of openly confronting the enigmas and unusual issues of life? I think man/woman has a basic driving need to look for his/her inner order regarding an interpretation related to an external order. Such an order represents matter, which is pure and created; that is, the causal agency from an external superior intelligence, which is endless and omniscient. The Alpha and the Omega, the One who is, the One who was, and It will be.

Other Sources

The theoretical frameworks discussed so far are revealing, from my perspective (to respond negatively) of whether it is possible to blend in a pure fashion the religious and Marxist stances, and whether Hurtado was a Marxist or not. However, it is my intention to search for additional and practical information on the interviewees themselves, information that constitutes itself in documentary file, and Hurtado himself, respectively.
Interviewees' Testimonies

All of the interviewees were categorical on their answers to the question regarding Hurtado's political stance. Though he was labeled as "the red priest," from their perspectives he was not a Marxist. Indeed, with one exception, they all agreed that he never favored any political preference and/or niche. Responses varied in forms, though not in essence. Either way, in order to be more specific, the most crucial essence of responses on this matter will be transcribed. In such a context, participant Polanco responds:

He was above the political parties. The proof is that when he was the National Adviser at the CA, one president, Roberto Prat, belonged to the Conservative Party, another president, Héctor Ríos, was a member of the Liberal Party, another one, William Thayer belonged to the Falange" (The participant deepens his response by adding,) "what he insisted upon was on the fact that the actual active directors of political parties should not fulfill any post at the CA." (Interview, May 2002)

Salvatierra categorically stated: "Definitely, no. If that were not the case, he wouldn't be on the beatification process. The Church is very strict on these issues..." (Interview, May 2002). Similar responses were provided by participants Maturana (July 2002); Rojas (July 2002); Ríos (July 2002); Cornejo (January 2002); Peralta (July 2002), though the latter participant added: "for him everybody was humane." By that she meant that Hurtado did not make any distinctions between people. This antecedent, in the politically pervaded society of Chile is important.

By the same token, Alvear notes: "he defended his ideas with strong resolution; however, he never showed a contingent political adherence. He was very social..." (Interview, January 2002). Participant Herrera adds two important pieces of information, from my perspective, besides his categorical negative answer on an eventual Hurtado’s
political activity he notes, "He was very Jesuitical. The Company teaches us not to get involved in political affairs." However, he adds another crucial piece of information on Hurtado's actual doings on this matter:

At the Colegio San Ignacio a student asked Hurtado who he should vote for in a political election. His reply was very concise though very clear: "dear little boss, the Colegio has given you the principles. You vote." (Interview, August 2002)

Participant Carrasco on this matter states: "It was precisely Hurtado's position regarding the political abstinence at the CA and his opposition to the enrollment of students at any political party that caused the Conservative Party's fury" (Interview, May 2002).

Finally, I will transcribe two important pieces from participants Cepeda and Galaz, respectively. The former participant states:

He was considered engaged in something different to what traditional Catholics at that time were involved in. The traditional Catholics were enrolled in the Conservative Party. Hurtado was not forgiven that he were not supporting that political niche. But on the contrary, that he was supporting the people from the Falange. (Interview, May 2002)

Cepeda openly states that Hurtado favored the split from the Conservative Party, namely known as the Falange Nacional, which later became the Christian Democratic Party. In order to contrast his opinion, I chose participant Galaz's. He was one of the closest interviewees to Hurtado, and he stated:

"No. That is one of the clearest things. I knew Eduardo Frei very well. I also met Radomiro Tomić..." (the former Chilean politician became President of Chile and the latter Vice-President). Then, he continued: "None of these two dealt with Padre Hurtado. When they were university students, and they were engaged in the peak of the Falange, none of them treated with Hurtado... they were not interested... and Hurtado did not care about politics, or better said..." (he corrected himself), "he did not speak of politics." (Then he clearly remembers), "As soon I finished high-school, before joining the Company I went with him on a tour of the country on visits to all...."
the CA centers. In January we went from Santiago to Punta Arenas, and in February, from Arica to San Felipe. On one occasion I had the opportunity to ask him: who did you vote for? (the participant asked Hurtado about one election for the presidency of the country) It was February 1942.” (The participant seems to vividly recall that occasion), then he recreates: “Listen,” he told me, “I voted for Ibañez, though I knew that Ríos would win the election. But I wanted that Ríos be aware that there was a solid opposition.” Then, the interviewee says: “I realized that Hurtado understood politics, though he didn’t openly speak about it.” (Interview, July 2002)

Given both transcriptions, I believe that the latter informant is in a better position to refer to this issue more accurately, since he actually experienced episodes with Hurtado. The former participant did not; he rather knows well about Hurtado. Hence, it is my belief that Hurtado did not favor any political niche. Indeed, apparently he did not like to speak about it. Either way, the best way to continue the discussion on his political stance is to search in his own testimony.

Padre Hurtado’s Views on Political Affairs

In 1941 when Hurtado published his book ¿Es Chile un País Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic Country?] World War II was in its peak. He refers to Communism and Fascism as compared to the Christian stand:

More destructive than the material war is the spiritual one: the ideologies clash. Marxism which is the religious mystic of matter, absolute atheism, all spiritual value denial, which is pervading an immense European region, and from there to all of the countries, even ours, as the most formidable fifth column. It attempts to destroy all the Christian values. (Hurtado, 1994, p. 135)

From the reading of that piece I wonder whether those who had accused him as being “a red priest” actually read his social denouncement, since Hurtado’s critique of Marxism seems to be something more than apparent. Either way, immediately he posed his view on the totalitarian regimes:
The philosophical theories, which favor racism and the authentically totalitarian systems, under the façade of a major culture, of western wisdom, hide a pagan and materialistic essence as Marxism does. However, this position has the aggravating fact that its poison is disguised under the format of traditional vocabulary, though they actually imply completely different concepts from those of the Christian philosophy. (Hurtado, 1994, p. 135)

Hence, by the same token, we could wonder whether those who accused him as a priest having Nazis inclination had made a mere simple analysis of his thought on these issues.

It is my belief that he was wrongly understood, as participant Ríos (July 2002) stated on the political issue above, since from Hurtado’s perspective, all men were brothers and we all are God’s children. Such a theological stance was previously discussed above on his concept of the Mystical Body of Christ. What was stated may be proved by his own words, (Hurtado, 1994), on the attitude to be observed regarding an eventual discrepancy against Marxism:

Even when attacking Communism, we must do it within a Christian criterion. Not because it might be detrimental to our own interests, but for how it contradicts our principles, by its conception of man, life, and what is beyond. Indeed, to this adversary that does not respect Catholicism; we must judge it with an immense loyalty. (p. 182)

From my perspective this piece shows why Hurtado was not understood by those who accused him. If his determination not to involve the CA activities with politics, overtly stated in his book, Puntos de Educación [Points on Education], is added to this arena the issue is clearer:

It is natural, then, that the Catholic Action as the Church must be above and outside all of the political parties, since it has been established not to defend private interests of a given group, but to provide the genuine well being of souls. In doing so, it should extend to the most, the actual possibility of the kingdom of Jesus Christ in individuals, families, and the society itself. (1994, p. 478)
This piece written by Hurtado provides validity to what was stated by participant Cepeda (July 2002), in the sense that the Catholic Bourgeoisie did not forgive Hurtado for not having supported the political niche that represented their own interests. Indeed, such a judgment may also be validated by Vial (2001), who stated that Hurtado was forced to resign from his successful, though controversial, office at the CA due to the political issues. It is also a fact that his social denouncement was too sharp at that time in Chile, where right-wing interests had ruled the country for decades with no serious opposition. Hurtado’s message was, eventually too social at that time. According to participant Alvear, “He was very social” (Interview, January 2002). I believe this was his main fault, if any.

Hurtado was strongly influenced by Pope Leon XIII and the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical, and the urgent claim by Pope Pio XII regarding the need to redeem the proletariat (Hurtado, 2001). Hence, the other trace from Hurtado himself on political issues can be traced from his work *Sindicalismo. Historia, Teoría y Práctica* [Unionization, Theory and Practice]. Such a piece might be pervaded in controversial matters, as it effectively is; however, it must also be stated that it has several relevant elements which provide clarity on his political thought:

The proletariat redemption only can be achieved by the proletariats themselves. It seems almost unnecessary to state that workers cannot hope for their liberation from the spontaneous initiative of their bosses, who mainly focus their attention on their own interests. They cannot either count on the state for such liberation; it would be to surrender their own freedom. It would be to substitute their current masters by another one, more unfair and merciless. (2001, p. 378)

As it can be easily grasped from this piece, Hurtado believed that independence of thought from political parties should be a clear determinant among workers since:
Most of the political parties, before an election is held, will promise to solve all social pending problems, but after the event itself, the own interests of the parties would prevail over the greatest cause of the proletariat redemption. Every day it is feasible to see how they forget principles, they close their eyes to injustices and indeed, they do not hesitate committing them to gain electoral advantage. (p. 378)

However, it must not be understood that he suggested an eventual disdain to politics or the politicians. On the contrary, he believed that it was an inexcusable duty for all Catholics to actively participate on politics. Hurtado (1994), distinguished the “great politics” from the one fostered by political parties. The former is the effective collaboration to the common well-being. Thus, private interests should be subordinated to such a well-being. By the same token, he concludes on this matter, “Therefore, a Catholic cannot ignore the ‘great politics’” (p. 476). Politics fostered by the parties is the aim toward the well-being as understood by different groups of citizens. Within such a conceptual framework Hurtado referred to Cardinal Pacelli’s letter, alluded to above on political issues. He states that Rome was for the political abstinence of bishops and priests, unless one political position is overtly against Christianity.

I believe that Hurtado’s political stance is clearly stated by himself in the pieces transcribed above. Though it is clear to me that it is not possible to state that he favored a given political niche, it is possible to say that he was not a Marxist.
CHAPTER 5

WHAT INFLUENCED HIS VIEW OF EDUCATION?

The presence of the educational element within the Tomist-Aristotelian perspective seems deeply held in Hurtado’s formative process, as it is the fundamental approach within the Jesuit Society. It must have undeniably influenced him since his school days, and much more profoundly in his Jesuit formation. However, it is not my intention to dwell on this sort of influence, as to the one he admitted being influential in his life, such as the Divini Illius Magistri encyclical since it would be little to add to what others have said on this matter (Bangert, 1972; Barret, 1927; Barthel, 1984; Brodrick, 1940; Caiceo, 1989; Gulley, 1929; Mayer, 1964). From my perspective, it is more valid to refer to an eventual influence from the pragmatic American thinker, John Dewey, on Hurtado’s thought and practices. It might be argued that there is a serious contradiction to discussing any eventual relation between the thoughts of a Catholic priest and a pragmatic thinker; however, it is my belief that there are elements in common to be highlighted for the sake of the fulfillment of the purpose of this study. John Dewey has pervaded educational stands, thoughts, and practices on a worldwide basis. Even in the U.S.A. several different groups have identified him as one of their ideologists. However, Dewey himself never declared an open and clear stand in favor of any of these groups (Kliebard, 1995).

was an attempt to adopt the pedagogic principles sustained by the American thinker Dewey, as a pragmatic thinker, was opposed to Catholic principles; or better said, the Catholic Church did not accept the ideas of a pragmatic thinker, hence the challenge Hurtado undertook was by itself crucial. He was convinced that there were some elements in Dewey's educational ideology that could be assimilated by the Catholic educational system. Simply put, a pragmatic thinker such as Dewey was partially adopted by a Catholic priest in his varied and many tasks.

In order to respond adequately to the major research question posed above, this chapter will be divided into (a) the philosophical shift of John Dewey from Hegelianism to his later pragmatic position and (b) his educational insights from a Catholic perspective. However, in order to make this more manageable, Hegel's part will be divided into: (a) knowledge, (b) Hegelian gnosis, (c) Hegelian logic (the explanation), (d) the role of reflection, (e) the Absolute, and (f) the critical position of Hegelianism. Then, the discussion on Experimentalism will be subdivided accordingly.

The Philosophical Shift of John Dewey from Hegelianism to Pragmatism

To analyze and revise Hegel's thought and the Pragmatic stance is a rather difficult task, because of the complexity of Hegel's philosophy, and due to the scarce relationship between both positions. According to Wallace (1874) the main difficulty in understanding Hegel resides in his interpreters, since they have contradicted themselves, as have commentators of the Bible.

George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) was a German idealist philosopher, who became one of the most influential thinkers of the 19th century. According to
Turner (2000), Hegel’s main attempt was to elaborate a comprehensive philosophical system so as to understand both the past and the future from a philosophical perspective. In doing so, reality as a whole was the object of his approach; however, according to Trejo (1993), in Hegel’s philosophy there are degrees of reality within various phenomena. That is, consciousness has different stages which Hegel addressed as the developmental process. This he named as the Absolute, or Absolute Spirit. According to Trejo, Hegel distinguishes three forms of consciousness: (a) Sensory consciousness, which is associated to childhood, or the most primitive forms of knowledge; (b) Perceptual consciousness which is the immediately superior level in which we are able to perceive the relations between objects. In such a consciousness we are able to establish cause effect relations. Finally, there is (c) the Understanding consciousness which is the great unifying principle. According to the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2001), Hegel stated:

…the relationship between self and otherness is the fundamental defining characteristic of human awareness and activity, being rooted as it is in the emotion of desire for objects as well as in the estrangement from those objects, which is part of the primordial human experience of the world. (The Phenomenology of Spirit, para. 3)

Within Hegelianism, knowledge is a process of gradual development of the total knowledge of the pure reason, which is why it is important to define the scopes of its position conceptually for the sake of the present approach.

**Knowledge**

Hegel assumes reality as a whole, composed of integral parts whose true sense can only be grasped by referring to the actual reality in which they occur. In doing so, he
conceives a dynamic wholeness or reality: each thing becomes what it actually is in a sort of continuous process of becoming. It is a process which is the product of the differences, of the essentially contradictory character of the being.

The essential movement of the being is dialectical, since it expresses the internal conflict of the elements to reduce their opposition to the unity. Since the thought should apprehend a reality in constant movement, Hegel develops a logic that allows to know the Being (the Absolute one) without excluding the becoming and the change. This is why his system is dialectical, since it attempts to conceive what is concrete from within the inner absolute, which shows itself as such in its opposition to what is concrete and its own negation (Wallace, 1874).

Negation is a central concept in the Hegelian system, since it provides the becoming of each element in its contrary and their resolution as a new element that will be also denied. At the end of the process, the essence of the Absolute one is revealed as pure negation or its absence in any determination.

Contrary to other systems, Hegel’s Absolute one is considered as the concrete one, as the sum of all the moments of the process. At the same time, it is their result of surpassing the uncertainty of abstraction, which constitutes a moment in the whole. According to Kimball (2000), the difference between subject and object is also surpassed, “The rational is the actual and the actual is the real,” (para. 39) because in the history of the process of revelation of the Absolute one (the Spirit) which Hegel develops in his Phenomenology of the Spirit, it is given as the process of self knowledge of the Absolute one itself. The history of Mankind is the genuine expression of a conflict that tends to
disappear, which is marked by an aim, telos, that consists of the reduction of differences to an absolute identity.

Hegel's contribution has been considered as a synthesis of Idealism within the history of philosophy. He is acknowledged as the maximum representative of a position that represents the value of reason over a value of contingent and sensitive experience. Such a position shows the recognition given to the cognitive value of the human spirit, when positioning reason in a relevant niche beyond any other explanation of the origin of knowledge. However, other empiricist positions have intended to show that experience is what stamps the seal of knowledge. This, in very simple words, illustrates the wide evolution of Dewey's educational thought. Either way, in the long run, the so-labeled idealistic position sustained by Hegel has not been seriously challenged by those other positions. Eventually, it may be due to the intricate role that reason plays, where, in order to contradict itself, it should provide sensitive arguments. Either way, current and apparently advanced physical sciences have been unable to unveil the mystery of the cognitive genesis.

Hegelian Gnosis

Hegel's philosophy has a particular and complex focus; it is a synthesis that mediates between the traditional concept of the being in the classic ontology and the dynamic explanation of the same one. Hegel bases his theory of knowledge on reason. For him knowledge is permanent and endless, since it is given by the Being of the universe. For Hegel, reason is absolute. As opposed to Kant, according to Wallace (1874), "Hegel, on the contrary, purposes to show that this unfathomable Absolute is very near us, and at our
very door: in our hands, as it were, and especially present in our every-day language” (1874, p. cxiii). The private consciousness or reason apprehends the particularity and the universality in itself. It does so in its own nature as part of a universal knowledge that is real in itself; this is its own true reality.

