

LECTURE II

European ideas brought over the sea by contraband books and native travelers.—Intercourse between mother country and colony.—The intellectual progress of the New World of Latin America before its political emancipation.—Comparison with the progress of the British possessions.—The race, environment, and period.—The race problem in America.—Traditional sympathy felt in Latin America for the inferior races.—State of the colonial culture in the Iberian and Anglo-Saxon sections.—Territorial conquest of Portuguese and Spaniards.—The political unit: the municipal chambers and *cabildos*.—Their conception and realization in the colonies and their significance in the mother countries of Europe.—The *Cabildo* of Montevideo and the part it took in the Revolution.—The municipal chambers of Brazil and Independence.—The political and social reconstruction of the new countries.—Education and charity.—Characteristics of colonial education.—The lack of political education in Latin America.—The general characteristics of particularism and the American conception of federalism.

WE mentioned the other day, as a symptom of conditions, the rise and growth in the plateau of Cundinamarca [1], of the principles underlying the French Revolution. Here, where a hundred years before there had wandered only Indians, unprotected from the cold and ignorant of all rights of the individual with respect to the community, there was now to be found a society of European character which was secretly but ardently reading the political and social writings brought from the other side of the ocean. These ideas of reform were also propagated by the sons of the colonies who, in appreciable though incomparably smaller number than is the case today, came to Europe to travel and soon became familiar with the dominant ideas and aspirations in the lands of culture, a term which in the present case signifies France and England.

Do not think that at any time there did not exist any personal intercourse between the colonial subjects of the Iberian Peninsula and these more progressive countries. We, too, had our Franklins of a certain kind. The Brazilian epic poet, Basilio da Gama [2], in the poem "O Uruguay" has immortalized the resistance made by the natives of the Missions of Uruguay to the transfer of sovereignty over this territory from Spain to Portugal. Though born in the interior province of Minas Geraes, that land of gold and diamonds, he went to Rome and became a member of the arcadia. Alexandre de Gusmão [3], of Santos, in the

State of São Paulo, polished and refined at Paris a mind that was naturally Parisian, and hence his acuteness of vision to discern the absurdities in the court of Dom John V [4], of whom he was both private secretary as well as annalist, for his letters form the best criticism of his reign.

Moreover the intellectual men of Portugal in the eighteenth century seem to us to be in no small part Brazilians; that is to say, the number of Brazilians who, for the want of institutions of higher learning in their own land, came to Coimbra [5] for their education and remained to enrich letters, the sciences and, in short, the intellectual life of the metropolis, was by no means small. Brazil found compensation for this loss of her sons by giving to the life of Portugal, at least to that of the Court, some peculiar and foreign features which extended to the various classes of society.

I consider that Spain's colonists took a smaller part in the development of the mother country previous to the independence of the New World, than did those of Portugal, largely due to the fact that the Spanish colonies had their own universities, as well as to the geographical situation of the colonies in reference to their respective mother countries. It is obvious that communication between the Spanish ports of Seville and Cadiz on the one hand and the regions of the River Plate, of the Pacific and even of the Antilles on the other was much more difficult than the relatively short and easy voyage from Lisbon to Brazil, and vice versa, with stops at Madeira and the Azores and continent of Africa. The American continent, in the southern hemisphere and in its eastern coast, advances, so to speak, in search of the civilization of the Old World; the configuration of the Gulf of Mexico to be sure gives at first glance the contrary impression, but this geographical accident did not prevent the establishment of a close and constant administrative and economic connection, and did not make the number of colonists who visited Europe in any way inconsiderable.

Simon Bolívar was, as the son of a noble family, the playfellow at Aránjuez of the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Ferdinand VII, that King of Spain whom he was to despoil of a large part of his colonial dominions; at Paris he associated with scientists such as Humboldt and Bonpland; he was present at the crowning of Napoleon at Milan as King of Italy, and in a burst of enthusiasm for classical history, went to take the oath on the Aventine that he would devote his life to the freeing of his continent.

Miranda [6] reveals himself to us as even more of a cosmopolitan. A military participant in your War of Independence, he appears later as

a freemason in England, as the guest of the great Catherine in Russia, as a superior officer under Dumouriez, the conqueror at the battles of Valmy and Jemmapes—events which ushered in the heroic period of the French revolutionary expansion in Europe. The masonic lodge established by Miranda in London for the purpose of securing the political emancipation of the continent which was still in bondage, extended its ramifications as far as Brazil, which hitherto had been widely separated from the Spanish American world. This lodge thus became an influential factor in the revolt of Pernambuco in 1817 [7], which even during the residence of Dom John VI in Brazil, seriously imperiled the Portuguese dominions in America.¹

Rapid then, as you see—for what are three centuries in universal history—had been the evolution of this new Latin American world, which, in the first half of the sixteenth century, could only offer the spectacle of iniquitous and deadly combats between the invaders and the natives, and which, now in the beginning of the nineteenth century, was already proclaiming its rights to self-government and autonomy, or was serving as a refuge for an entire Court of Europe, fleeing in terror from Napoleon, the seat of a colonial administration becoming naturally the capital of a vast monarchy [8].