Then, it is perfectly valid at this point to make some specific and crucial questions on knowledge; such as, what is the object of knowledge? According to Hegel, it is absolute reason, and reason itself in its dialectical display is the particular and universal object of knowledge, but it must be understood that the former object of knowledge is a manifestation of the latter one. The particular one is then due to its universal one, which contains everything. Simply put, the universal object is Absolute. Indeed, even diversity and contingency are parts of its matter, on the dialectical becoming the manifestation of what is real; the very nature of the Absolute reason expresses itself, even with its opposites. It is the being becoming nothing, and from nothing to being. Baird (2000) cites Hegel, “the truth of Being and Nothing is...the unity of the two: and this unity is BECOMING” (para. 8). Another hypothetical question we might pose is what is the subject of knowledge? Hegel states that it is the particular reason, which is the same essence of the Absolute one in its turning into its self search. That is, the subjective consciousness is part of the objective consciousness of Absolute reason.

By the same token, it is pertinent to ask: what is the cognitive relation? The subject apprehends the object of knowledge, as its particularity of the being of the Absolute reason. It comprehends both the positive as well as the negative values. However, reason as an active subject tends to be its own essence, which is the absolute reason. In
Hegel’s logic it is the system of pure reason, of truth and pure thought. That is, it is the
dialectic of the “Being,” which is better expressed in the following sketch by Trejo
(1993), in which the central issues are Knowledge and Logic:

A. Knowledge: (a) Phenomenology of the spirit, and (b) Philosophy

B. Logics: (a) Doctrine of being, (b) Doctrine of science, and (c) Doctrine of concept.

The Hegelian Logic (The Explanation)

Truth is everything for Hegel. The whole system is absolutely and totally true, in the
same sense as the absolute idea is the absolute and total truth, because it integrates in its
unity, as conserved and annulled in the cancellation (in the same judgment) of all the
previous contents. Because the Absolute thing, the Absolutely Absolute Being (that is
the absolute Idea in and for itself, which is the whole philosophical system of such an
absolute truth) is the result, and by being the result in the most unconditional sense, it is
the final result of the whole process. It should contain, consequently, the whole reality.
This means that the absolute thing, the reason, is the Pure Reality (Hegel, 1971).

According to Hegel (1971) each rational positive and/or affirmative statement is
false. This is due to the fact that within such a statement there are two different opposing
concepts that are merely linked in a rather external fashion, but which, internally, are two
opposing concepts. The constituting elements of the original statement are confronted in
their mutual differences. Hence in their mutual non-being, though externally linked, such
a statement has an internal contradiction to settle. That such a contradiction is to be
solved or cancelled is shown by the fact that what is shown in the statement is not stated
by such a statement. The affirmative statement simply states what it is in a unilateral
fashion, but it silences the non-being of the concepts involved. This is due to the fact that in such a unilateral statement of the being, without allusion to the non-being, the external link can fulfill its task, which does not leave the two opposing concepts detached one from the other. However, the negative statement also carries a synthesis of the subject and the predicate, which is the non-being relation. We can figure then how, in Hegel’s philosophy, his thesis that all contradictions are true, validates the dynamics of change.

By the same token, at the judgment level, the unique piece of truth we can reach is a partial one; therefore, a false truth, since it is merely another statement. The truly plain truth is feasible to reach only when the unity of the concept is reestablished. However, it should keep the diversity of statements; both in its internal diversity of concepts as well as their multiplicity of statements. As results of such a split, and from the unilateral combination or separation of them, a superior unity is provided by the rational system known as syllogism, which is a chain of rationales in which each piece of a portion of the conclusion becomes a portion of another new statement. Hence a series of progressive relations can be established. However, this is only an external procedure, since it is merely superimposing two premises to get a conclusion. In so doing, the external and formal understanding can only conceive reasoning as a mere sequence of statements that are unable to provide a genuine understanding, since only the whole statements will be recognized as such.

Reasoning which is not merely formal-rational, but authentically rational, the one that transcends, can be found in the systematic unity of the system in which premises lead to conclusions in a path where premises are not kept as such until the end. But in the
authentic speculative reasoning, conclusion is derived from the premises, it emerges from them, but in such emerging it annuls them.

Negation will not significantly affect the system in its endless and absolute wholeness, because it is itself identical to its constituting parts, to those negations that constitute it. The result is the product of a new proposal, but not of itself. This is its infinity: recognizing itself in the other one and the other one in itself as identical to itself. This occurs with the system of the Absolute Truth. Infinite knowledge acknowledges itself as such, and by such awareness it is capable to find in the other one its own determination. Each part of the system goes to the next one, being annulled and kept at the same time. It keeps the other one for the sake of its own determination, but it annuls it as an external entity. In other words, the process is twofold; it keeps and annuls the other parts (Williams, 1987).

Cancellation works in different fashions in the path from the first to the second moment and from the second to the third one. In the first of these steps the determination of what is cancelled is kept in itself, though it is not kept in the second moment as itself; that is, it is not kept as the being. However, in the second of such steps the split of aspects is cancelled and both become identified and diverse. Cancellation, the second step, is cancellation of cancellation, which means that it is an indissoluble unity which has diversity and division in itself. It also has unification which is no longer two juxtaposed or combined elements, but an identity, which is difference at the same time.

As stated above the Hegelian system is dynamic: what is true in a given phase of the system is no longer true in the following phase, and it reestablishes and annuls itself as
truth in the final phase, which reproduces all the lower phases. In so doing, the partial truths stay as such in the final phase as a whole, which is identical to the global system, jointly, of an indissoluble unity in which they are abolished and kept within a definitive value as truth (lafacu.com, 1999-2001).

It is feasible to say that it is meaningless to give Hegel’s philosophy any defined senses from different patterns beyond his own philosophy. The efforts embedded in an eventual understanding of Hegelian philosophy should be completely peculiar: whether such efforts are oriented to provide specific responses to defined questions or figure a conceptual construction, which might be meaningful from within itself, from the movement of its own construction. Even exhibitions or representations of such a philosophy distort the system when encapsulating certain parts, which might be thought of as the most representative ones.

The Hegelian system does not fit any formal pattern because it is not possible to make it fit within a rigid rule and/or norm that is unaltered from the very beginning to the end. Moreover, the rationale of the concept cannot submit itself to an external formal pattern. On the contrary, it is itself in its own form, the form of the form, and such a form does not have any alien content.

As it has been discussed above, Hegel’s philosophy is primarily dialectical and progressive. Simply put, his thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis model implies that due to a first experience or thesis, which has contradictions within its structure, will cause its opposite or anti-thesis, hence there will be a conflict between these two opposing positions. Such a conflict, then, gives life or creates a third element, which is the
synthesis. This synthesis, as logically supposed, will find its opposite by its own internal contradictions and start a new process. According to Burrell (1991), this is why Hegel's dialectic is progressive, since each opposing of the elements, thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis, implies an advancement of their preceding elements until a point or goal is reached. From my perspective, this is a clear and crucial link between Hegelian and the Reflective Thinking fostered by Dewey (1997): "(a) a state of perplexity, hesitation, doubt; and (b) an act of search or investigation directed toward bringing to light further facts which serve to corroborate or to nullify the suggestion belief" (p. 9).

However, the term "dialectic" was not, apparently, coined by Hegel himself. According to Wallace (1874), he probably borrowed it from Plato. Lafacu.com (1999-2001), definitively states that Hegel himself never employed the terms, thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis.

The Role of Reflection

Hegel's philosophy is a system of the absolute reflection. The sense and the course of action of the being's evolutionary flows are those of spreading toward subjectivity, to the one it fits in with neither obstacles nor impediments. Such "fitting in itself" should be limitless, it should be such that in itself it has already included the itself and the other thing, and in that way, the itself is recognized in the other thing. Perhaps what best illustrates Hegel's view on reflection and knowledge is stated by Harris: "What is called the "theory of knowledge" is actually a matter of articulating and explicating rational faith" (1977, p. 7).
When the being faces what is inordinate, and in its path from what is measured to what is inordinate, it falls into the absolute indifference. The inordinate state becomes endless, which is the endlessly indifferent substrate of qualitative changes. This is due to the fact that when falling into indifference, the quality disappears, and upon its disappearance it refers to what still remains, that endlessly indifferent substrate in which it has transformed itself by its own inordinateness. Such a substrate has, though in remission, all the quantitative and qualitative determinations to which, as a paradox, the being is indifferent. However, such indifference, since it is absolute, is indifferent with itself, thus, it is not indifferent to the same determinations. The being goes back then to its total initial indifference, though it is not exactly the same. Thus such indifference has all the suppressed and maintained determinations. Once the being has reached such a state of the mere substrate or absolute indifference, it does not have any choice but to get itself involved, so as to transform itself in essence. This is considered as a triple dimension reflexion. First as a purely negative act of presuposing. It is a presuposition that annuls itself, which goes from nothing to nothing. In doing so, it also annuls its own equality with itself. Second as an external reflection, which begins from a given and turns back to itself; and third as determinant reflections which are identity, difference and contradiction. Thus, the first genuine Being, in and for itself, is reached. That is why contradiction is said to be the soul of Hegel's system, since it is the genuine being in and for itself that leads toward the essence, to the absolute spirit, which is absolute reflection (Kimball, 2000).
The Absolute

A crucial concept in Hegelian philosophy is the conception of the Absolute. The Absolute is Mind (Spirit). Hegel (1971) states that it is the supreme definition of the Absolute. For Hegel, the Absolute thing is the result that it is in and for it only by mediations from the other determinations. It is infinite only in the sense that when reaching its being in itself and for itself, it erects an identical to itself with those other determinations. At the same time, it makes itself identical to them, with an identity that nevertheless is equally diverse. According to Williams (1987), a critical condition of being-for-self is being-for-other. Here then is the interdependence of the self for being on the other.

In the eventuality that we could ask Hegel how he might explain how that something new, the Absolute, would result with no pre-existence on what is old. He would respond to such a question by noting that the being already did exist, though not as absolute; that is to say, not as in and for itself. It pre-existed as a mere potential being. Eventually, he would add that we tend to pose the problem wrongly in the sense that we use the excluded third one, which means that in a syllogistic reasoning of two premises, there are only three terms, one of which, the average, is excluded from the conclusion as if in each phase of the system there is a need to support each statement or the affirmative or negative ones.

Actually, what happens is that each one is true but in different fashions. The being in and for itself does pre-exist, but not according to itself. Since the regression could be endless, the result is mediated by the previous phases in the system in which they are kept
as cancelled, they are kept as annulled, and they annul what is kept, such phases are not thus mediated by the result. Therefore, a third moment becomes a first one, and the first one becomes a second one. As it is also a beginning for the second one, and then the third moment becomes average, it becomes the mediation between the second and the first ones. However, what cannot occur is that the second one be mediation between the third one and the first one, or that the third moment be mediation between the first one and the second one. As it can be seen, there is no predefined order, but what in algebraic terms might be labeled as a pseudo-order, which is a reflective and transitive relation.

The importance rendered by Hegel’s conception is that it provides a solution to the old problem of how the Absolute Being, which is self sufficient, can project externally and fall or diminish itself. However, it is absolutely necessary and endless. It is feasible then to wonder on how this Being can possess such determinations, since its own reality implies what is finite and contingent. That is possible due to the logic transcendence of what is endless. According to Hegel (1977), an Infinite Being is the one that possesses mutually opposed properties in such degrees that they would normally be incompatible. This is what this philosophy makes possible, to conceive of the Being as a limitless reality, which is infinite and finitely shared. It is absolutely necessary. However, it is also shared with diverse contingency doses. And such a reality is possible with no dichotomy on essence or existence. However, Turner (2002) counter argues Hegel’s position in the sense that,

Hegel attempted the impossible. A complete synthesis of reality in terms of reason is possible only to an infinite mind. Man, whose mental power is finite, must be content with a partially complete synthesis of reality and learn in his failure to attain completeness he should learn that God, who evades his rational synthesis and defies
the limitations of his categories, is the object of faith as well as of knowledge. (para. 12)

Critical Position of Hegelianism

Particular knowledge becomes transitory and is merely speculative, though in terms of knowledge it seeks the pure knowledge or absolute reason. It is knowledge full of truth and reality. The other pieces of knowledge are partial and they break into fragments of man's/woman's vision of their own reality, mutilating the essence of the real being, though constituting the essence itself even in its obstacle. That is, conscience in the spirit is only an agent of knowledge; never will it be a final objective. This is the negative spirit, which self-satisfies by accepting its finite essence though inspired in the spiritual desire for the universal thing in its essence, as a sort of reflex from perfection, since absolute reason becomes in itself. However, in its dialectical movement, the spirit becomes its opposite, though it surpasses it in the process of existing. This means that thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis are moments of qualitative difference that express the development and movement from inferior phases to superior ones of absolute reason.

From Hegel's perspectives, according to the web page of California State University (2002), nature is a moment of the absolute one as a being to another one. His explanation of the phases of nature is illustrated by the taxonomy on (a) mechanics in which he mentions space and time, matter and movement, and free matter; (b) physics, which he defines as particular, general and total physical individualities; and (c) organic physics, in which he distinguishes the geological, vegetable, and animal natures. While Hegel notes that the spirit is a product of the absolute evolution, he distinguishes, (a) the Subjective Spirit in which it is united to a body as a vital unity, this is the soul. In such a unity,
Hegel distinguishes the following main parts: the soul as part of anthropology, the conscience as part of the phenomenology of the spirit, and the spirit as part of psychology. The other general element he mentions is (b) the Objective Spirit, which is there and does not have any subject, which is composed of law, morality, and ethics. Finally, he mentions (c) the Absolute Spirit, which is a synthesis from the subjective and objective spirits and of nature and spirit, as well. It is in it and for itself. As sub elements of this last phase he mentions art, revealed religion, and philosophy.

From the discussion above it may be stated that Hegelian philosophy is almost an aesthetical inspiration, though Hegel himself could be labeled as a deeply rational man. This is due to the fact that the explanation of the universal order is harmoniously provided by reason when it shows in all its reality with absolute perfection. This leads to the notion that an idea is not a static being. On the contrary, it is dynamic, and its character comprehends the being of reality itself, which is logic, that is, pure reason. In knowledge there is a direct relation with the being, but in thinking there is a logical pure connection through which science is formulated as effective knowing.

**Experimentalism**

Given the development and importance gained by the Hegelian idealism and the influence of the Kantian critical stance that placed emphasis on metaphysics, a sort of renewed reflexive spirit that emphasized the practical character of human knowledge came on the philosophical stage. This meant bringing to reflection the needs of the cognitive as practical necessities on knowledge development. This stance was acknowledged as the positivist empirical stance. Experimentalism is a practical and
utilitarian position of human knowledge. It supports the idea that man/woman needs to
develop his/her knowledge in the sensitive and real world through less abstract
conceptualizations. As I sub classified the discussion on Hegelianism, this one will
similarly be divided into: (a) experimental gnosis; (b) critical position of
Experimentalism; (c) philosophical foundations of experimentalism and its relation to
education; (d) scientific, activist, and democratic features of education; and (e) Dewey’s
educational ideas.

Experimental Gnosis

Experimentalism bases its theory of knowledge mainly on the empiricism and the
positivism. According to Manzoor (2003): “We could group the philosophies of
Pragmatism, Positivism, Instrumentalism, Empiricism, Reconstructionism, and
Progressivism under the general name “Experimentalism,” without doing violence to any
of them” (para. 1).

Within this perspective, knowledge gives us sensitivity in the relationship with the
sensitive world, without discussing if we can or cannot know reality in and for itself.
According to Manzoor (2003), Metaphysics is rejected as a genuine area of philosophical
inquiry by advocates of Experimentalism, which finds useful knowledge that allows us to
develop in the natural and social world. By the same token, it begins from the fact that
man/woman can have some basic potentialities for knowledge, which are supported and
fully developed by factual and real experiences with the surrounding world. This is an
affirmative proposal of the practical and experimental knowledge; that is to say,
knowledge has a practical purpose of the world and what the subject apprehends is the
true reality that needs to be continually unveiled through continuous sensitive tests, which are executed by science. Hence the ultimate object of knowledge is the external, sensitive, and independent reality. Thus, the cognitive subject is nurtured by the impressions of the sensitive world, which allow learners to feasibly and concretely interact with the world (Ornstein & Hunkins, 1998).

In a similar fashion as the one utilized with Hegelianism, it is necessary then to ask some crucial questions about the object of knowledge. What is the object of knowing? It is the external reality, which is sensitive and independent from us. Specifically, it refers to the reality that allows us to enunciate regular behavioral laws that facilitate our capacity to adapt and develop ourselves within the surrounding environment.

Similarly, what is the subject of knowing? The cognitive subject is the human being and his/her quality to differentiate reality based upon his/her senses. The cognitive subject nurtures himself/herself of impressions from the sensitive world. Such a fact will help him/her to make the environment operational.

Critical Position of Experimentalism

Experimentalism is said to be a methodological approach on the interpretation of what is real. It is an approach which admits the difficulty to apprehend that which is unintelligible and transcends the human experience. As it can be easily figured, this thesis is crucial in denying the position sustained by Idealism.