It is true that only a limited group of men of culture were advocating those rights of freedom and self-government and that the great mass of the people of these countries do not have, even to-day, a satisfactory notion of any *social contract*. But does not the same thing happen in other countries? And even in those nations which march in the vanguard of civilization will the minority cease to have charge of the administration of public affairs? Comparatively speaking, it may even be said that the culture of the Latin American colonies at that time was superior, in certain respects, to that of the Anglo-American colonies, whose development today astonishes the world. On the other hand you gained much ground and outdistanced us all, after you had secured your independence: which certainly signifies that the race, the environment and the time had not equally prepared us for the conscientious direction of our destinies.

The race showed the effect of the physical and moral union. Sr. Lacerda, in the paper to which I have already referred, although recognizing the accidental superiority of some mulattoes and half-caste over the original factors or parents, points out that as a whole the legacy from the negro race was unfortunate. This legacy consists, in his opinion, of de-

¹ It will be recalled that King John VI resided in Brazil from 1808 to 1821.

fects of language, vices of blood, wrong conceptions of life and death, gross superstitions, fetishism, and a total lack of comprehension of every lofty sentiment of honor and of human dignity. The picture will appear darkly colored or not, according to each one's preferences or prejudices; in any case, he failed to mention that the moral influence of Europe was so powerful, even upon the product of the intermarriage, that the most astute politician of the last years of the Brazilian Empire was a mulatto, as was also the most delicate, the most subtle, in fine, the most Athenian writer recorded in the literary annals of the country. Of mixed blood also was Gonçalves Diaz, Brazil's greatest poet and one of the great American lyrists,—an artist of vivid imagination, of rich coloring, wonderful rhythm and profound sensibility, whose mission it was to recall the native traditions of the country and idealize the soul of its aboriginal population.

These superior minds, animating bodies in whose veins circulated the blood of the so-called inferior races, are the best testimony to the efficiency of crossing ideas. Moreover, if physical crossing leaves its impress, why should not the crossing of mental or moral qualities leave its effect also? And if this can be exercised in the direction of deterioration, why would it not be exercised also in the opposite direction of elevation? The instances I have cited are only a few among hundreds which may be seen by any one who will look for them in Latin America.

The local *milieu* was suffering, it is true, from great violence and tyranny: the conquerors were prodigal of both, as invaders of any kind are apt to be. On account of the inequality in education and, consequently, of the difference in intellectual viewpoint, the moment of emancipation was one of insufficient harmony between the elements destined to live together. Nevertheless in insisting upon the first point, it would be permitted to ask if instead of occupying ourselves with the past, that is, with trying to explain by means of history and tradition what has been the political and moral evolution of Latin America compared with Anglo-Saxon America, we should face the future, which of the policies followed is the wise one?

Will not the practical method which, during the colonial period and later during the period of independence, the sons of the Iberian Peninsula unconsciously took to solve the problem of the races, perchance facilitate its solution, or rather, will it not assure its solution in the future? Indeed, in your country, which is in so many ways the most progressive in the world, and the one in which the greatest progress has already been made toward the regulation of ethical problems, this racial question continues pressing, inciting to acts of violence which you, whom I may call

the intellectuals and the disciples of philosophers, are the first to deplore and condemn. Yet we of Latin America have already settled this same problem in the most satisfactory manner by fusion, a fusion in which the inferior elements will shortly disappear. Thus, when mulattoes and half castes shall no longer exist among us, when the negro or Indian blood shall have become diluted in European blood, which in times past and not far distant—it must not be forgotten—received its contingents of Berbers, Numidians, Tartars and other races, you will be threatened with preserving indefinitely within your confines irreducible populations, of diverse color and hostile sentiments.

I will not say that the general tone of your culture has not gained by this aloofness of the races, by the consequent integrity of the purity of the white race which has contributed so greatly to the present superiority of your civilization; but the situation created by antagonism, that is, by the presence of two or more races which do not fuse, will some day have to have its *dénouement*, and the *dénouement* brought about by love is always preferable to that which is the result of hate.