Experimentalism not only states the immediate ignorance of what is unintelligible, and transcends the immediate sensitive knowledge, but neither does it question it. That is to say, in matters of faith it leaves the possibilities open; however, this is not the
unquestionable object of reason if not tested. James (as cited in Turner, 2002) notes: “On Pragmatic principles, if the hypothesis of God works satisfactorily in the widest sense of the word, it is true” (para. 15). According to Experimentalism such a position is not ambivalent, since we must acknowledge the limitations of sensitive and empirical knowledge, since sometimes our senses fail, as Descartes had pointed out on this matter. Turner (2002) on secular issues provides clear light in the sense that Pragmatism signifies the emphasis on practical or useful consequences.

Philosophical Foundations of Experimentalism and its Relation to Education

John Dewey (1859-1952) is one of the best well-known representatives of this position. Dewey was influenced in the last part of his career by the American thinker and psychologist, Williams James, founder of Pragmatism. Dewey’s own philosophy, which is also called Instrumentalism or Experimentalism, is derived from James’ Pragmatism. Thus Dewey highlighted what was practical. He aimed at probing how philosophical ideas can interact in everyday affairs. His logic and philosophical position was of permanent change, which consisted of the capacity of the being to adapt to changing needs and concrete situations. He wrote:

To insist that nature is an affair of beginnings is to assert that there is no one single and all-at-one beginning of everything. It is but another way of saying that nature is an affair of affairs, wherein each one, no matter how linked up it may be with others, has its own quality. (Dewey, 1925, p. 97)

In his pragmatist-instrumentalist philosophy, and in his pedagogy, he centered the central concept of “experience,” as an instrument of thought testing and action, and as the exclusive means of educational growth and development (Dewey, 1960). Accordingly, education was to be the mother-experience to foster social progress and improvement.
Education, from his perspective, is to foster social change. Therefore, if such a change is to be in accord to modern social evolution it should comprehend the following three crucial features: it should be scientific, activist, and democratic (Dewey, 1952).

Scientific Feature of Education

Education should adhere to the scientific method, that is, it should be based upon the experimental method. Experience centered from both the instructor who has to adapt himself/herself to the student’s learning style, and the learner who will receive genuine growth only through continuous attempts (experiences) of restructuring (induction), of adapting himself/herself to the environment (self education). Therefore, Dewey (1952) defines education, “It is that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience” (pp. 89-90).

Active Feature of Education

Education should consider that the child is a living being, and precisely due to that condition he/she is intensively active. Therefore, the process should guide this natural tendency from learners to spontaneous activity. Such a natural characteristic of children should under no circumstances be repressed or neglected. Therefore, education should consider the propelling force of natural growth in the nature of children. That is, the genuine interest, which is aroused from a deep vital need, and the means or guides fostered by play, work and art. Dewey firmly believed that education should not be a mere preparation for an eventual future life, but it should have sense in itself; that is,
within its own development and realization, it should provide, as he worded, "education is life."

Democratic Feature of Education

Finally, if education is to be the means to social change, it is logical to assume that it should be democratic; hence the school itself should be internally socialized. Curriculum should give children the formative value of social consciousness, lessons themselves and methods to be used should stimulate and favor group work. In summary, it could be stated that Dewey’s philosophy is oriented to provide the solid roots for an active pedagogy, which is based upon the living and present experience. Hence such a philosophy is socially functional, since it is oriented to the socialization of individuals, who, if isolated from the social body, would be nothing more than dead cells. Therefore, the educational principles proposed by Dewey favor learning through diverse and varied activities more than by means of pre-established curricular activities. By the same token, he was opposed to the authoritarian didactical methods used at his time. He was firmly convinced that his contemporary educational system was unable to provide students an adequate education for life within a democratic society (Dewey, 1952).

Dewey’s Educational Ideas

According to Dewey (1997), thinking should be considered as a means to plan the action and surpass the obstacles between what is and what is planned. By the same token, truth is an idea that is immersed in the practical experience (Dewey, 1952).

As stated above, Dewey’s philosophy was a clear manifestation of Positivism, an important paradigm at that time. Within such a framework these progressive ideas found
their practical avenue in “the New School” movement in which the Scientific Method as a methodology became widespread worldwide. This was the specific issue the Society of Jesus first, and then Hurtado, became interested in. Another important source in Dewey’s contribution was the eruption of Behaviorism as a theory of learning in educational settings. In order to be more precise and concise I will list the main educational ideas fostered by Dewey, which have been relevant in contemporary curricula. Most of them are developed in his work, Democracy and Education, 1916 (as cited in Dewey, 1952):

1. In Dewey’s thought it is feasible to identify positivist ideas, as well as the ones fostered by Pragmatism and Experimentalism which, in a blending approach, actually contributed to modify the conception on education and above all, the didactical ideas previously fostered by Herbart. This was mainly due to the relevance of the scientific method in the field of the physical sciences, which then were spread to the pedagogical arena.

2. Dewey’s position also incorporated Comte’s approaches in his ideas. Hence, Dewey’s ideas on education had two plausible explanations. The first based on psychology, which considered the biological and psychological maturity of learners, which made him favor a didactic psychologically rooted. The second explanation was the one that conceived the student as a social being, thus, he favored a teleological approach of education based upon sociology. This double perspective has had an undeniable relevance in educational arenas. Psychology and Sociology, which had always been considered as auxiliary elements among the sciences of education, have

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gained more important niches in the educational arena and to a certain extent it is feasible to state that they are actually fulfilling outstanding roles in contemporary pedagogy.

3. Bacon was another source of information and influence upon Dewey’s thought, hence he does not consider nature as the unique source of responses to all the questions. He thinks that nature should be investigated within a utilitarian sense, even in fields which would be labeled as purely humane and/or social. He wonders how to develop a total technology, which would encompass nature, human beings and society. Such a position caused others to label Dewey as “pragmatic on education.” Accordingly, on the concept of truth, he states: “Like knowledge itself, truth is an experienced relation of things, and it has no meaning outside of that relation” (Dewey, 1965, p. 95). However, such a concept was undeniably united to improving humane existence:

So repulsive is a conception of truth which makes it a mere tool of private ambition and aggrandizement, that the wonder is that critics have attributed such a notion to sane men. As matter of fact, truth as utility means service in making just that contribution to reorganization experience that the idea or theory claims to be able to make. (Dewey, 1967, p. 157)

In such a context, he preaches that action precedes everything, and enables us to reach knowledge and thinking. Theory is the result of practice to which thinking, hypotheses, and conceptions have to be submitted. These are neither false nor true, though they will become either the former or the latter, according to their success. Consequently, now we are not confronted to the power of reason, but to the magnificence of action in the most ample sense. Therefore, Herbert’s double perspective, which stated that theory was the result of the combination of speculation and experience, was literally mutilated.
4. According to Dewey (1997), experimental thinking is the unique most valuable manner of thought. However, such a statement should not be understood to mean that he referred to experiment in a literal fashion, but as a common experience of induction, where learning is tested. Thinking and trial are carried out according to practical consequences. Hence, his conception refers to a scientific approach whereby any new knowledge in life should be the object of testing.

5. He supports education as a process of development from the inner selves of learners. In such a context he develops a progressive thought on education, which is mainly based upon his concept of experience, which is the key concept in his system. Thus, experience is always vital in his system. He wrote:

   Empiricism is conceived of as tied up to what has been, or is “given.” But experience in its vital form is experimental, an effort to change the given; it is characterized by projection, by reaching forward into the unknown; connection with a future in its salient trait. (Dewey, 1960, p. 23)

   Experience is thus real in the interaction of each individual with the environment. Such an experience is lived in concrete learning situations, which means the adoption of a position regarding teaching, student and instructor. In order to be consistent with this position, Dewey notes on the one hand, that learning is active reconstruction and ongoing experience, and on the other hand, that teaching consists of facilitating the means that will facilitate such a reconstruction.

6. Teaching assumes the development of an operational plan in organizing action, which is scheduled upon joint activities or group work whereby the logical axle is methodical. Science, as the body of eternal truths to be transmitted to learners, which is
divorced from ordinary experiences, is no longer supported. However, it is accepted as a method in teaching curricular contents.

7. Within such a theoretical content, he states that the scientific method is the only authentic means to discover the meaning of our ordinary experiences in this world. Therefore, educational experiences must lead to an expansive world of study matters. It should be constituted by facts, information, and ideas. Such a condition can only be fulfilled when the educator assumes that teaching and learning constitute a continuous process of reconstructing experience.

8. The place given to knowledge with the value given to the scientific method guides the learning-teaching process, which mainly is addressed to foster "good" thinking habits. I deliberately utilized that modifier, because in Dewey's conception, they are derived from the scientific method in environments that lead to experiences that facilitate discernment. There is only one method for sciences and for intelligence itself. Experience is the source of problems and the beginning point for reflexive thought, hence for teaching itself. Problem related facts searching leads to hypotheses posing, which will determine reflection upon these, and lastly the conclusion or practical testing. So, everything begins with the experimental difficulty and all the process itself is empirical. The crucial problem of teaching is ensuring that the initial impulse, which is motivating learning in individuals, becomes the aim. Therefore, such a goal combined with observation, information, controlled experimentation, and testing will adequately give meaning to the experience.
9. Dewey’s didactical idea reveals a conception of teaching as a reflexive and experimental method, in which teaching and learning are intertwined dynamic elements. Hence, teaching consists of the provision of opportunities so a learner can effectively employ the scientific method. Teachers are to organize, prepare, coordinate, and monitor the experience, which is expected to be flexible, integral, and adequate.

Finally, in order to make the synthesis of both positions, so as to properly address Dewey’s shift from Hegelianism to Experimentalism, the following section will be divided into: (a) connections and differences of both positions, and (b) synthesis of both positions.

Connections, Differences, and Synthesis Between Hegelianism and Experimentalism

Both positions, Hegel’s and Dewey’s, respectively, attempt to rationally explain reality. The former is based upon rationale logic, the latter upon sensitive arguments. Their differences in gnosis are clear cut in their origins. In their results it could be stated that they both are rational and plausible explanations of cognitive reality.

Their Connections

From my perspective, the most suggestive connection between both positions is referred to as the significant concept, that is, to what somehow explains what is real, what interprets reality, and what makes us intelligible beings of reality. While one position argues that it is immanent, the other is for its transcendence. Both attempt to provide an explanation of a rational entity, that is, what is thought in a dual fashion, affirmatively and negatively.
So, we can state that the object of knowledge is the same as an explanatory entity of the being in the cognitive relation. Hegel and Dewey differ in the interpretation of such an object of knowledge. Therefore, the search for an adequate meaning to the response on the Being of reality is not subject to a mere logical discussion on its ontological value, but such a search is in itself the philosophical attitude of the search for truth. Hegel's contribution led to repositioning the superfluity of traditional empiricism. Experimentalism is thus nurtured by a deeper and more mature position regarding an explanation on the being of reality, and makes it operational. Its practical and functional aim is expressed within the contemporary science as a method of formal reasoning and as extraordinarily fertile material.

Such a synthesis is considered as valid for the contemporary science, and was a magnificent gift from Hegel to the required seriousness of science. That is, he changed the mere empirical speculation in a synthesis of formal, rigorous reasoning, which we now have labeled as science, as if it were a big modifying noun in a strict fashion. Later it came to be named as phenomenology, which could not reach its objective if not outside itself.

**Differences Between Hegelianism and Experimentalism**

Apparently, the main difference between the positions above is precisely the scientific method, which provides us the necessary tools to advance in knowledge whether sensitive or not. Psychology seems to be the most important science which has rendered the most prolific results in the educational arena. The scientific methodology employed by this science in its endeavors could be outlined in terms of goals in the
following way: (a) to describe the behavior being studied, which is a primary goal in any science. Whenever possible phenomena are measured or observed directly; if not, the use of indirect methods fulfills such a gap; (b) to explain such a behavior, which mainly consists of setting cause and effect relations from within pertinent factors; (c) to predict it, when hypotheses are supported, such a behavior may be predicted in other situations; (d) to modify or control it, which may be attained by means of variables manipulation.

As seen, the main focus of differences between Hegelianism and Experimentalism is centered on the tool used to access the unveiling of the Being of reality. Reason is for the former, experience for the latter. Hegel states that reason is superior and encompasses experience; however, Experimentalism argues that experience is superior, since it forms and shapes reason.

For Hegel, a simple rational inference of experience is contradictory, and it is in such a contradiction that experience loses its essence to become the root of the interpretation of reality itself. Hegel doubts the legitimization of Kant's categories of understanding, but he assumes them as a logical superior unity, which assumes the Being of absolute reason. Experimentalism supports the thesis that experience is what prints the seal on what is intelligible, on what can be captured by human understanding in the cognitive relation. This position doubts that reason encompasses in itself what is intelligible of sensitive experience, since there would not be advances in knowledge if we limit ourselves to statements whose predicates are part of themselves. If that were the case, knowledge would be a mere hidden tautology as suggested by Hegelianism.

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Synthesis of Both Positions

As noted above, Hegelian synthesis fosters new phases of higher synthesis, and at the same time, it is self-stated and legitimizes its own critique of the cognitive system. This is something similar to what happens with the experimental negation, but understood within the Hegelian schema.

The Hegelian process of philosophical thought, and the annihilation of any self-vain position, may be considered as an example of self-stated thought, which by keeping for itself knowledge authenticity, leaves the door open to its contrary. Therefore, by denying itself it keeps up its own discourse, and states the value of this latter in the transcendence of the Absolute Knowledge.

Experimentalism adds an extra value of extraordinary utility to our discussion, since knowledge resides in the sensitive world, the world of the contingent and partial reality. Hence such knowledge has shown itself as evolutionary and in constant development.

On the other hand, Hegelian Idealism centers all in a tautological fashion on the Absolute Reason. In doing so, it leaves little space for investigation into the spirit of the world of sensitive experience. Therefore, the conceptual categorization from Idealism inhibits the development of the empirical science. From my perspective, that would be the strongest piece of criticism against Idealism.

From what is discussed above it may be stated that the educational insights from Hegelianism constitute a moral legacy. On the other hand, Experimentalism as a discipline rooted in social sciences, wherein those related to behavior seem to be highlighted. It provides generalizations and principles to focus the educational system in
a given sense that fits in the adapted development of culture and practical historical, as well as actual interests.

Experimentalism has developed theses that have been contrasted with reality, and its successive validation has allowed generalizing and universalizing principles, which constitute the essence of the contemporary science. Education has become fertile soil for specific applications in which the scientific model of contrasting and application has been mainly used. Therefore, education has become something more than a mere imperative of the moral "should be;" it has become a planned activity on the growth of human development.

Systematical education has received Experimentalism as a solid scientific basis, which has enabled it to develop a set of rules based on universal laws, which are expressed in different educational patterns. On this issue, we may mention the traditional German education derived from Idealism. It is a practical model of that philosophical stance, though it must be stated that with no robust scientific groundwork, its curriculum usually focuses mostly in academic subjects, with limited offerings on physical education, sports, and art (Flyppo, 1998). On the contrary, pragmatic or experimental education, that bases its principles and axioms upon an empirical and real investigative basis, enables adopting and adapting symptomatically, that is, by the symptoms derived from practice of diverse models and scientific educational practices. That is why science has acquired an outstanding and singular relevance in education.
Dewey’s Educational Insights from a Catholic Perspective

Though this section has been titled as if I were going to refer to some specific educational thoughts fostered by Dewey as criticized from a Catholic perspective, specifically, from Hurtado’s perspectives, I have thought it would be more productive to discuss the philosophical pillars of Dewey’s educational thought from such a Christian stance. Thus, his specific educational points will better relate with Hurtado’s educational practices in the next chapter. I will center the present discussion on the following main issues: (a) truth, (b) relative knowledge, (c) morality, and (d) social stance.

Truth

According to Hurtado (1989), from a general pragmatic view, truth is acknowledged and constituted by the practical and satisfactory consequences of a given idea. However, in Dewey (1967), it is the specific utility derived from the idea, which as hypothesis concludes in what it had originally intended to predict. He wrote:

To generalize the recognition that the true means the verified and means nothing else places upon men the responsibility for surrendering political and moral dogmas, and subjecting to the test of consequences their most cherished prejudices. Such a change involves a great change in the seat of authority and the methods of decision in society. (p. 160)

From Hurtado’s perspective if there is only one criterion accepted, hypothesis testing, as reaching the relative truth, such a stance would be “incomplete” from a Catholic view, since intelligence should have a criterion to reach an absolute certainty. However, it is interesting to note that Hurtado does not reject Dewey’s stance. Eventually, this might be due to the value the American thinker gives creative intelligence upon the consequences of humane actions.
From my perspective, Hurtado partly accepts this position because he realizes that Dewey admitted human capacity to create, which from a Catholic perspective, is what makes us resemble our Creator. Though, he does not accept Dewey’s conclusion in the sense that truth is relative.