This rule of love followed by the Latin peoples of America does not date from to-day; it was always identical in its spirit, even when the times were less inclined to moral considerations. The *Leyes de Indias* [10] (Laws of the Indies) are, in the opinion of Don Vicente G. Quesada, a writer who does not hesitate to censure the faults of the Spanish colonial policy, much superior to the contemporary laws of other nations, revealing a constant lofty purpose on the part of the administration of the mother country in favor of her American colonies.

This does not mean, however, that these laws were superior to their epoch, "whose standards in their entirety they adopted, without suspecting perhaps that posterity would regard them as backward and pernicious." It means only that the more affectionate, or if you prefer the term, the more expansive nature of the southern race perfected that aspect of their legislation. The natives were, it is true, badly treated, violated, enslaved by the conquerors from the Iberian Peninsula, but, as I have already pointed out to you, by the side of these exploiters, from the first hour, were missionaries of the same nationality, contending with them for this new portion of humanity in order to elevate it by education and precept. With admirable zeal these missionaries set to work immediately to learn the American languages, and while acquiring them they even went so far, in Mexico, as to invent figures, after the manner of the local hieroglyphics, in order to inculcate thoroughly the rudiments of the Christian doctrine.

The foundation of the Seminary of San José, a primary school and an ecclesiastical professional institute for Indian children, was almost contemporaneous with the conquest of the Mexican territory from the Aztecs. The College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco furnished Indian teachers for the children of the Spaniards. This college was founded in 1536, by the virtuous bishop Zumárraga, whose splendid biography by Garcia Icazbalceta you would greatly enjoy reading [11]. In 1553, there was established a home for foundlings for the unfortunate offspring of the temporary unions of Spanish soldiers with Indian women, the support of natural children being obligatory, however, whenever it was possible to establish the paternity. The Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza [12], whose task it was to put into effect the Royal decree authorizing the establishment of this home, was also the founder of a retreat for girls of mixed blood, where they received some education before leaving the institution to marry.

In these very brief pedagogical and philanthropical references I confine myself to Mexico, your adjoining neighbor, and to the sixteenth century, the century of the discoveries and first explorations, in order not to extend a list which you might think interminable. But any one who will acquaint himself with the subject will conclude that, notwithstanding the many adverse influences, charity, the foundation *par excellence* of our Christian civilization, no less than the benefits of education, reached the Latin section of the New World earlier than it did the Anglo-Saxon section.

Neither can it be doubted that at the close of the colonial period in America our culture was, if not more solid, at least more brilliant than yours; our social life was more ostentatious, if not more civilized; our development was fuller and freer, if not more fruitful.

It will suffice to remind you, as regards Brazil, that in Minas Geraes, whose gold and diamonds were making Portugal the wonder of Europe, lyric poetry at the end of the eighteenth century acquired a natural feeling and an almost romantic expression of a personal character which make the poetry of the colonial period decidedly superior to the neo-classic conventionality of the mother country. It will be sufficient to tell you that the luxury of your Virginia could not compare with the splendor, somewhat ostentatious but suggestive, of the "Captaincy of Gold," and especially to remind you that the winning of the West, which in the United States was the feature of the nineteenth century, was in the case of Brazil begun by our pioneers in the sixteenth century, and was already concluded in the eighteenth century.

The great results obtained by our diplomacy in fixing Brazil's boundaries with the neighboring countries—a task sufficiently complicated, for Brazil borders on all the countries and colonies of South America, except Chile—are, with the exception of slight modifications due to geographical corrections rather than to political motives, nothing more than the confirmation of treaties concluded between Spain and Portugal in 1750 and 1777. These treaties, in their turn, represented the international recognition of Portugal's conquest of territory beyond the line traced in the fifteenth century by the Papal Bull and the Treaty of Tordesillas, which theoretically reconciled the Cortes of Madrid and Lisbon [13].

The desire for expansion, identical with that which led the Portuguese adventurers to cross the mountains of the eastern coast of the southern continent and to explore the rivers of the plateau to their central headwaters, led the Spanish adventurers to subjugate Mexico and to radiate from there to Florida, to New Mexico, California and Guatemala, that is, to the east, north and south; to spread themselves along the coasts of the Pacific, soon after this Southern Sea had been discovered by Nuñez de Balboa; to take possession of the immense backbone of South America, occupying the Andes wherever there were outcroppings of silver lodes and establishing settlements even at points which were without any attractions whatever; and finally to penetrate into the southeast as far as the pampas, in their quest for precious metals.

It was this same desire for colonial expansion of the two Iberian countries which led to the political and economic organization of the new nationalities for which the territorial conquest opened the way; the initial cell of this organization will be found in an old Roman municipal institution transplanted to America by the founders of the new Latin World.

The municipal chambers of Brazil and the *cabildos*, or municipal corporations, of Spanish America, were indeed the colonial nurseries of liberal ideas and rights; however much the shadow of royal despotism might obscure them, depriving them of the radiant light of liberty, they constituted the soil in which those rights germinated and where they finally burst into blossom. These corporations were popular in their character, and in many cases also in their composition, although the legislation of this period and particularly that of a later period greatly changed their nature. They had been granted by Spain and Portugal to their possessions in the sixteenth century when such organizations, as appears from the relative autonomy they enjoyed, still had a significance

and a reality in the Peninsula. And despite the obstacles which the throne placed in the way of their development they continued to progress through the force of their own momentum.

In Spain there had even been a time when, as one writer has expressed it, by the side of the landed feudalism there existed a kind of urban feudalism extending its influence over towns and villages and having as its basis the large number of communes, especially those created in the territory won from the Moors. In Portugal the *foraes* or charters of the municipal councils no longer contained their former privileges, which had been as great as the Spanish, and, like them, were given as a recompense for services rendered in the wars against the Mohammedans; but the inhabitants or citizens of these municipal towns continued to be the raw material for parliamentary representation, since it was they who furnished the taxes until the Crown absorbed all rights and privileges.

On the other side of the ocean, far from the supreme power, which in the pursuit of its ideal of its own preponderant authority was encroaching upon their rights, the municipal chambers instinctively resisted whenever possible, and sometimes even beyond their strength, the authority of the feudal lords, governors and viceroys which had been made despotic by law and which aimed to become even more tyrannical in practice. If perchance these chambers did not find sufficient authority for this opposition in the legislation which swathed them in the cradle, or the traditions of the Peninsula did not permit it—for in Europe the nobility and later the King constantly opposed the municipal corporations—they at times necessarily found in the colonies conditions of anarchy sufficient to justify their disregard of the text of the Constitution.

Castillo de Bobadilla [14], a Spanish publicist who preceded the writers on European public law—I say European because an American public law has been invented, though in what respect it differs from the other I could not say—goes so far as to find a precedent in republican and imperial Rome for the full meetings of the *vecindario*, that is, the popular assembly called "*cabildo abierto*" in which the ediles and electors were associated, thus corresponding in a certain sense to your primary meeting. The Roman precedent refers to the occasional admission to the Senate of knights (*equites*) and other supernumerary persons who had held the office of magistrate, or other citizens chosen by the censors for consultation and counsel in grave business matters.

The political and social importance of the typical Spanish municipal institution, or rather of the Neo-Latin institution, transplanted to the

New World, has been the subject of wide discussion, and the pendulum of opinion has swung and continues to swing between those who assert that in the colonial *cabildos*, which were created for the government and good administration of justice of the new American cities, there resided, in law and in fact, popular sovereignty, and those who do not see in them anything more than the "sad parody" of the Spanish councils which were overthrown by Charles V, after the famous revolt of the *Comuneros* [15].

The functions of these *cabildos* were, as you may imagine in view of the precision which characterized the Spanish bureaucracy, of which the *Rey papelista*,² as Canovas del Castillo [16] called Philip II, was the most perfect representative, minutely set forth in the Laws of the Indies. They included, in addition to the services common to all edileships, administrative and judicial functions. In their judicial capacity the *cabildos* acted in certain cases on gifts of lands, decided lawsuits, and even constituted in civil matters up to a certain point, a court of second instance.

But just as in your constitutional system,—the so-called American presidential system which Brazil imported when she established the Republican form of Government and which other Latin American countries had adopted before her,—there was an executive magistrate with full powers alongside of the deliberative body; so, alongside or rather above the Roman Senate, there was the Emperor. Only, in the case of the *cabildos*, the *corregidor*, or chief civil magistrate who carried out their resolutions, was appointed by the king, and not elected by the people. This fundamental defect, which was common to the *cabildo*, would be enough to prevent it from being the practical school of democracy which some would like to regard it. To begin with, it lacked the essential, a representative basis, the people taking no part in it, either at the time of its establishment—for the first council was directly appointed by the Governor—or afterward, as the *regidores*, or administrative officers, elected their own successors. In time even this form of election was largely done away with, as the result of the aldermen ceding their staff of office for a pecuniary consideration, which was the source of many grave abuses [17].