Such a rejection from Hurtado, which interprets accurately a Catholic perspective, is simply arguing against such a stance, because it is basically against the notion of the Absolute Truth, simply put, against the notion of God.

Relative Knowledge

From the concept of truth sustained by Dewey as an experimentalist thinker, Hurtado (1989) points out: “If Dewey’s position is to be considered in its strictest sense, that is, that truth identifies itself in its current validity, it is necessary to conclude in the relativism of truth” (p. 138). So, no individual truth would exist, but would be as numerous as there are subjects known to exist. On this matter, Dewey (1965) wrote:

Like knowledge itself, truth is an experienced relation of things, and it has no meaning outside of such relation, any more than such adjectives as comfortable applied to a lodging, correct applied to speech, persuasive applied to an orator etc., have worth apart from the specific things to which they are applied. (p. 95)

Such a position, from Hurtado’s view, leads to agnosticism, since if truth is always in a constant change, we must admit to our incapacity to know the nature of things in them. Agnosticism, as it is well known, is a philosophical posture not accepted by the Catholic doctrine, since agnostic relativism, when denying the validity on certain fundamental truths, is denying the essence of Christianity, that is, God. Such an agnostic position may be the most serious challenge for Catholic doctrine in accepting Dewey’s principles.
Morality

This is another crucial pillar in Dewey's educational ideology. He wrote:

Moral goods and ends exist only when something has to be done. The fact that something has to be done proves that there are deficiencies, evils in the existent situation. This ill is just the specific ill that it is. It never is an exact duplicate of anything else. Consequently the good of the situation has to be discovered, projected and attained on the basis of the exact defect and trouble to be rectified. It cannot intelligently be injected into the situation from without. (Dewey, 1967, p. 169)

Dewey, then, acknowledges that in the moral act the notions of good and evil intervene. Then what is true is good, that is, truth in the intellectual order is also good in the moral order. The constituting elements of truth also constitute moral goodness. However, it is not only necessary for a man to be good. He should be compromised to canalize such goodness into concrete deeds: "It was said that the important thing morally is not what a man is inside of his own consciousness, but what he does-the consequences which issue, the changes he actually effects" (Dewey, 1952, p. 406). Then he emphasizes, so as not to leave any doubt on his stand on this matter, by stating: "Results, conduct, are what counts; they afford the sole measure of morality" (p. 152).

Hurtado (1989) states that the criterion which conscience uses to define whether a moral relation exists or not, is the same criterion used to discover an intellectual truth. Evidence, which refers to the moral evidence, is the adjustment of acting with the eternal law. Moreover, he argues that the active and practical features of the moral act, which is independent from a pre-established norm fostered by Dewey, will inevitably lead morality to the most absolute relativism. Such a state will not be accepted by a Catholic position.
Such a discrepancy between the pragmatic position held by Dewey and the Catholic one sustained by Hurtado is mainly due to the fact that both positions view the world in different fashions. Reality for both is different, with the main difference referring to the final aim, which in the Dewey position is mankind. On the contrary, for the Catholic view it is the Supreme Being. Thus they are different stands. Dewey's agnostic position, which leads to a materialistic conception of human affairs, is inevitably opposed to Catholic principles, which acknowledge an eternal, spiritual and free soul. Or simply put, Christianity symbolizes a clear dualism on man's essence or nature, his soul and his body, spirit and matter. Dewey always stood against dualism of any sort, which is why he wrote:

When the consciousness of science is fully impregnated with the consciousness of human value, the greatest dualism which now weighs humanity down, the split between the material, the mechanical, the scientific and the moral and ideal will be destroyed. (Dewey, 1967, p. 172)

I believe that further comment on Dewey's stance on this matter would be rather redundant; however, in order to make his perspective operational in the educational arena it is worthy to quote the following:

Going to the root of the matter, the fundamental fallacy of the theory is its dualism; that is to say, its separation of activities and capacities from subject matter. There is no such thing as an ability to see or hear or remember in general; there is only the ability to see or hear or remember something. To talk about training a power, mental or physical, in general, apart from the subject matter involved in its exercise, is nonsense. (Dewey, 1952, p. 76)

Hurtado (1989) is consistent with the Catholic stance regarding the search for truth as fostered by the Church. Although he is definitively opposed, as it has been discussed above, to the relativism or pragmatism held by Dewey, he believes that the American
thinker contributed greatly to moral issues on education when asserting that there is a
close relation between morality and intellectual life. Hurtado notes that reasoning, when
projecting on the objective order of beings, unveils in them their intrinsic relations that
unite them to the self, which will thus be able to use such revelations accordingly.

Simply put, as he wrote:

It is the same duty that compels the search for what is true in the intellectual life and
what is good in the moral life; it is the same criterion that helps us to differentiate
what is true and good. (Hurtado, 1989, p. 148)

What might be considered as a crucial contradiction in Hurtado’s arguments is very soon
settled by his own words: “...under no circumstances is it feasible to assert that the
intellectual order or the moral order are but a mere creation of the spirit, that they are
essentially relative things” (1989, p. 148).

As it might be accurately guessed, Dewey’s agnostic and materialistic position is
incompatible with the Catholic doctrine. The core of such incompatibility resides in the
dualism of human nature that Christianity asserts, that is, “the Catholic principles that
declare the soul existence, which is spiritual, immortal and free” (Hurtado, 1989, p. 149).

However, though Hurtado admits and supports the incompatibility of both positions,
he believes that Dewey’s pedagogical ideas are still valid either for a Catholic, a Jewish,
or a Muslim, because his ideas addressed the genuine interests and development of a
child, independently from the philosophical basis involved.
Social Stance

Dewey defines man as essentially a social being and in such a conception education fulfills that crucial human feature, which is why Hurtado (1989) acknowledges him as a thinker whose main concern is social. Dewey (1967) wrote:

We repeat over and over that man is a social animal, and then confine the significance of this statement to the sphere in which sociality usually seems less evident, politics. The heart of man in sociality is in education. (p. 185)

According to Hurtado (1989), Dewey’s social theory is something that goes further; it is an actual metaphysics. The individual and society are two states that share identical evolving processes and that constantly progress. Thus Dewey (1967) wrote:

Society, as was said, is many associations, not a single organization. Society means association; coming together in joint intercourse and action for the better realization of any form of experience which is augmented and confirmed by being shared. (p. 205)

Hence the individual, "the person," Hurtado would say, acts in the environment. His/her aim is to integrate. Thanks to the reflective thought fostered by Dewey, such a person will be able to fit in itself and in society, so as to make it progress. Such integration should not be considered as the act of subordinating the individual to society or vice versa. It means a sort of coordination, which on many occasions is not fluid, between these states. Thus, both individual and society are always evolving. Either in the world of facts, or in the ideal one. It is the individual' inexcusable duty to orient and lead such social becoming. By the same token, authority comes from society itself. Simply put, authority comes from human beings themselves. It does not have any other origin, but it is immanent in society itself.
Dewey’s antagonism and rejection to any sort of dualism has been alluded to through the development of this study; however, it is in this precise concept that Hurtado finds one of the most crucial diverging and similar trends, as will be explained almost immediately between Dewey’s thought and the Catholic perspective. On this matter, Dewey (1952) wrote:

> Aside from incidental educational bearings, it will be shown in this chapter that the dualistic philosophy of mind and the world implies an erroneous conception of the relationship between knowledge and social interests, and between individuality or freedom, and social control and authority. (p. 341)

From Hurtado’s perspective (1989), “it is the most absolute immanence; man is the measure of everything; everything is related to his progress” (p. 150). In order to provide some more information on what is stated above, though redundant, it is worthy to cite the following words from Dewey (1952) as he compares the type of society he is suggesting to others:

> A society based on custom will utilize individual variations only up to a limit of conformity with usage; uniformity is the chief ideal within each class. A progressive society counts individual variations as precious since it finds in them the means of its own growth. Hence a democratic society must, in consistency with its ideal, allow for intellectual freedom and the play of diverse gifts and interests in its educational measures. (p. 357)

Hurtado (1989) points out that Dewey ignores the true aim of human life, which is no other than serving God, man’s Creator and final End. By the same token, the American thinker also ignores the existence of a spiritual soul, “which has been called by God to live in divine intimacy” (p. 150). However, Hurtado admits that the main valuable effort by Dewey in the social field is related to providing evidence of human social nature during his time, which was extremely pervaded by individualism. He thinks that Dewey
showed the importance of social life and man's obligation to make society progress.

Evidently, Hurtado does not admit the criterion of social good as absolute, but as a means to the End. Here is again, from my perspective, the old Jesuit axiom recurrently mentioned through this study, and a coincident trend between Dewey's social ideas and those supported by Catholicism in this field.
CHAPTER 6

WHAT INFLUENCE DID HE HAVE ON CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION?

Through the development of this study it has been stated on several occasions that the interest in education is something immanent in most, if not all, priests. Padre Hurtado was not an exception; indeed, it must also be emphasized that for the Society of Jesus education has always been a cornerstone. Its history as outlined in Chapter 2 is a valid piece of information on how education became a pillar in Jesuit practices. So, Padre Hurtado firmly believed that he had to prepare in the best way he could to undertake his eventual future tasks in Chile, which is why he pursued his doctorate in education, where his dissertation was on one prominent figure in education worldwide. However, his social work for the poor eclipsed people's knowledge of his deeds in Chile's "regular" education system, and his commitment to what he namely called "Social Education."

His main, though widely unknown, contribution to Chilean education was making the Catholic intellectual elite accept Dewey's educational insights as relevant to Catholic schools. Simply put, what Hurtado did was to conciliate both the Catholic Doctrine and the secular thought in educational matters. Thus, when the 1965 educational reform was actually carried out, there were not any significant problems in blending insights from apparently diverging sources of both the Christian humanism and the Pragmatic philosophical stand (Caiceo, 1996).

This chapter will focus on the following main issues: (a) Dewey's educational thought found as conciliatory from a Catholic perspective, (b) Hurtado's influence on
contemporary Chilean education, and (c) social education from his perspectives. In so
doing, I will draw links between the American thinker, Hurtado, and Chilean education.

**Dewey’s Educational Thought Found as Conciliatory from a Catholic Perspective**

From Hurtado’s perspective (1989), Dewey changed from a Hegelian stance at the
beginning of his career, toward a pragmatic posture some fifteen years later. Only the
former position was compatible with the Catholic Doctrine. As discussed previously, one
of the most crucial insights from Hegel is the acknowledgement of the Absolute Being.
This is opposed in the later Dewey’s theory of knowledge, in which truth is basically
reached by the scientific method. Such a path would inevitably lead to relativism within
a Catholic perspective. According to Hurtado, Dewey found a liberation moment in
Hegel’s philosophy, since it offered him the sort of approximation to God he had looked
for at the beginning of his career. In supporting his position, the Jesuit cites Dewey: “I
look forward to meeting God, listening to his word, and talking silently to my heart”
(from Selections from the Writings of G. Mc Donald, p. 3, as cited in Hurtado, 1989, p.
127). Though who can best admit a former Hegelian influence and its split from his
thought is Dewey himself, who wrote:

> I drifted away from Hegelianism in the next fifteen years; the word “drifting”
expresses the slow and, for a long time, imperceptible character of the movement,
though it does not convey the impression that there was an adequate cause for the
change. Nevertheless I should never think of ignoring, much less denying, what an
astute critic occasionally refers to as a novel discovery—that acquaintance with Hegel
has left a permanent deposit in my thinking. (1960, p. 12)

Either way, from Hurtado’s perspectives, Dewey, though changed from a
philosophical absolutism toward a pragmatic experimentalism, developed his main
educational thought during the first part of his career. Indeed, Hurtado states, when
referring to Dewey's pedagogy and philosophy: "We have attempted to prove that these are intrinsically independent from each other" (1989, p. 246). He states that the American thinker in educational matters always followed a uniform mainstream whose nucleus was in his work *My Pedagogic Creed*, written in 1897. At that time, the American thinker was truly committed with Hegelianism. Hurtado also remarks that other relevant works by Dewey, such as the *School and Society* (1889), when Hegel’s influence was still present in Dewey’s thought, and *Democracy and Education* (1916), genuinely experimentalist, which are said to contain the essence of his educational ideology, do not actually render a new pedagogy, but some further development of the ideas of his former work, which had been published as stated above, when Dewey admitted to be influenced by Hegel. This is why Hurtado concludes that Dewey’s pedagogy may be considered as independent from his pragmatic posture. In so doing, it would be possible then, for the Catholic Doctrine to consider an eventual acceptance of Dewey’s pedagogical ideology. In the interview with participant Hermann, who was also one of Hurtado’s former students and has worked in education at the Jesus Society in Chile, states:

Well, if we consider the human being as such, excluding the Catholic or religious feature, then if education considers "the person..." when Dewey refers to an active education, he means that the child has to foster his self education...well, that is exactly what we, the Jesuits do. Ignacio’s Spiritual Exercises consider the person and that he acts. That God’s Spirit illuminates him...so, that’s the way it converges, the person who is no longer a human person, but someone who goes upwards and then... one is protagonist of one’s own education. That is what Dewey wants and what we, (referring to the Jesuits), also want. (Interview, January 2003)

Hermann points out the difference between the “pragmatic” stances of Dewey and the Jesuits in pursuing similar educational results, though the latter is united to the Christian
faith. It is necessary to recall that Jesuits have always been accused of pragmatic practices, as a result of their position regarding the Jesuit axiom on the means to the aim; however, though redundant, it should also be restated that the order aims at the more glory of God, while pragmatism and other positions refer to earthly matters.

As stated previously, Hurtado’s interest in Dewey was twofold. On the one hand, The Society of Jesus was interested in the New School movement. In such a context the general of the order had requested members of the company to study eventual links between the Catholic thought and that new educational trend. This is Hurtado’s practical interest. On the other hand, Hurtado’s own interest was to prove that Dewey’s educational ideology was not rooted in the experimentalist posture, but from his Hegelian philosophical roots, which were compatible with the Catholic Doctrine (Caiceo, 1989, 1995).

In his study, Hurtado (1989) analyzed Dewey’s My Pedagogic Creed and provided a critical synthesis. The elements highlighted by Hurtado are somehow embedded in the outline of Dewey’s educational ideas in Chapter 5. Though Hurtado admits that Dewey’s The School and Society in 1899 and Democracy and Education in 1916 are important educational pieces, My Pedagogic Creed portrayed best his social ideas in schooling regarding the impact of the Industrial Revolution upon the American society. In the former work above, Dewey clearly showed his disagreement with the concept of divorcing children’s social lives at home from school:

Another thing that is suggested by these schoolrooms, with their set desks, is that everything is arranged for handling as large number of children as possible, for dealing with children en masse, as an aggregate of units; involving, again, that they be treated passively. The moment children act they individualize themselves; they
cease to be a mass, and become the intensely distinctive beings that we are acquainted with out of school, in the home, the family, on the playground, and in the neighborhood. (Dewey, 1980, p. 22)

Dewey’s *Democracy and Education*, from Hurtado’s perspective, was an attempt to unify his new philosophy and his pedagogical ideas as is clearly stated in the preface of the cited work:

The following pages embody an endeavor to detect and state the ideas implied in a democratic society and to apply these ideas to the problems of the enterprise of education. The discussion includes an indication of the constructive aims and methods of public education as seen from this point of view, and a critical estimate of the theories of knowing and moral development which were formulated in earlier social conditions, but which still operate, in societies nominally democratic, to hamper the adequate realization of the democratic ideal. As will appear from the book itself, the philosophy stated in this book connects the growth of democracy with the development of the experimental method in the sciences, evolutionary ideas in the biological sciences, and the industrial reorganization, and is concerned to point out the changes in subject matter and method of education indicated by these developments. (Dewey, 1952, p. v)

It might be argued that Dewey’s purpose is very clear in the sense that this work is the product of the unification of his pragmatic philosophy and his educational ideology. Hurtado, however, argues that the educational ideas developed in this book are the “traditional” ones expressed previously, in 1889, in his work *Applied Psychology*, when apparently Dewey was not involved in Experimentalism. On the contrary, Hurtado states that at that time, the American thinker was “…one of Hegel’s fervent disciples” (1989, p. 173). Simply put, what Hurtado does is to extrapolate a conclusion on a chronological analysis of the evolution of Dewey’s thought as expressed in his works.

Either way, the purpose of this section of our discussion is to outline Dewey’s educational thoughts which, from Hurtado’s perspective, could be assimilated by the
Catholic Doctrine. Hence in order to proceed specifically and concisely, a similar approach as the one used by Hurtado (1989) will be followed.

1. From Dewey's perspectives the immediate aim of education is not exclusively individual and it is not solely social, but it blends both extremes of the continuum, thus there will be an individual enrichment and his/her adapting to the environment, which will make society progress. According to Dewey (1952) "...any number of comprehensive ends may exist without competition, since they mean simply different ways of looking at the same scene" (p. 128).