Moreover, the revenues of these corporations were small, their taxing power was limited, and ordinarily they enjoyed but little prestige. This fact was due in part to the despotic tendencies of the governors and military commanders, encouraged, as a South American writer has pointed

²This expression might perhaps be translated "The king submerged in state papers."

out, by the great distance from the metropolis and the corrupt Spanish administration. Nevertheless, it is a fact, as the historical critic, Dr. Jose Salgado [18] of the University of Montevideo, has indicated, that the colonists were permitted to take part in the communal deliberation by means of the open *cabildos*, already mentioned, which were sometimes convoked by the municipal corporations and at other times by spontaneous agreement of the citizens in order to decide matters of grave importance. In these open meetings the opinions of all were heard and their votes affected the deliberations taken.

It must not be forgotten that the municipal corporations of the colonies were concessions of the crown, granted with the object of fostering the colonization of the possessions which the navigators and discoverers had added to its dominion, and of promoting the constitutional organization of these distant sections of the metropolis, connected by a common sovereignty. In Spain the *fueros* or royal grants represented rather the recognition by the throne of a state of things brought about by the difficulties of the Christian reconquest; they were a sort of free contract of mutual respect and defense.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these Spanish municipal charters, the oldest recorded in the political history of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire and the invasion of the barbarians, should guard so zealously the prerogatives of the burghers that they denied to the lords the right to build castles in the territory of the communes, and made the nobility and people equal before the civil law. The *fuero* of Palencia, for example, expressly stated that there could only be two palaces within the confines of the city, that of the king and that of the bishop, and that there was to be no distinction between the houses of the rich and of the poor.

It is well known that in those times, which were really more tolerant and liberal than those which followed, the Jews were allowed to establish themselves in the towns with the enjoyment of the ordinary rights and privileges, and the personal guarantees of the inhabitants of the councils were such that no citizen could be punished without having first been heard and condemned. Only a judicial sentence could authorize the confiscation of property, and the Cortes alone had the right to impose extraordinary taxes.

I do not wish, however, to compare the colonial *cabildos* with the old communes of Castile and Aragon of the time of the *fueros*, or with the free English communes which were later revived and flourished among you, but to call your attention to the tradition which they represented, although im-

perfectly, and to the importance which they eventually assumed. "Some of these," writes Dr. J. Salgado, "in spite of the laws of their organization and the attempts made by the Spanish authorities to absorb them, were gradually acquiring a real autonomy which later converted them into corporations openly revolutionary."

This was the case with the *Cabildo* of Montevideo, at the time of the occupation of Buenos Aires by the English expedition, in 1806. In order to enable the natives to reconquer the territory which had been taken from them, the *Cabildo* of Montevideo raised the governor to the post of supreme chief, giving him full authority, for they considered that the viceroy had rendered himself unworthy of the office through his cowardly desertion of the field of combat. By this act, the wishes of the people were not only placed above the laws and the decrees of the sovereign, but as the voluntary expression of the people were ruthlessly carried out. And when on the other side of the La Plata estuary the liberation of Argentina was proclaimed, the *Cabildo* of Buenos Aires, although constrained and coerced, served nevertheless the group of liberal-minded men as an instrument for effecting the revolution within the law.

The separation of Uruguay from Spain and its independent organization which followed close upon that of Argentina were effected by the same method, which we may call the revolutionary-legal method. General Mitre [19], soldier, writer and distinguished statesman, who deserved the title of the GRAND OLD MAN of Argentina, has justly pointed out that at Montevideo were enacted the two principal scenes of the democratic drama of Independence: the open *cabildo* and the establishment of a self-governing *junta*, or board, appointed by the people.

You see, therefore, that in the evolution of your government the fundamental principle is identical with ours and it must not be forgotten that even in monarchical Brazil the Empire sprang from a movement of concentration on the part of the provincial *juntas*, elected by popular vote, and that its proclamation and, later, its organization, had had to be ratified by the municipalities—a significant homage paid to popular sovereignty.

Under the circumstances it is not at all surprising that after an existence through three centuries of colonial expansion this old Latin and later neo-Iberian institution—despite the fact that in many cases it had been nurtured in a hothouse atmosphere—should play a rôle of great importance in that period of transition signalized by the Wars of Independence. In the general confusion caused by the political upheaval and the spirit of the century the *cabildos* assumed an authority which no other

institution was capable of wielding. Under the pretext of guarding the integrity and inviolability of the royal rights of their direct suzerain, the legitimate king of Spain, these corporations in fact took away the possessions of the crown, not only from the jurisdiction of the foreign king and usurper, but from all attempts at authority sent from Europe.

In Brazil, where the presence of the monarch prevented an exhibition of this pretense of colonial loyalty—whose sincerity, except perhaps at the outset, was open to serious question—the municipal chambers soon took a conspicuous part, and one in keeping with their character. This happened at the time of the conflict between the national regency left by Dom John VI, in the person of Dom Pedro the Prince Royal, who was afterwards proclaimed the first constitutional Emperor of Brazil, and the constituent Cortes of Lisbon, which sought to reduce the colonial kingdom which was already enjoying autonomy—for Portugal and Brazil had formed a united kingdom since 1816—to its former colonial condition of unequivocal servitude.