From Hurtado's perspective, though these considerations are "acceptable" they are, however, incomplete. As the reader may recall on the discussion of the theological conception on the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, everyone is called to take part of the Divine Grace, hence an educational aim of education should not ignore such an aim from a Catholic perspective, and it should be the avenue through which human beings are best prepared for their spiritual life.

That Dewey apparently ignored or "did not care" to focus the aim of education on another life is sufficiently explained by his philosophical posture. Originally he could have shown a certain religious feeling, mainly inspired by his former philosophical stance on Hegelian Absolutism. However, as he was dissociating from his original stand his religious conception was abandoning its divine essence. So in Dewey (1934) he stated:

The heart of my point as I shall develop it in the first section is that there is a difference between religion, a religion, and the religious; between anything that may be denoted by a noun substantive and the quality of experience that is designated by an adjective. It is not easy to find a definition of religion in the substantive case that wins general acceptance. (p. 3)
According to Hurtado (1989), "within Dewey's religious conception no divine essence is left, of what is supernatural: it is man who has replaced God's place" (p. 127). Thus, it may be stated that the religious element in Dewey became something external as it might be any other humane or art expression. However, it must be clearly stated that this position of Dewey is not "opposed" to Christianity. This means that his stance did not consider the religious element as an adversary or an opponent. The position of Marxism against religion, as previously discussed, consists of an open antagonism.

2. His conception of the child was as a whole, not as an "ungrowth something." It is amazingly coincidental that Dewey's conception coincides with that of Father's Vives, Hurtado's mentor, whom the reader might recall, believed that children were not understood by their elders as they should be. Dewey (1952) suggests that in some moral issues adults should emulate children: "Children, if they could express themselves articulately and sincerely, would tell a different tale; and there is excellent adult authority for the conviction that for certain moral and intellectual purposes adults must become as little children" (p. 50).

Therefore, it is pertinent and appropriate to point out that Jesus Christ Himself preached that adults should be like children to enter the Kingdom of Heavens. So, from my perspective, Dewey's idea could not be more Christian.

3. The worth he gives in planning education to the child's interests. Such an idea, closely linked to the previous one, suggests that educational issues should not be externally imposed, but on the contrary, courses and contents should be designed according to the child's development: "Now when we say that immaturity means the
possibility of growth, we are not referring to absence of powers which may exist at a later
time; we express a force positively present—the ability to develop” (Dewey, 1952, p. 49).

When Hurtado began his apostleship, one of the main tasks he undertook was as
adviser at the Catholic Action, in which he designed study circles on Christian issues.
These discussions were mainly organized upon the current interests on Catholicism by
the members of the movement (Hurtado, 1994). Such a tangible activity undertaken by
Hurtado as educator proves the validity of Dewey’s educational idea within a Catholic
scenario.

4. The teacher is the most experienced guide that may help the child in his/her own
process of discovery. Hurtado, in a similar fashion as Christ had done in His secular trial,
adds that the authority of the instructor has been given to him/her by an external
authority, which in this case, comes from the Church, the family and the state,
respectively (Hurtado, 1989). On this matter, Dewey (1952) states, “The natural or
native impulses of the young do not agree with the life—customs of the group into which
they are born. Consequently they have to be directed or guided” (p. 47). It is my
intention to highlight on this matter a crucial element which I have been developing
through this study. This is the old and still valid Jesuit axiom on the utilization of the
best means to the end for the more glory of God. This was also Dewey’s idea (1952) on
this matter, who points out, “this common understanding of the means and ends of action
is the essence of social control” (p. 47). Indeed, he admits that such an internal control
“through identity of interest and understanding is the business of education” (p. 48).
Eventually, the reader might recall that members of the Jesuit Order have systematically
been criticized for their pragmatism in their practices. However, it is my belief, as stated above, that both positions are similar only in a rather external fashion, since the apparent pragmatism of Jesuits is devoted to God’s business and Dewey’s to earthly matters.

5. Pedagogical activities and freedom are cornerstones in Dewey’s educational ideas, and are acceptable by the Catholic Doctrine. Within such a context, and to be consistent with the ideas aforementioned, Dewey (1952) suggests that aims should be flexible so as they would meet the circumstances. Thus, he notes: “The aim must always represent a freeing of activities” (p. 123). In this he distinguishes between true aims from imposed ones. Accordingly, the activities carried out to fulfill the former or the latter type of aims will vary in being effective or ineffective stimuli to intelligence. Though Hurtado does not specifically link this idea to the religious belief on the resemblance between humans and their Creator, it is my position that such a capacity to “create,” or simply put, the intelligent use of activities in freedom in the pursuit of self driven aims, is what makes this idea fully acceptable by Catholic Doctrine.

6. The commitment to social situation issues has been portrayed in Hurtado’s concern regarding the social situation experienced by the poor in his country. Hence the acceptance of this idea is something more than apparent. Participant Polanco in the interview states, “Well, I think that the most important value upon which he (Hurtado) put more emphasis on was the principle of solidarity. He valued education for the openness to our brothers” (Interview, July 2002). Participant Rojas in a very concise fashion states: “Solidarity is cultivated” (Interview, July 2002). Similarly, Dewey’s social commitment is also widely acknowledged when discussing the social and the
Moral: “As a matter of fact, morals are as broad as acts which concern our relationships with others” (Dewey, 1952, p. 414). Participant Maturana in the interview regarding the main teachings from Hurtado, states:

To recognize the other’s dignity, because God is in the other. That is outstandingly motivating and novel within a society that labels itself as Christian and Catholic. So, that someone tells us: “half of the Chilean population lives in misery...an indignant misery, which is not wanted...” that is a tremendous propelling force! So, first, the fact that he makes us recognize God in the other. That is a very important factor! A second one, that Padre Hurtado is a person centered in Christ. He is a person that wants to possess Christ’s attitudes, his mission, motivations, and his enthusiasm, that is why he wonders so often, what Christ would do if He were in his place. (July 2002)

These pieces of information clearly prove that in educational matters Hurtado and Dewey had similar interests. I decided to quote the religious information above, because it is pervaded of social concern and provides a clear rationale on a permanent thought Hurtado used to voice whenever in doubt, or in need of additional force in his practices. Participant Galaz, when asked on the most salient feature of Hurtado, replied without hesitating: “his social interest. And he was a man whose social interest was immediately transformed into action” (Interview, July 2002).

7. School life has an intrinsic value. By the same token, it is not a mere preparation for adult life, thus, it should recognize the importance to foster the current interests of children in deciding which activities should be designed and carried out. Dewey (1952) claims:

Children are not regarded as social members in full and regular standing. They are looked upon as candidates; they are placed on the waiting list. The conception is only carried out a little farther when the life of adults is considered as not having meaning on its own account, but as a preparatory probation for “another life.” (p. 63)
According to Dewey and Hurtado such a stance is a critical waste in educational matters, since children live in the present, and not to speak in the present tense on this matter is simply wasting the potential from children. Eventually, one of the most significant sayings from Dewey was the one which referred to this issue when stating that education is life. Thus, the main implication from a Catholic prism would be the one where Jesus Christ invited children to join Him,

Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them, for the kingdom of God belongs to such as these. I tell you the truth, anyone who will not receive the kingdom of God like a little child will never enter it. (Lucas 18:16. New International Version)

Participant Maturana on another of Hurtado’s drives, which vividly supports Hurtado’s concern for children, specifically to “his little bosses,” says:

Besides his unlimited and central love to Jesus Christ and that love to those who suffer, those beloved by Christ, he incarnated a deep love to children. Padre Hurtado is a formidable defender of children, of their rights, of their dignity. And he fights because children may become children again, specifically those whom society by different reasons has robbed of their youth, their childhood. (Interview, July 2002)

Hence, it is feasible to state, as Hurtado previously did, that Dewey’s idea above can also be followed by Catholic circles. After all, Hurtado’s most well-known deed, the Hogar de Cristo, responds in the most immediate fashion to this principle. Participant Salvatierra who actually works at the headquarters of that institution states:

The Hogar de Cristo is an important source of solidarity. It makes all Chileans to look at the most urgent needs, and it also tells us: “Well, let’s not only look at poverty, let’s put hands on such reality because such reality can not wait.” (Interview, May 2002)

The participant paraphrased one of the most striking messages Pope John Paul II issued on his visit to Chile, in 1987, “the poor cannot wait.” Similarly, participant Rojas adds,
on Hurtado’s legacy, “his constant looking at reality, reflecting on it and acting upon it” (Interview, July 2002). Thus, from my perspective, it is sufficiently proven that Dewey’s idea above is completely complementary with Christianity.

8. Dewey’s methodological principles regarding the teaching of history, geography, and sciences as well as mathematics, manual activities, play and work in the curriculum, interest, and effort. According to Hurtado (1989), all are elements that can be easily accepted by Catholic educational environments. There is no need to add any further comment on it.

9. Moral education. According to Dewey (1952), learning morals should be fostered in school by means of reflective thought, which may be effectively enriched by group work toward a common aim. Moral values of ordinary activities may help children learn the significance between intellectual and moral life. However, Dewey (1952) complains the way morals are taught at schools in which “moral education is inevitably reduced to some kind of catechetical instruction, or lessons about morals” (p. 411). Hurtado (1989) agrees with Dewey on such an educational insight, though he adds that morality assumes the existence of a moral law, which has been prescribed by a higher being. The reader may recall that social denouncement was a well known practice by Hurtado, hence Dewey’s position and his were complementary. However, Hurtado points out that moral education is rooted in God himself, and as discussed above, this was not a matter of Dewey’s interest. However, both positions are not opposed. On the contrary, they are mutually interdependent. The reader may recall the theological conception on the Mystical Body of Christ to which Hurtado adhered. There is no other way but admitting...
the interdependency of both positions alluded to above. Hurtado states that Dewey's stance is somehow incomplete, but he does not refute it. Hence its acceptance from a Catholic perspective flows rather naturally.

10. Education of the child’s will. Hurtado (1989) thinks that this aim in Dewey’s educational ideology is compatible with the Catholic doctrine, since it is valuable that education provides children instances to act according to their personal interests. He also welcomes physical and affective activities leading to their cultivation. Accordingly, Dewey (1952) defines will as:

> Will means an attitude towards the future, towards the production of possible consequences, an attitude involving effort to foresee clearly and comprehensively the probable results of ways of acting, and an active identification with some anticipated consequences. (p. 157)

As it might be recalled, education of the will is a cornerstone in the formation of the Jesuit novices; hence it is not difficult to figure Hurtado’s complete agreement to this element. It must be clearly stated, however, that both Dewey and Hurtado, respectively, do not think that such an education implies involuntary work on part of the learner, as Barret (1927) criticized Jesuit training. On the contrary, Dewey (1952) is well known for his position regarding the learners’ voluntary participation in his/her cultivation. Either way, regarding learning activities he states, “...they are something in which he engages and partakes” (p. 155). Hurtado (1994) states: “everything being delivered to a child’s soul, everything being thrown in his heart will be there for a long time. It will be the cause of different orientations in his life” (p. 283).

11. Hurtado also agrees with Dewey’s notion on school discipline. From Dewey’s perspective, school discipline is not something to be imposed unilaterally. What is more
important, it has to meet the instructional objectives intended, thus it might accordingly adopt different forms (Dewey, 1980). On this element when I attempted a link between Father Fernando Vives, Hurtado's mentor, and Dewey in chapter 3, the position of the American thinker was very clear and consistent with what was stated above.

Hurtado (1989) also states that the design of curriculum based upon learners' interests presupposes less rigidity, though this may also imply extra work for the teacher. Eventually, in supporting this position, he might have recalled his experience as a student at the Colegio San Ignacio in Santiago, Chile, when he had to bear the hard and very demanding discipline imposed by the Spanish priests at that school, as detailed in Chapter 2. Further discussion on this point from a Catholic perspective seems unnecessary to support Hurtado's approval on it.

12. The leading social democratic idea in Dewey's ideology should be fostered at school. It seems to me that engaging in a discussion on the validity of this premise from a Catholic perspective is redundant. However, I would only recall the event told by one of the participants in Chapter 4, p. 163, in which Hurtado clearly is for the independence of judgment and actions of people.

13. Lastly, but not least, Hurtado (1989) points out that Dewey's position in admitting that the school is to become a social instrument is also acceptable by the Catholic Doctrine. At this point it is relevant to point out that Hurtado was strongly inclined to social education. Such a conceptual element will be developed later in this chapter; however, it is important to state that Dewey (1952) considered social commitment of persons as the most valuable asset of education:
Discipline, natural development, culture, social efficiency, are moral traits-marks of a person who is a worthy member of that society which it is the business of education to further. There is an old saying to the effect that it is not enough for a man to be good; he must be good for something. The something for which a man must be good is capacity to live as a social member so that what he gets from living with others balances with what he contributes. (p. 417)

Participant Salvatierra in the interview provides, from my perspective, crucial information on Hurtado’s practices which are related to what Dewey pointed out above:

Father Hurtado did not give things. He gave himself, (adds with emphasis), “he” used to go to the Mapocho River at three in the morning whether it was rainy or cold to rescue homeless children who were starving and dying of cold...he himself did it. He didn’t ask anybody to do that. He went there and did it. (Interview, May 2002)

On the other hand, Hurtado was firmly convinced that the roots of the social problems of the poor in Chile resided in their lack of education: “The most salient of our problems is the misery of our people, which has, as a first cause, the lack of education…” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 163). That is why he believed that the aim of education was to provide students with the capacity to assume their commitment in building a fairer society (Hurtado, 1989).

**Padre Hurtado’s Influence on Contemporary Chilean Education**

The previous chapters have provided the context in which Hurtado lived and developed, and though it might be possible to infer the actual context in educational settings, such an issue was not discussed directly. For the purpose of providing a better insight on Hurtado’s educational practices and influences, it is crucial to firstly refer, to the social and educational context in which he lived. This section will be divided into the following parts: (a) historical social context of Chilean education in the first part of the
20th Century, (b) Hurtado’s influence on Regular Chilean education, and (c) two crucial and blending ideas.

Historical and Social Context of Chilean Education in the First Part of the 20th Century

As previously discussed, education for the Society of Jesus has permanently occupied a crucial focus of attention on their practices. As the reader may recall, reading was what actually made Inigo de Oñaz y Loyola change his life. However, Ignacio’s eventual lack of education in teaching the Christian religion and giving the spiritual exercises was the main source for the attacks he had to face. Eventually, such a motive must have been the main determinant as to why the members of the Jesuit Society have been required to possess excellence in academic matters. At the interview, participant Herrera clearly stated: “education is a very crucial activity within the order” (August 2002). Not in vain, Bangert (1972) states that only those who can profess the fourth vow are called the “proffesores,” they constitute the intellectual elite in the Society. Similarly, participant Maturana noted, “Jesuit schools worldwide are defined above all by their academic excellence. In a second place, they are also distinguished by their excellence in the social and spiritual field” (Interview, July 2002). It seems interesting for the purpose of this section to point out from this last piece of information the order the interviewee assigned to these crucial activities widely acknowledged as crucial for the Society of Jesus. The development and growth of the Company all over the world constitute a tangible element of what was stated by the participant above.

Very early Ignacio understood the importance education occupied in the apostleship of the new order, which is why in 1551, he sent that circular letter to all the members of
the Compañía regarding the possibility to install colleges where possible (Barthel, 1984).

In Chile, the state of the art has not varied since their arrival. According to Hanisch (1974), the Society of Jesus in three centuries has certainly contributed to teach the Christian religion and cultivate the country. Thus, to not associate education to the Jesuit practices would be a crucial mistake in interpreting its apostleship.

However, in order to understand more accurately the educational development in Chile, it is necessary to point out certain historical and sociological issues that are united to the growth of the country. The independence of the country from Spain was primarily fostered by secular thinking. The main leaders of such revolutionary Chilean movement were pervaded by free mason ideology. Bernardo O'Higgins, the main leader in Chilean independence, received part of his education in Richmond, England, where he joined the American Lodge. There he not only understood that freedom from Spain for his country was possible, but he also acquired a secular thinking, which at that time was amazingly radical (Icarito, 2002).

As it might be imagined, the first Chilean governments were pervaded by secular thoughts, which as a natural flow influenced the incipient education delivered by the state. I deliberately employed the modifier “incipient” because in most of the Latin American countries, almost the only source of education was that delivered by the Catholic Church. On August 10, 1813, only three years after Chilean Independence had been declared, the secular Instituto Nacional was founded in Santiago. The importance of this school in Chilean education has been widely acknowledged. Eighteen presidents of the country and many other respectable scholars in the Chilean culture have received
their education in its classrooms (Corporación Cultural y Educacional del Instituto Nacional, 2002). Such a quantitative piece of information provides an undeniable validity of the importance secular education has had in Chile. In the interview, participant Cepeda states: “Free masons had dominated the educational spectrum in Chile up to the 1960s” (May 2002). Indeed, Dewey was introduced in Chile by lay people. Darío Salas, who had been a former student of Dewey in the U.S.A., translated into Spanish, My Pedagogic Creed, in 1908, and thus disseminated the American thinker’s educational thought throughout the country (Caiceo, 1993, 1994, 1995).