It was at this juncture, as I have just said, that the municipal chambers of Brazil, giving expression to the local resistance which was fortunately becoming national owing to the presence in the country of the throne, which acted as a center of attraction, sought to establish Dom Pedro permanently in his supreme post upon the ampler foundation of the provincial boards, giving him at first the title and honor of "perpetual defender of Brazil," and later the rank and dignity of sovereign. It was those corporations, therefore, that, displaying the greatest wisdom and without shedding any blood whatsoever, brought about the independence of the country. The municipal chamber of Rio de Janeiro, in particular, took the most active part in the establishment of the democratic empire that Brazil came to be and remained. In a certain sense it may be said that it initiated the movement [20].

The methods by which political emancipation was secured in Brazil differed from those employed in Spanish America chiefly in this: our independence was accomplished, so to speak, without war—for this term can hardly be applied to the few spasmodic attempts at resistance which were promptly crushed. And the bloodless character of the revolution was due primarily to the existence in Brazil of a legitimately and traditionally constituted government which served as a shield against revolutionary aspirations, and which enjoyed the respect and sympathy of the majority. Consequently it succeeded in overpowering its enemies, that is, those who, fascinated by the mirage of republicanism, opposed the monarchical régime in principle.

Any discussion of the political emancipation of Brazil must necessarily take into account the influence of the Regent, Dom Pedro [21], in whom all dreams of independence were led to concentrate. On account of his close connection with the throne of the metropolis, of whose reigning dynasty he was the most direct representative after the monarch, he not only commended himself to a people which had only just emerged—if we may employ the metaphor—from its chrysalis state, but thanks to the prestige which monarchical institutions still enjoyed in the mother country he succeeded in imposing himself, if not on the respect, at all events on other less patent sentiments of such reforming Cortes, as those of Lisbon, which declared themselves liberal without being revolutionary.

Turning to the other section of Latin America it cannot be denied that as the result of the longer sustained efforts and the greater violence with which the separation was effected, the Spanish ex-colonies were able to surpass the kingdom of Brazil in the mighty work of political and social reconstruction after independence had been won. Without any agreement among themselves, each one legislating in its own special interest, they changed in the same way the constitutional structure from its foundation, establishing not only freedom of industry, of trade, of colonization and of religion—all of which Brazil had obtained from the transplanted royalty as spontaneous grants, although they naturally were still subject to certain restrictions, due to prejudices of the time and surroundings—but also decreeing the general extinction of slavery, the abolishment of the Indian tribute and the suppression of the nobility.

I have already spoken of the painful birth of the idea of emancipation of the negro in the United States and Spanish America. It was a freedom won by blood, Brazil being the only country in which it was effected peacefully, by evolution, amid the rejoicings of the people, who felt that the institution of slavery was incompatible with their state of civilization. And it cannot be said that with the exception of this social institution, which morally did not last any longer among us than it did in fact among you—for the act of 1863 was the death-knell of slavery in the rest of America where this scourge existed—human progress was not equal in the two sections of Latin America.

The extinction of the Inquisition, that executioner of thought; the freedom of the press; the regulation of the monastical communities; the reduction of ecclesiastical privileges and consequent lessening of the religious power; the abolition of a few burdensome taxes; the reform of the civil, commercial and penal laws;—all of these conquests of the up-

rising in the Spanish colonies were, in Brazil, obtained by that same process of evolution which, before the separation, reflected the wave of constitutional reform sweeping over Portugal, and which, also, after the separation of the two kingdoms, was the result of the establishment of the representative régime.

This régime synchronized with political emancipation and its acclimatization earlier would not have been in harmony with the conditions then prevailing, but even so one must seek in the past of the Latin-American countries the tradition for all that occurred later in this connection. I mentioned a little while ago that the most attractive feature of the Spanish civilization, or rather of the Iberian civilization in the New World, was its sympathy for the natives, a sympathy which did not prevent abuses, acts of violence, persecutions and tyrannies, for there were all of these, and, unfortunately, not on a small scale. Yet this sympathy included a progressive and regenerative element which was the result of an instinctive feeling of the spiritual equality of that alien race, of a sense of the iniquity of treating them in any other way than with justice and benevolence, and of the recognition of the right of that inferior people to intellectual and moral education and to social elevation.

We have already seen that in Spanish America—and the same conditions held in Portuguese America—the schools and colleges for Indians and their descendants were contemporaneous with those established for the white children of the European colonists. This idea of establishing schools on the heels of the conquest was not as chimerical as might appear at first sight. Rather is one amazed at the number and importance of these institutions considering the period and the local conditions. The province of New Granada, now Colombia, which in her highlands was the least accessible of the Spanish possessions and had comparatively the smallest resources, counted in the seventeenth century twenty-three colleges, not including the primary schools which existed in nearly all the convents. It should be added that many of these primary schools as well as colleges were due to private initiative.

In Latin-American countries, education, as well as charity, has always been favored in a high degree by legacies and donations. In a city like that of Rio de Janeiro, for example, which has at the present time nearly a million inhabitants, the public charity service is scarcely done by the city administration at all, but almost entirely, and in a manner eminently satisfactory, by that rich old colonial institution, the *Misericordia*, the first *Misericordias* in Portugal having been established in the fifteenth century. This institution has hospitals for the sick, maternity and children's wards, provident stores, and guards cemeteries.

Naturally, the Government has always looked with favor upon this prosperous institution which was working totally in its interest. This was not the case, however, with the strictly ecclesiastical donations. These conduced to the wealth and consequent influence of the religious communities, which, by means of this material prestige, were able to enter into conflicts with the civil authorities. Certain disagreements between viceroys and bishops, as well as between bishops and Jesuits, remained famous in the colonial annals. The anecdotal history of the New World of Latin America is as interesting and as diverting as yours, if not more so; you can become acquainted with a part of it, and that the most curious, by reading the *Tradiciones del Peru*, by Ricardo Palma [22].

Education in the Iberian colonies, as I have already pointed out, was of an essentially religious character, for it was ecclesiastical in its origin, and even served as a pretext for the emulation of the various Catholic congregations, especially in the Spanish possessions, where the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, contended for the educational monopoly. This rivalry, however, could only find vent within the prescribed limits; and, as Don Vicente Quesada [23] well says, since there was no place in the monotonous existence of the colony for political strifes, all the activities were concentrated in these academic contests. "The refined, scholarly and somewhat mandarinic culture resulting from these contests imparted to the Latin-American people, isolated as they were from the rest of the world, a characteristic polish as rhetoricians, formulists, controversialists, erudite scholars devoted to beauty of style, observers of outward forms and conventions, sophists, prone to attach too great importance to words, and especially much given to an affected ergotism."

In the same spirit as this admirable observation of the eminent Argentine just cited are the words of Juan and Ulloa [24] with regard to the effects of ecclesiastical education. These distinguished naval officers accompanied the French Scientific Mission on its expedition to South America, which had been made possible by the fact that the princes of the house of Bourbon were seated on the thrones of Spain and France. They observed that the educated youth of the colonies, who were truly gifted with remarkable cleverness and rare powers of quick assimilation, were notable for their knowledge of philosophy, of theology and even of jurisprudence, but that they lacked acquaintance with the political, historical and natural sciences.

The worst feature, however, of these Latin-American colonial societies, which were without horizons of their own—for they enjoyed

neither industrial nor commercial freedom—was their administrative incapacity; rather I should say their enforced inability to govern themselves, or, in other words, their need of political education. It was in these respects that you showed your great superiority over us, a superiority which enabled you to make rapid advancement after you had gained your independence. Among you, established tradition had only to continue under a new name and under more favorable conditions. The government was in fact already in the hands of the colonists and their descendants. We, on the other hand, had to adapt ourselves to the changed conditions, whereas among you the adaption had already been made.

The two civilizations, though, had one characteristic in common which tended to favor and really did favor our progress. This was Particularism, whose influence is seen in all the various aspects of the evolution of America, both Iberian and Anglo-Saxon America. Where one least expects to find it, it rises up, to explain, if not to justify the march of events, or as an artist would say, to fix the different planes in a sketch of culture. Let us take, for example, what was the greatest political and social problem of the New World, that is, slavery, a thing of the past and yet of the present, for its consequences have not yet ceased to be felt, its vestiges are far from having disappeared. The institution of slavery had its best guarantee in its diffusion: it was identified with our evolution and had become an institution common to all American colonies, passing naturally to the new countries of all nationalities. It is evident that with its continuance assured in the United States, there was no reason for it not to continue in the other countries of the continent where slavery had resisted the emancipation crises, namely Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Guianas. Of these countries, Brazil alone had achieved independence.