According to Hanisch (1974), the secular government in Chile was rather reluctant to admit the Order back into Chile after its restoration, because it was believed that Jesuits and their excellence in the field of education would diminish the relevance of the Instituto Nacional. Though, paradoxically, at that time State and Church affairs were united. Rather a long time later, in 1925, the State, which coincidently had a free mason president, and the Church, became separate entities (“Cronologia de” [Chronology of], April 2001; Magnet, 1994).

In such a scenario, public education was not only pervaded by lay thought, but it was also designed and reformed accordingly. Religion was delivered mainly by private schools, which were subject to a strict supervision from their public referents. In order to provide the reader a clear picture of such a rather vertical relation within Chilean education I will provide my own experience, since I received most of my education from private religious schools. It is true that not all could afford that type of education. Though it is also true, that some students were granted scholarships to receive their
education from those private schools. Alberto Hurtado and his brother Miguel constitute
the most illustrative example of what is stated on this matter (Castellón, 1998; Magnet,
1994; Monckerberg & Ortega, 1996). Either way, every year, as students of private
schools, we had to be systematically examined by committees appointed by the secular or
public schools in town. I could see with my own eyes the excesses committed by some
members of some committees against students attending private schools whose main fault
was to be enrolled in such educational institutions.

As can be guessed, on the Chilean educational scenario, there were two distinct
positions. However, it must not be understood as if they were opposed. It was a fact that
controversies and discrepancies were held most of the time on educational issues in
which lay thought predominantly ruled. In a parallel fashion it must be stated that almost
all the governments were mainly influenced by a free mason ideology. Thus, it was
almost natural to assume that official or public education was pervaded by the same
philosophical stand. That simply meant the educational dichotomy between lay thought,
mainly influenced by free masons, and private education, which was mainly inspired in
religious postures whether Catholic or not.

Another crucial element to be considered in the historical and sociological issues
affecting Chilean education the first part of the 20th Century is the natural deterioration of
secular lay governments during the country’s development. Though the literature does
not say anything on this matter, it is my interpretation that Hurtado’s deeds were concrete
and tangible, in which political and religious issues were not considered as prior
determinants. In previous chapters, it was outlined how Hurtado claimed that political
parties were much more concerned with their own interests than those of the people. It was also stated, according to Cruz-Coke (2000), that Hurtado had anticipated by two decades Vatican Council II, within an environment in which the Chilean Catholic Church seemed to be "unaware" of the social issues affecting the poor. Participant Maturana provides crucial information on this matter,

Another crucial concern in Padre Hurtado is related to the Church itself. He thought that it was a "sleeping Church." So his interest was that there should be workers actually "working" in that church, that Christians should be genuinely committed. He was extremely hard on the mediocre Christians. The average Christian, the Christian that does not take risks... (he seems to be reliving Hurtado's energy and decision on this topic, because he gave extraordinary vigor and determination to this expression) to the Christian that does not reflex in his/her attitude and deeds a compromise... of his/her soul... with the Lord. (Interview, July 2002)

Therefore, people perceived Padre Hurtado's social denouncement (1994), in which he had stated that the actual causes of the poor's misery resided in their lack of education, in a very concrete and solid fashion. Such awareness constitutes the best predictor of deep educational reforms in the Chilean scenario. Hence the soil to introduce a different perspective in the educational arena was well prepared by his attempt to "christianize" the insights from the Experimentalist stance.

Hurtado's Influence on Regular Chilean Education

The state of the art depicted above was somehow surpassed by Hurtado's contribution in the Chilean educational arena (Caiceo, 1994, 1995, 1995). It is feasible to state that Hurtado had a crucial role in Chilean education. Participant Cepeda states, "From my perspective that is the main contribution from Hurtado. He did not influence schooling directly, but at a system level. Hence, he influenced the elites that gravitated in the national system" (Interview, May 2002).
At this point I think it worthwhile to wonder about the actual motives Hurtado must have had to undertake his catalyst action upon the educational scenario depicted above. Throughout the development of the study some crucial motives have been discussed. It is undeniable that the actual causes were rather intertwined in Hurtado’s educational deeds. However, what was not said is his implicit recognition of the educational quality of the New School movement’s assets, or simply put, on Dewey’s educational insights. From my perspective, this is his recognition of the positive outcomes rendered by an educational posture, which was mainly based on Experimentalism as discussed above.

When Hurtado rationalizes the philosophical posture eventually embedded in the New School movement, or Dewey’s educational ideology, he not only shows a masterful application of the Jesuit axiom on the best selections for the aim, recurrently alluded to in this study, but he does so within the parameter outlined by the Catholic Church in the search for truth: “We believe that this conciliatory attitude is very well in accord to the general attitude of the Church, which never refuses the least trace of truth in the world” (Hurtado, 1989, p. 248). From his perspective, the Church has always been “rejuvenated” out of the most severe confrontations with its most radical opponents.

So, from my perspective, what Hurtado did was to assume the same attitude in the search for truth as sustained by the Catholic Church itself, in not only studying an apparent opposing educational position, but he also applied the most significant contributions from such a position for the better enrichment of education within the Catholic Doctrine. In so doing, he wondered whether the main contributions from St. Augustine in “christianizing” Plato, and St. Thomas with Aristotle, respectively, could be
emulated somehow with Dewey's work, thus he wrote: "We have thought that a similar attempt could be carried out with Dewey's work" (Hurtado, 1989, p. 250). This is, from my perspective, the most genuine interest Hurtado had on Dewey. Simply put, he "christianized" the American thinker's educational ideology. Therefore, a tangible output from his efforts was the acceptance of Dewey's educational ideas by Chilean Catholic schools. Somewhat later, a new government inspired in Catholic principles instituted the 1965 educational reform which blended both secular and Christian principles with no major turbulence in the Chilean educational arena. Here is his catalyst influence upon both secular and Catholic education in the country.

According to Caiceo (1989, 1994, 1995, 1995), the acceptance of Dewey's educational ideology by the Chilean Catholic Church was tangible when Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, as President of the Episcopal Educational Commission in 1962, enunciated the Catholic principles, which after Padre Hurtado's thesis, were intertwined and complemented with Dewey's.

According to participant Cepeda, the previous educational reforms in 1927 and 1945, undertaken and carried out by lay governments, flowed rather smoothly within Dewey's educational ideology. However, he also provided crucial information for the thesis of this section of the study on Hurtado’s catalyst action upon Chilean education. He said,

In 1965 the government led by the Christian Democratic Party, inspired in a Christian Humanist position, implemented the educational change inspired in such a blending of both the aforementioned position and the Experimentalism fostered by Taylor who was Dewey's disciple. In the journal Revista de Educación, number 12, page 79, 1968, it is clearly stated that the leading principles of the Chilean educational system will be those of Christian Humanism. That was the most radical change from the lay, free thinking position of undeniable influence in Chile for more than one hundred years! (Interview, May 2002)
Therefore, Hurtado’s role upon the Chilean educational system was tangible at the highest levels of the organizational structure of the most important educational reform in the country in the 20th Century; however, such an influence is still rather unknown in the educational arena in the country. Eventually, such an asset has been eclipsed by his most well-known work on behalf of the poor at the Hogar de Cristo. Indeed, even in that specific task, his educational relevance is little known, as it will be discussed later in this chapter.

Two Crucial and Blending Ideas

In education Padre Hurtado was mainly devoted to what he named “Social Education.” It may be argued that education is social, so there should be no need to discuss this issue in this study, since so many have already alluded to it before. Everything, however, will depend on what one acknowledges as “social.” Chapter 3 provides a clear orientation on the sort of social enterprises to which Padre Hurtado was committed. He mainly addressed his efforts toward the poor. Quite soon he realized that the actual cause of the evils of Chilean homeless people resided in their lack of education (Hurtado, 1994). Dewey (1952) pointed out that education, in its social commitment, was to fulfill a democratic ideal or status: “Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can only be created by education” (p. 101). It can be seen that though Hurtado and Dewey were somehow related in educational issues, the connotation they gave education itself was different.
It can also be argued that priesthood is related to teaching, which I admit. After all, Jesus Christ asked them to preach in His name when He said:

All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of age. (Matthew 28:18. New International Version)

As was seen previously, the Society of Jesus very soon was aware that education and religion were two most formidable weapons in the battleground of faith against the evils. Such elements should always be considered in its apostleship. Hurtado, on the previously discussed theological conception on the Mystical Body of Christ, asked Christians in his country to actually “live” such a conception. In so doing, he preached that all human beings were brothers and it was an inexcusable obligation for Catholics to practice in every day what was assumed in Sunday’s services. His strongest piece of criticism, which was perpetuated in his other deeds, was his social denouncement as portrayed in his book published in 1941, ¿Es Chile un país Católico? [Is Chile a Catholic Country?] In this work, he specifically denounced, as was seen previously, the coexistence of extreme abundance and most absolute misery in Chilean social reality. Therefore, his main efforts in the Chilean educational arena were aimed at providing a sort of dual education. One edge of his proposal considered education as a tool to improve the conditions of the poor. The other edge of that type of education was addressed to cultivate those who were on the other side of the social continuum, that is, those who “apparently” did not require further cultivation. In order to be more precise on what is stated, let us consider, as an example, the workers at a factory on the one side, and their employers on the other side. From his
perspective, and within the theological conception of the Mystical Body of Christ, we all deserve the same rights, and we all have the social responsibility to build a fairer society. Therefore, going back to our example, Hurtado thought that all participants could take a true profit of an eventual educational effort for the benefit of that factory. Hence, he believed that social education would not only improve individuals, but most importantly, it would do so with the society itself.

It is amazingly interesting how related this Catholic conception is with what Dewey (1952) considered as the social duty for human beings, when he wrote:

There is an old saying to the effect that it is not enough for a man to be good; he must be good for something. The something for which a man must be good is capacity to live as a social member so that what he gets from living with others balances with what he contributes. (p. 417)

Either way, coming back to Hurtado’s conception of social education, there are two main prior concepts to be discussed at this point, which Chilean society lacked at that time, though from Arroyo’s perspective (2001), the social challenges posed by Hurtado are still valid. According to Hurtado (1994), Chilean society lacked “Social Sense” and “Responsibility Sense.” The discussion of these two concepts is crucial to unveil his concept of social education.

Social Sense

From his perspective, human beings, if they are truly humane, have more than five senses. He distinguishes between the physiological senses and those which he labeled as psychological ones. Within the former group it is a fact that we have five senses; however, regarding the second one, he wrote:
There is a Christian sense that propels us to sanctity, which enables us to perceive mistakes and search for truth in religious matters. There is also a moral sense that makes us spontaneously react in front of good and evil. There are several senses, the artistic sense, the musical sense, the social sense.... (Hurtado, 1994, p. 107)

Eventually, the reader may argue that Gardner (1983) has referred to the multiple intelligences. To which I agree; however, the difference on this matter is that Hurtado referred to those "senses" in 1947. Thus I think I am in a position to state that Hurtado advanced Gardner in more than 40 years in these educational issues. Either way, my intention is not to discuss an eventual advancement of Hurtado in this issue, though I must admit it may constitute an excellent topic for further research. The present interest is to discuss what he actually meant by social sense. Within such a context, he defined:

Social sense is that quality that compels us to become interested for others, to help them in their needs, to take good care of the common well-being. If we define it more precisely, we would say that it is the aptitude to perceive and promptly carry out, in a rather intuitive fashion, within concrete situations, what is the best for the common well-being. (1994, p. 107)

The influence of the theological conception of the Mystical Body of Christ seems to flow naturally in his conception of social sense, since he also states that whoever has social sense will perceive the effect of his/her actions upon his/her brotherhood. From Hurtado's perspective, the person who has social sense will realize that all situations are suitable for him/her to act on behalf of his/her neighbor's well being. Indeed, he also thought that it was not necessary for a person with social sense to count on material resources to make good, since all of us, independently of any social and economical personal situation, are able to practice good on our neighbors, if we have such a sense. Eventually, the reader might recall Hurtado's mother and her inclination to social commitment. Here is then a tangible proof of her influence in his thought.
However, Hurtado admitted that there were many individuals who apparently did not have such a sense, indeed, he believed, as was stated above, that Chilean society lacked such a sense. He made public such a deficiency in his first social denouncement in 1941, alluded to on several occasions in this study.

According to Castellón (1998), Hurtado believed that a crucial purpose of education was to make young people feel themselves as an active element of the Mystical Body and assume their responsibility in building a fairer society. In so doing, social studies in the curriculum should channel this spirit of solidarity among the young people. Castellón also noted that Hurtado believed that some relevant activities that would foster the social formation were the actual contact with human misery, by visiting the sick in hospitals, those in prison, and mainly the poor homes.

Hurtado was consistent in his thoughts and acts, since it may be recalled that while he was a student at the Colegio San Ignacio and later at the Catholic University; he joined a group of friends with strong social commitment and used to help the poor at the patronatos [welfare institutions]. Such acting can also be related to those carried out by Ignacio and the other first members of the Order while in Venice and Paris assisting the needy in hospitals. This is, from my perspective, a clear link between Ignacio’s social commitment and Hurtado’s ideas on social sense, which should foster what he termed as social education. In such a context, Castellón (1998) wrote:

“Being Catholic means being social” Padre Hurtado used to say to ten thousand young people meeting at the Caupolican Theatre in 1943. It is an idea that is present in all his sermons, writings, and lectures as a national adviser. In so doing, he has pointed out that it is not possible to detach the authentic faith from the compromise with justice. (p. 76)
The Sense of Responsibility

The sense of responsibility is the other pillar concept embedded in Hurtado’s conception of social education. He said that this sense was the other one Chilean society lacked. From my perspective, it was not very different from what he understood as social sense. Indeed, it is my opinion that this concept is the extension from the former one. However, he did not provide a clear definition as with the former sense. Either way, it is possible to outline what definition he would have given from his book *Humanismo Social* [Social Humanism]. He wrote: “The general impression is that the contemporary young people do not assume anything in a serious fashion. They neither care to honor their word, nor are they concerned with the task they firstly began.” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 110). Then he added, “Each thing is not valued for its intrinsic value, thus it is not possible to assign it the right location within a well ordered value scale” (p. 111). While he provides some critical examples as the superficial or lack of commitment with social issues, he concludes by stating that it is the “bourgeois youth.” Hence in secular words it is possible to state that Hurtado was actually referring to what Fromm (1964) denounced as the surrendering of our freedom, in order not to assume the responsibility of its exercise. Indeed, though Hurtado (1994) does not openly say it, he wrote: “...they prefer to feel themselves mass, to be governed and led, letting others do the task of thinking and leading” (p. 112).

It was stated that the two concepts above were intertwined, as discussed. It seems to me that both senses were blended in Hurtado’s social ideology, from which he outlined
his social education. Therefore, I will concentrate on the topic by which he was better known in the Chilean educational arena.

**Social Education**

During the development of the study, Hurtado's first social denouncement, ¿*Es Chile un País Católico?* [Is Chile a Catholic Country?] published in 1941, has been recurrently mentioned. Regarding the topic of our interest in this section, he noted: “The most apparent of our problems is the misery of our people, which has its main cause in their lack of education, plus some other moral and economical factors” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 163). Such a denouncement was emphasized in 1947, in *Humanismo Social* [Social Humanism]: “Chilean pains have a deep educational root. Our people are poor, but its own illiteracy is the deepest root of its misery” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 46). On defining what social education is, according to Hurtado’s perspective, participant Maturana’s testimony is crucial on this matter, since he states that Hurtado was wise enough to found an institution ample enough so as not to get enclosed since its foundation, but it was also concrete enough to become effective and real. The Alvaro Lavin foundation, a branch of the Hogar de Cristo, provides education to the young people who have abandoned the regular educational system, specifically to the matter of our interest he says:

Padre Hurtado was an educator. He believes (he uses the present tense as indicating the validity of Hurtado’s ideas) that education is an extremely powerful tool for the development of the country. As an educator he realized the importance of education. Indeed, during his first years he was devoted to education. He taught at the university and at the Colegio San Ignacio. Thus education is something very important for him. He believes (again he uses the present tense, but on this occasion with much more emphasis) that society can change if education is of...quality. And all Chileans are delivered education. Hence education is a very central topic for him. (Maturana interview, July 2002)
From my perspective, Hurtado’s conception of social education is found in any deed of his apostleship. Evidently, this must have been so, because he firmly believed that any social education begins by valuing justice (Correa, 1997). It is also appropriate to recall the importance education has had in the Company worldwide since its foundation. However, his thought should not be understood as applied to formal or systematic education delivered at official classroom levels, though he admitted the relevance of the insights of the New School in providing an active education:

A social pedagogy should not be limited to prescribing the child: when you are grown up, you will do this or that. Moral teaching, above any other discipline, needs to be experienced to be assimilated. The child needs to act according to the moral precept, which should be related to his age, his temper, his level of formation. By action, more than by advising, the child will acquire the sense in the possibilities of life. (Hurtado, 1994, pp. 180-181)

It is relevant to point out the similarity between Hurtado’s thought on teaching morality and Dewey’s. It could be rightly said that their positions were coincident. To a certain extent they coincided, but as was stated previously, only in a rather external fashion, since Dewey did not admit the existence of a superior being. Either way, my interest is not to discuss this topic again, but what I want to state is that his idea of social education was featured by its activeness. Indeed he notes,

To form the social sense in our students, more than extensive knowledge, it is necessary to provide them instances of practicing habits of abnegation, understanding, and reflection. An overloaded teaching, too bookish, based upon memory, helps little to the formation of such habits. (Hurtado, 1994, p. 181)

Eventually, the reader may recall that Hurtado was acknowledged as a “mystical in action;” this is clear proof of such a feature. Regarding the topic of our discussion, he
was convinced that priests had an undeniable relation to education, thus he noted, “The priest is for mission, the educator of the people...” (Hurtado, 1994, p. 225).

Therefore, in order to conceptualize his social education it is crucial to have in mind three intertwined concepts: social sense, sense of responsibility, and the Mystical Body of Christ, which were to be delivered in an active fashion. Since, as has been noted, he mainly addressed the poor, it might be understood as if his message were one-way in direction, that is, on behalf of those most needy. It is true that his main concerns were his little bosses as was discussed previously. In educational issues, however, his ideology was addressed to both points of the Chilean social continuum, to those who lacked education, who were almost, or simply put, illiterate in the most absolute terms, and to those who lacked “social” cultivation. This is his dual educational proposal. In order to be consistent to the presentation of his main tasks, regarding education, I will follow the same previous order. This part will be shorter, because to a certain extent in discussing his relevance upon the Catholic Action, the Hogar de Cristo, the Catholic workers union, ASICH, and the journal Mensaje, considerable discussion has already been posed.

The Catholic Action

A piece of information that clearly shows Hurtado’s gravitation upon this Catholic movement is its growth experienced under his leadership. According to Monckerberg and Ortega (1996), as seen before, the 1,500 youngsters in the 60 centers of the CA throughout the country in 1941, became 15,000 members in 600 centers in 1944, when Hurtado finished his task at the C.A.
When Hurtado was appointed as its adviser, most of its members were university and high school students. Hence, most of them would become in a not-to-distant future professionals or priests. His importance on priesthood vocations was a tangible asset in this post. According to participant Galaz (Interview, July 2002) “more than one hundred priesthood vocations were motivated by his apostleship.” According to Magnet (1994), Hurtado carried out “one of the most outstanding priesthood recruitments in Chile. It began with the spiritual direction of the so many young people who went to him and ‘the retreats’ which were frequently directed by him” (p. 134).

Previously his intelligence was noted, hence it is reasonable to conjecture that he soon realized that with the help of the young people at the CA it would be possible to spread the kingdom of Christ to other segments of the Chilean society. Either with the help of the eventual future priests or with the lay professionals’, since his objective was the complete transformation of Chilean society, the scope of the members of the CA encompassed schools, universities, factories, etc. (Castellón, 1998). Simply put, society as a whole was the aim.

Concerning the dual educational delivery I mentioned above, this is a tangible proof of what was stated, since Hurtado had already claimed that students ended their secondary studies with no awareness of their society needs:

A general clamor is posed, that students ending up their secondary studies either in public or private schools do not take as an asset of their education a social sense as an outcome of their long years of regular instruction. Generally they are individualistic and they do not care of the common well-being.... (Hurtado as cited in Castellón, 1998, p. 54)
Thus, he organized study circles at the CA. His practical educational thought is embedded in his work, *Puntos de Educación* [Points on Education] written in 1942 (as cited in Hurtado, 1994). It was especially written for his work with the young people at the CA. Hurtado organized subject matters in learning units, which had anchor points stated at the introduction, in which several questions were posed. This is something very similar to what Ausubel, D. P., Novak, D., and Hanesian, H. (1978) suggests as organizers. One of the participants was responsible for the preparation of the unit; he presented the topic for discussion, thus it was enriched by the rest of the participants’ contribution. In so doing, they were able to reach their own conclusions which were validated by additional questions and/or discussion. The topics were the participants’ interests within the parameters of the Catholic Doctrine. The instructional design adopted by these study circles consisted of blending insights from Dewey (as cited in Hurtado, 1989); Ausubel et al., (1978); Gagné, (1985); Gagné, R., Briggs, L. J., and Wager, W. W. (1988). As the reader might figure, such an approach was very novel in Chile at that time, since the participants themselves became receptors and agents at the same time. Hence the instructor was no longer the center of the instructional process, but the learner.

Therefore, such circles of study soon acquired a crucial importance in the growth of the CA. Hurtado’s main message focused on the type of persons needed in Chilean society, who had to have their eyes fixed in Christ’s eyes, because

For Him they have to discipline themselves, they have to be demanding with themselves, but soft with their neighbors. They have to escape from mediocrity, the easy style of life, from selfishness which dries people’s hearts. They have also to dominate flesh, otherwise, spirit becomes humiliated. In so doing they have to love
the poor, because the poor is Christ and an injustice to them is a splash on His divine face. (as cited in Magnet, 1994, p. 169)

The sort of dual sense of education fostered by Hurtado is vividly illustrated by his own words above. On the one hand, those cultivated in the principles of the CA who would become socially committed, would find new aims in their lives. On the other hand, the needy people would feel that they were persons and they could also have a role in the social system. This last asset, however, is more clearly seen in the other task undertaken by Hurtado.

The Hogar de Cristo

Though most people identify this largest welfare institution in Latin America (Arthur, 2001) as a mere welfare shelter, from my perspective, it is the best of Hurtado’s tasks that portrays his idea of social education. It is a fact that this welfare institution was first thought to provide shelter for the homeless, such a need in the winter season was something urgently demanded. It was a matter of life or death. However, within the conception of the Mystical Body of Christ and the dignity of the poor which Hurtado had firmly in mind, it was soon clear that the Hogar de Cristo was an institution for persons’ promotion. On the one hand, those who found different horizons in their lives, and on the other hand, those who learned that by giving of themselves they had also been provided different perspectives from their own. Hence, not only the poor took profit of this enterprise in their lives, but also did the many who became cultivated in “social education.” This is, from my perspective, the dual education Hurtado intended. Though redundant, I must insist that such an educational conception was framed by his genuine respect of the dignity of the poor, which was also learned by many others, and the
theological conception on the Mystical Body. When Participant Polanco (Interview, May 2002) was asked about the most important impact from Hurtado’s work, he stated:

Above all, it is his concern for the neighbor. (His telephone interrupted him, but he did not answer it. It is clear that this is his favorite topic) That is, his concern for the helpless people, for the poor...but it is not only concern...but to use the imagination to find the best way to help them live a life in dignity, that is, that they may have a better quality of life...more humane (he emphasized).

By the same token, when the participant was asked about the main educational legacy from Hurtado at the Hogar de Cristo, he responded:

Well, I believe that the most important value upon which he insisted so much was the principle of the solidarity value. Education for the openness to the neighbor. And the act of educating for austerity in life (he emphasizes). That is something he insisted on very much. (Interview, May 2002)

Another interviewee, who currently works at the Hogar de Cristo and did not actually meet Hurtado, on the same topic, stated:

His legacy is present in all the roots of the Chilean education. A legacy that I believe is expressed fundamentally in the education for solidarity. Father Hurtado is a man that has rendered this concept to the very soul of Chile. (Salvatierra, Interview, May 2002)

The following interviewee, Rojas, did not meet Hurtado either, and he also works at the Hogar de Cristo, on the same topic, stated:

That individuals are protagonists (he answered in absolute terms). Within the parameters of our institution, the Hogar de Cristo is on a permanent basis looking for human promotion. It is something more than purely assisting others. However, it is important to admit that in dealing with poverty, there are some areas where one has to be essentially assisting. When Hurtado opened the first Hogar de Cristo for children, he charged them a certain amount of money for their sheltering. This charge had a super important educational meaning, dignifying the poor! (he gives emphasis). One of the most crucial elements Padre Hurtado insisted on was the dignity of the poor. Padre Hurtado said that if it was impossible to end poverty we should dignify it, at least. (Interview, July 2002)
The same participant on Hurtado’s educational legacy at the Hogar de Cristo stated,

It is related to the fact that the Hogar de Cristo is for human promotion. In the current therapeutic communities, for example, the young people are responsible for their own treatment. It is not the savior educator, psychologist, or social worker who rescues this drug addict child. (Interview, July 2002)

Similar information was gathered from the other participants, I decided to quote only the pieces of information that best supported this kind of education fostered at the Hogar de Cristo where until now, most people believe it was exclusively founded on principles of charity. According to the information provided, however, it is possible to state that the most genuine aim was the promotion of the person, then it was educational.

The Catholic Workers Union, ASICH

In Chapter 3, it was stated that Hurtado’s main social influence emanated from his first spiritual adviser and mentor, Father Fernando Vives Solar S. J. who, as stated previously, made his apostleship on behalf of the unprotected workers. According to the literature (Castellón, 1998; Gómez, 2001; Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monkerberg & Ortega, 1996), he used to organize study circles at his cell in the Jesuit house. The main topic of discussion at these sessions was the 1891 Rerum Novarum encyclical; however Gómez also added that he was actually involved in politics as discussed previously.

Hurtado, within the conceptual educational parameter already depicted, believed that the best education workers could access was the one delivered at their own unions. That is why he founded the ASICH (Asociación Sindical Chilena) [Chilean Union Association]. Regarding the topic of our interest for this section, education for workers as he envisioned it, was already discussed previously. However, it is my intention to highlight the approach Hurtado used on this matter. It is my position that on this task the

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concepts of justice and charity acquired a crucial importance, as was discussed previously. What I want to point out, however, is that he also believed that it was possible to deliver education for workers within the same dual fashion alluded to above. That is, unions constituted practical schools for workers, who, it must be stated at this point, were hardly able to read and write. Abuses from unscrupulous employers against uncultivated workers were matters that could be seen quite often. Thus, when Hurtado designed the training fostered by this union, as discussed in Chapter 3, he addressed the points that most workers lacked, that is, the technical, the economical, and the moral formations. In so doing, they would be able to irradiate the Catholic principles to other workers. That is, Hurtado wanted to apply the same axiom as in his previous works, the Catholic Action and the Hogar de Cristo. Caiceo and León (1994) stated that the ASICH marked the Catholic position in the Chilean unions at that time. So, I believe it is important to wonder on this matter as to whether Hurtado’s message is still valid in Chilean society, and I would add to worldwide societies.

Participant Polanco’s answer on a hypothetical Hurtado’s visit to the country says,

Well, socially, he would think very similarly as he did in his book *Is Chile a Catholic country?* Such a look at our country...he would analyze Chilean social issues again and he would be alarmed again, because social differences have not diminished, they are still too wide...He would also complain that the economical groups...it would also be a form of gospel again (he points out a crucial task Hurtado carried out in this field, then he rationalizes) because it is useless to only criticize them, but making them understand that such a gap between those who have nothing and those who have much, necessarily must be shortened. (Interview, May 2002)

From his response and from my knowledge of Chilean society, and the views of several others, I believe that Hurtado’s message on social education on behalf of the improvement of people is still valid.
Participant Salvatierra also provides crucial information to our discussion on education for workers:

One of his main concerns was the training of Catholic union representatives. Be aware, (he emphasizes), Christian union representatives formed according to the Social Doctrine of the Church. In so doing, they would become persons that would effectively collaborate to the betterment of workers in dignity. (Interview, May 2002)

The synergic action Hurtado imprinted in all his tasks is clearly present in the participant’s information, which provides validity to what I called the dual feature of education he fostered in his works.

Participant Cepeda provides more information on this matter:

The bottom line of Hurtado’s thought was to educate in the Christian thought the wealthy or employers on the one hand, and the workers on the other hand, who then could practice within a community of both workers and their bosses, the social doctrine of the Church for the betterment of the country. Clotario Blest (the interviewee mentions one of the most outstanding union leaders in Chile) was one of the union representatives most close to Hurtado. (Interview, May 2002)

At this point it is my belief that the thesis for Hurtado’s social education delivered in the world of workers and their bosses is proved. Eventually, the reader might wonder on the information gathered from other key informants on this matter. Regarding that issue, as previously, I decided to quote the most bearing pieces of information and/or the most illustrative to support my ideas, but in a general sense their opinions did not diverge, they all coincide on what is stated above.

The Journal Mensaje

The Catholic journal founded by Hurtado on October 1, 1951, only months before his death, was also aimed at providing an educational space for professionals, university people, politicians; that is, the intellectual elite of the country. Participant Cepeda states,
“the Mensaje journal has an educational purpose addressed to the elite...the intellectual elite” (Interview, May 2002). According to the literature (Castellón, 1998; Correa, 1997; Lavin, 1994; Magnet, 1994; Monkerberg & Ortega, 1996), Hurtado’s purpose was to provide a means of ample and general orientation. In Chapter 3, Hurtado’s intentions are portrayed; however, from my perspective, Montes (1993) depicts very illustratively Hurtado’s intention by stating that he intended “to gospel the culture” (p. 56). Given our topic of discussion it is logical to wonder whether Hurtado actually believed he could cultivate the intellectual elite of his country, who apparently did not need any further education. The answer is not contradictory when responding affirmatively. However, such cultivation as Montes stated above, had a clear religious motive. Hurtado was well aware that they could best not only disseminate, but also deepen, the main social concerns of the Catholic Church. Such awareness was well depicted when he wrote the first editorial of this journal and stated regarding its purpose, “...to insert Christ’s message in intelligences, hearts, and lives of all brothers” (Hurtado, 1951, as cited in Hurtado, April 2001, p. 68).

Therefore, it is feasible to admit that the main tasks Hurtado undertook were mainly educational. The educational delivery consisted of two main features: It was a dual type, in the sense that both receptors and agents were cultivated. Eventually, it could be argued that the educational process consists of that precisely, and I would admit such an observation as valid and pertinent. However, there is a crucial remark to make on this topic. Hurtado’s insights were made and applied as to concrete social issues more than 50 years ago in a small Latin American country. Incidentally, it is worthwhile to point
out at this point of our discussion that Dewey also complained in a similar fashion of the sort of education delivered in the U.S.A.

The other crucial feature of the type of education Hurtado imprinted in his tasks was its synergic or irradiating accent. It is valid to state that Hurtado was aware of the actual possibilities of making education accessible to all, possibilities which were rather nil. However, he was convinced that if irradiation or the synergic effect was effective, it would be possible to maximize the scope of the educational efforts (Montes, 2001).

However, the understanding of Hurtado's educational thought within what he named social education would be incomplete if it is not understood within the parameters of the theological conception of the Mystical Body of Christ. As was discussed previously, such a theological stance made us children of God; hence it made us all brothers and sisters. Such a sociological acknowledgement then allows all the access to life in dignity as all children of God deserve. Such is the basis then for Hurtado's social education in which its dual delivery as well as its synergic essence were crucial landmarks.
CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The development of this study was addressed to responding to the research questions posed for this investigation. In so doing, its purpose in discussing Padre Hurtado’s influence on Chilean education in the 20th Century has been fulfilled. As stated previously, though, it is not possible to provide a thorough thick description of a person whose memory has acquired a different connotation as time passes by. His image has been covered by a layer of romanticism that makes it difficult to provide an accurate and objective interpretation of him and his practices. Hafemann’s interview (2001) of Father Delfau, current director of the Catholic monthly journal Mensaje, provides the rationale to my position above:

The interviewer asked, “though Padre Hurtado always had a conciliatory stance, he also denounced with extraordinary vigor unfair situations from his perspective.” To which Father Delfau replied, “and I would say something more. I believe that Padre Hurtado has been somehow sweetened.” Then he continues, “...his adversaries and enemies died or changed their opinion as Padre Hurtado’s image increased. He was not a man loved by everybody. He was an extremely combative man...” (Then he provides the crucial information to my point) “Padre Hurtado has been covered by a layer of sweet syrup I would say, and that is inconvenient.” When asked on his rationale for this latter statement, he replied, “Because it is not who he really was. He was a man who criticized on the Chilean wealthy like a whip. (Ercilla 3154, Jan. 8, 2001, p. 11)

However, I wonder whether it would be possible for any of us to portray a truly vivid and “objective” description of people who have been depicted by others and, more importantly, by their own actions, which as time passes become even more important than in their origins. Hence their original impacts have somehow been changed by external factors.
Either way, in order to be consistent with the format adopted in the study, this chapter will address each of the research questions posed for this work. In so doing, the summary portrayed in this section as sort of general conclusions will provide the researcher’s stance on this figure of Chilean society.

Who was Padre Hurtado?

Chapters 2 and 3 addressed this sub section. In so doing, Hurtado’s ordinary life was discussed in which historical and sociological determinants experienced in the country and in his family, respectively, were premonitory elements of his practices. It is clear, from my perspective, that Hurtado’s mother, Ana Cruchaga, and Father Fernando Vives Solar S. J. were the most influential persons in his life. Hence his vocation to join the Society of Jesus was rather a natural flow. By the same token, his social commitment was rooted in those crucial influences in his life.

Therefore, his social practices and academic interests as a university student were accurate predictors of his deeds. Such inclinations deepened when he joined the Society of Jesus. His unlimited wish to become a Jesuit is clearly shown by the fact that he entered the novitiate the same day the founder of the Society, Ignacio de Loyola, had devoted his life to God. This proves the significance of the First General of the Order on Hurtado, who did not wait to receive his diploma as a lawyer before joining the Society.

Hurtado, as a Jesuit, more than ever was firmly convinced he had to center his life on Christ. Actually he lived and framed his practices in such an effort. Such an enterprise was undertaken in following the First General’s example. That was why I hypothesized that most, if not all Jesuits, in emulating Jesus Christ also reflected themselves into
Ignacio de Loyola, who in his own turn, made a purpose in his life to emulate Christ Himself. Such an aim is framed by the theological conception on the Mystical Body of Christ.

A crucial feature in Jesuits’ practices regarding the centering of their priesthood on Christ is their right, which I called the Jesuit axiom, to select and effectively use the best means which are licit and saintly for the more glory of God. However, such a right has very often originated controversies about their practices, controversies to which Hurtado was not exempted.

His apostleship was then framed by the theological conception of the Mystical Body, the centering of his life on Jesus Christ, and the right use of the axiom above. Such a three edged position was vividly illustrated by what I called the trilogy that pervaded his offices and practices in his apostleship: the question he used to pose recurrently, in case of doubt, or simply to maximize his efforts on behalf of the others, “What would Christ do if He were in my place?” The pro-active acceptances of God’s will in his typical sentence, “I am happy, oh Lord, I am happy.” The other thought which he recurrently issued regarding the Catholic attitude to be observed to our needy neighbors was the act of giving of ourselves, but not the mere act of charity by stating that “we have to give, until it aches.” Thus, it is not possible to discuss Hurtado’s practices adequately, if considered out of the crucial stands above.

Therefore, I would say that Padre Hurtado was a Jesuit truly committed in the principles of the Order on behalf of the poor. Simply put, he was well aware of the Constitutions of the Society. In so doing, he advanced crucial movements propelled by
the Catholic Church itself. Hence it is possible to admit that his message is still valid in
Chilean society, and I dare to suggest that it is still valid in societies worldwide.
Therefore, it constitutes rich material for further research.

What was his Political Stand?

Padre Hurtado was the object of severe criticisms from diverse, and often opposed,
political perspectives. However, the most important and the most severe attacks he had
to face, as discussed, originated from his own former political niche, the Conservative
Party. The pejorative term he was recurrently addressed by was, as seen, “the red priest.”
Here resided the need to investigate whether he was a Marxist, and by the same token,
what his political stance was.

The Catholic aggressive left-wing movement, the Theology of Liberation, aroused in
the 1960s in the Latin American scenario, was discussed in order to provide a rationale
on the possibility for a Catholic priest adhering to a Marxist stance. Such a movement
strongly pervaded by Marxism is, from my perspective, contradictory in its very essential
roots. Apparently, the most effective moderating or annuling action against that
movement was implemented by Pope John Paul II. That is, a political movement within
the Church was moderated by another political action.

In order to discuss an eventual adherence of Hurtado to the Marxist stance, Marxism
in education was debated from a Tomist-Aristotelian perspective. Such a discussion was
located in the field of education, because in such a scenario, the most crucial tasks of any
Jesuit priest reside. The Tomist-Aristotelian stance is a cornerstone in the Jesuit
formation. Here lies the importance to discuss Marxism from such a view.
The other source in the discussion was constituted by the key informants' information, and from Hurtado himself, because on the one hand, it was crucial to analyze the insights from those who had actually met Hurtado or who had studied his tasks; on the other hand, it was of the most paramount importance to do so with Hurtado’s own stance on this matter.

In order to be consistent with the approach adopted to discuss this issue I will proceed in the same order adopted in the discussion. Regarding the Theology of Liberation element, if we admit that for Jesuits papal obedience is a cornerstone, there is no way but to state that Hurtado would not favor such a Catholic movement. It may be argued that some other Jesuit priests were involved in such a stance, which I admit. However, given the information gathered from the key informants, and Hurtado himself, it is possible to state he overtly professed the most absolute obedience to papal authority.

Another crucial issue regarding this movement resides in its very essential basis. Philosophically, it blends two diverging positions. On the one hand, Marxism, which addresses the material man within a social class struggle purpose. On the other hand, Christianity which considers, as a cornerstone, the mediation of Jesus Christ in fostering another world, not this one. Thus, the former stance refers to the living man on this material world, while the second one addresses the spiritual life to which material death is a required path.

Concerning his eventual adherence to Marxism, given the discussion on it, the information gathered from the key informants and his own works and deeds, it is possible to state that he was not a Marxist and was not influenced by such a philosophical stand.
In providing the response to Question 1, it was stated that Hurtado was socially advanced for that period in Chilean history. It is my position that such advancement was the cause of most, if not all, the attacks on this matter he was forced to face.

From my perspective, his hypothetical adherence to Marxism has been enough to prove he was not a Marxist. However, I have not referred to his eventual political stance, though as stated during the development of the study, my intention was to define whether he was or not a Marxist. It is possible to venture that since he was a Christian and democrat, he would be more inclined to the former Falange Nacional, later the Christian Democratic Party. However, I must admit that such an eventual position would be a mere speculation, if not properly investigated.

Either way, from the analysis of the information gathered from the key informants and his published works, it is possible to state he did not favor any political niche. His political independence and abstinence was, indeed, the main cause of these sorts of attacks. Therefore, in order to be the most objective in this controversial topic I believe that what best represented his social position was shown in participant Salvatierra’s response to the question on Hurtado’s adherence to an eventual political niche: “He was enrolled in the Catholic Church” (Interview, May 2002).

**What Influenced his View of Education?**

Hurtado’s doctoral thesis on John Dewey was an actual attempt to adopt the pedagogical principles of the American thinker. The rather diverging postures of Dewey’s philosophy and the Catholic Doctrine constituted the main controversial influence on Hurtado’s educational thought. However, by a chronological analysis
Hurtado concluded that Dewey had developed his educational ideology before his adherence to Experimentalism or Pragmatism. As Dewey himself admitted, he experienced a philosophical shift from Hegelianism to experimentalism. Thus, Hurtado concluded that if Dewey developed his educational ideology when he had been pervaded by the former philosophical stance, which could be accepted by the Catholics, since Hegel was a Lutheran, it was possible to adopt Dewey's educational thought from a Catholic perspective.

Therefore, it was necessary to discuss the two main philosophical trends in Dewey; Hegelianism and Pragmatism. The most crucial difference between both positions is that a fundamental conception in Hegelian philosophy is the Absolute. The Absolute is mind or spirit, which, according to Hegel (1971), is the supreme definition of the Absolute. From a Catholic perspective, it is God. Such a conception is not supported by Pragmatism or Experimentalism which bases its theory of knowledge mainly on empiricism and positivism in which, nothing is absolute or eternal. Simply put, the positions are two different views of the world.

It is the former position which Dewey adhered to first, when according to Hurtado's analysis (1989), Dewey developed the most important insights of his pedagogical views. Therefore, the philosophical framework of such insights makes them acceptable by the Catholic Doctrine.

In the section designed to discuss some crucial ideas fostered by Dewey from a Catholic perspective, the fundamental concepts in his pedagogy: truth, relative knowledge, morality, and social sense were discussed. In so doing, it is feasible to
understand why Hurtado believed Dewey's pedagogy was acceptable from a Catholic perspective.

It was pointed out above that one of Hurtado's most salient features was his concepts were advanced for his time. This is another tangible proof of such a statement. Indeed, his novel approach to Dewey's pedagogy was of the most relevant importance in accepting this pragmatic thinker's educational thought in Catholic circles. From my perspective, as stated previously, Hurtado attempted a task such as the one undertaken by St. Augustine and St. Thomas in christianizing Plato and Aristotle, respectively. Therefore, it can be concluded that Hurtado "christianized" Dewey's pedagogy in Catholic circles. In so doing, he overtly showed Dewey's influence on his own view of education.

What Influence did he have on Contemporary Education?

If the reader happens to go to Chile and inquires about Hurtado's influence on Chilean education, only a few could respond to that question adequately. Most identify his legacy in his tasks on behalf of the poor, specifically, at the Hogar de Cristo. Indeed, it may sound contradictory to state that he was not actually involved in regular education programs.

However, he had crucial influence on education at a macro level. He persuaded the Catholic intellectual elite to accept Dewey's educational pedagogy. As seen, he conciliated the Catholic stance on educational affairs and the secular thought that had pervaded education in the country since its actual independence. Therefore, it is feasible to state that his influence was monumental in the Chilean educational scenario.
In order to adequately discuss Padre Hurtado's insight on this subject, a critical analysis of Dewey's educational thought from a Catholic perspective was carried out. In so doing, it was possible to make operational Hurtado's influence on Chilean education in the 20th Century. The 1965 educational reform blended both Christian Humanism insights and those from the Pragmatic stand, with no major turbulence in the Chilean educational arena.

The other crucial asset of Hurtado in this field was better known as "social education." Such a concept cannot be detached from the theological conception of the Mystical Body of Christ, which makes us accept mankind's redemption with no exclusions or conditions. Hence, it is inexcusable for Christians to not remedy their own brothers' misery. He concluded that humans, if they were actually humane, had more than the five classical senses. He then distinguished "social sense" which made operational the theological conception above in the well-known social education.

Though Padre Hurtado is well known for his social commitment on behalf of the poor, which from my perspective eclipsed his educational endeavors, he imprinted in all of his practices and tasks his conception of social education. Thus his main works discussed above would not be properly understood if detached from such a context. His most genuine aim was, that in efforts of this sort, not only the eventual receptors of any pedagogical task would be educated, but also those who delivered it. His educational conception was vividly portrayed in his main tasks discussed by the study. However, there are several other tangible tasks he undertook that were not analyzed as they might be in this approach, but which were also pervaded by the same conception.
Eventually, the most illustrative piece of information on what was lastly stated, which may also be as applied to eventual topics for further research, was provided by the key informant, Carrasco, to the question on collateral issues or elements the interview did not cover, said: “Oh, there are millions of things...millions” (Interview, May 2002).

Therefore, though a rich, thick description was provided on a figure related to Chilean education, who died more than 50 years ago, it is clear his legacy and practices provide innumerable and varied opportunities for further research. Indeed, the topics discussed in this study; though discussed in depth, are not exhausted. On the contrary, it is the researcher’s opinion that this study should arouse more questions on the educational thought and practices of Padre Luis Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga S.J.
REFERENCES


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El Padre Hurtado...a cien años de su nacimiento [Padre Hurtado...after one hundred years he was born]. (2001, August 21). La Estrella de Arica. Supplement, p.2.


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CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this project is to determine the influences of Padre Hurtado's thought on Chilean social and educational issues. In doing so, it is expected to provide an external study of his influence in Chilean society and education.

Your participation in this study will involve a 45-60 minutes audio taped interview. Your participation is voluntary, and you may terminate your participation at any time during the study. Your views will be treated confidentially and your name will not be associated with any data you provide. If you are interested, you will receive a copy of the final report of the study and you are encouraged to ask any additional questions about the study.

If you have further questions about this study, please contact Dr. John K. Smith (319-273-6208, EDC 413). If you have questions concerning your rights as a participant of a research project or the research project you may call the office of the Human Subjects Coordinator, University of Northern Iowa, (319-273-2748).

I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project as stated above and the possible risks arising from it. I hereby agree to participate in this project. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this consent statement.

(Signature of subject or responsible agent) Date

(Printed name of subject)

(Signature of investigator)
FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO

El propósito de este proyecto es determinar algunas influencias del pensamiento del Padre Hurtado sobre cuestiones sociales y educacionales en Chile. De esta manera, se espera llevar a cabo un estudio externo sobre su influencia en la educación chilena.

Su participación en este proyecto será una entrevista grabada de entre 45-60 minutos. Su participación es voluntaria. Ud., puede dar por terminada su participación en cualquier momento del estudio. Sus apreciaciones serán tratadas confidencialmente y su nombre no será asociado con ninguna información que ud., provea. Si así ud., lo desea, recibirá una copia del informe final de este proyecto. Así mismo, síéntase con libertad para hacer preguntas adicionales acerca de este estudio.

Si ud., tiene preguntas adicionales acerca de este proyecto, por favor contáctese con el Dr. Sr. John K. Smith (1-319-273-6208, EDC 413 ). Si tiene preguntas concernientes a sus derechos como participante de un proyecto de investigación o este proyecto, puede llamar a la Oficina del Coordinador de Sujetos Humanos, Universidad de Northern Iowa, (1-319-273-2748).

Estoy completamente al tanto de la naturaleza y extensión de mi participación en este proyecto como se especificara anteriormente y, de sus eventuales riesgos provenientes del mismo. Por lo tanto, estoy de acuerdo en participar en este proyecto. En tal contexto, acuso recibo de una copia de este consentimiento.

(Firma del participante o su representante) __________________________ Fecha ______________

(Nombre completo del participante) ______________________________________________

(Firma del investigador) ______________________________________________________
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL ON PADRE HURTADO

I am currently conducting a project on the interdependent influences of Padre Hurtado’s thought on Chilean social and educational issues. The information you provide us will be of paramount importance to this survey. However, it is critical for me to assure you that the information will be confidentially processed, which after due time will be destroyed. No other party will have access to the tapes of the interview. Thank you very much.

A) Background/demographic information:
Could you tell me a bit about your background on Padre Hurtado’s awareness? How long have you been in the Jesuit Order? / in this post? How did you know Padre Hurtado?

B) Questions:
1. If you were to describe Padre Hurtado’s life on earth, what would you say about him? Why?
2. What is the relation of Padre Hurtado with Chilean education? Why?
3. From your perspective, what is the most crucial impact and legacy of Padre Hurtado? Why?
4. In your opinion, did ever Padre Hurtado adopt a political posture regarding any Chilean social issues? Please, support your statements.
5. What educational assumptions of Padre Hurtado’s thoughts are present in the Hogar de Cristo? Why do you think so?
6. You believe and work for Padre Hurtado’s work crystallization, why do you do it?
7. If Padre Hurtado were still living in Chile 2002, what would his educational message be? Why do you think so?

8. Besides his outstanding love to God and both his brothers and sisters, do you think Padre Hurtado had any other motivation to aim at? Why?

9. Is there any other question you would have preferred to be addressed in this interview? If so, please feel free to make any comments.
PROTOCOLO DE ENTREVISTA SOBRE EL PADRE HURTADO

Estoy llevando a cabo un proyecto de investigación sobre las influencias del pensamiento del Padre Hurtado sobre cuestiones sociales y educacionales en Chile. La información que ud.,nos provea será de fundamental importancia para este proyecto. Sin embargo, es muy importante asegurarle, que ésta sera tratada con absoluta confidencialidad durante su procesamiento, la cual posteriormente, será destruida. Ninguna otra persona tendrá acceso a las cintas grabadas de la entrevista. Muchas gracias.

A) Antecedentes/ Información demográfica:


B) Preguntas

1. Si ud., debiera calificar al Padre Hurtado en su vida terrenal ¿Cómo lo haría? ¿Por qué?
2. ¿Cuál es la relación del Padre Hurtado con la educación chilena? ¿Por qué?
3. ¿Qué es lo que más le ha impactado de la vida y el legado del Padre Hurtado? ¿Por qué?
4. En su opinión ¿Manifestó el Padre Hurtado alguna influencia política específica en temas sociales atingentes? Por favor fundamente su opinión.
5. ¿Qué postulados educacionales del Padre Hurtado están presentes en el Hogar de Cristo? ¿Por qué lo cree así?
6. Usted cree y trabaja por la cristalización de la obra del Padre Hurtado ¿Por qué lo hace?

7. Si el Padre Hurtado estuviese físicamente vivo en el Chile 2002 ¿Cuál cree ud., que sería su mensaje educativo? ¿Por qué lo cree así?

8. Además del amor a Dios y al prójimo que el Padre Hurtado profesaba ¿Cree ud., que él tenía alguna otra motivación? ¿Por qué?

9. ¿Qué tema le habría a ud., gustado que lo tratáramos en la entrevista y no se hizo? Por favor, siéntase libre para explayarse.