The "peculiar institution" received from your solid South tacit but effective moral support, and with us in Brazil, in the same way as among you, although not in the same degree, it derived encouragement from the autonomy of the states or provinces, as they were then called. In Brazil, this political spirit of particularism continued to exist even under a policy of centralization: it was favored moreover, by the great difference in the economic conditions of the provinces, which enabled some of them to free their small number of slaves, like Ceará and Amazonas, while others, like São Paulo and Pernambuco, clung to a state of things which they regarded as inseparable from their prosperity.

It was this centralization of power brought about by the monarchy

which enabled the abolition of slavery in Brazil to be effected without bloodshed or civil strife, for it may be said that a sectional line was being established in the country between the provinces which had slaves and those which no longer had them—although it did not offer the geometrical precision of the line drawn between your North and South—and that, there as here, the abolitionists began their active crusade in the midst of the same prejudices and rancors.

The correction, or rather, the result of Particularism: is Federalism, a word which stands out large in the political lexicon of our double continent. You are preëminently the country of Federalism—a country of adoption like all those of the New World—but historical probity obliges me to state, and in so doing I may possibly wound your vanity (a vanity which would be entirely justified), that Brazilian Federalism was not, as one might at first suppose, through a false deduction based on coincidence, an application of the principle which had been so successful in the constitutional organization of the United States.

Federalism in Brazil has passed through many phases and vicissitudes. In 1822 it was necessarily and advantageously sacrificed to the national unity, but in 1834 it had returned with sufficient vitality to compel the acceptance of the Additional Act to the Imperial Constitution of 1825, an Act prepared under the Regency and favoring decentralization, and which in 1889 served as a model for the organization of the Republic. Yet this same federal principle has not only struck its roots as deep as a history which is but four centuries old will permit, but its origin is to be found in a past still more remote. For we must never forget that the history of Latin America is nothing more than that of the Iberian Peninsula transplanted to a new scene in which new human elements take part, and one must seek in the environment and traditions of Europe for the thread of its institutions and of its ideals.

Throughout America, however, we find that particularism is the political feature of the last century, that is, of the century immediately following independence, in striking contrast to Europe, where the policy of nationalities, with its necessary corollary of unification, has been the dominant one from Napoleon's time to Bismarck's. In South America, Bolívar was unable to bring together in a constitutional whole the different although homogeneous parts of the Empire which had been severed by historical events and conflicting aspirations. He was obliged to separate the *Audiencia* of Charcas and raise it to the dignity of a nation under his own name; he was unable to maintain the Presidency of Quito either as a part of independent Peru or of Great Colombia which he had

founded, and he died at the moment when Great Colombia again definitely separated into Venezuela and New Granada. In North America a gigantic struggle was opened between the Northern and Southern States for the purpose of severing the Union which so many battle-fields had cemented. While these events took place in North and South America, in Europe cruel and bloody wars were being waged for the purpose of reconstructing, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, for the purpose of constructing the unity of Italy, Dante's cherished dream, and the unity of Germany, which the survival of German feudalism has prevented up to our time.

In the New World, truly, the constitutional ideal lent itself to various interpretations. I do not need to remind you here in the United States of Jefferson and the Republicans, of Calhoun and the Democrats, of Jefferson Davis and the Confederates. Today even the rights of the states are frequently invoked and defended, although it is no longer desired to convert their autonomy into independence. In Latin America, we see that the centrifugal movement was also the initial one, for all the genius of Bolívar could not avail to prevent its spread throughout the former colonies of Spain. It would have been necessary to have established a throne, as in Brazil, in order to maintain or create the splendid unity which circumstances of language, or religion, of customs and of sentiments favored, but which was opposed by circumstances, no less strong, of history, geography and political imagination.

The plan of Bolívar, like that of the American Federalists, had been to place the power of the compound above the autonomy of the parts, to sacrifice particularist interests to the interests of the whole which was superior to them. He therefore began by respecting in the territorial demarcation of freed Spanish America, the principle of *uti possidetis juris*, which was the only reasonable and logical foundation he could give this political division, and even so it did not become exempt from difficulties and conflicts such as those which have appeared among almost all, if not all, the Latin Republics of the New World.

You all surely remember the boundary disputes between Chile and Argentina, which were settled by the awards of the King of England and of one of your diplomats: the dispute between Argentina and Paraguay, which was decided by President Hayes; the controversy between Bolivia and Peru over the Acre Territory, acquired by Brazil, which was decided by the President of Argentina; the dispute between Venezuela and Colombia, which was submitted to the Queen Regent of Spain: and the disputes still pending between Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador, not to cite others.

Bolívar's ultimate conception, which rested on the military hegemony of Colombia—a state which he had called into being—included, as a necessary complement, the principle of arbitration for the regulation of differences between countries. In extolling and advocating this principle, he left the narrow sphere of patriotism—which was really an *esprit de clocher* in the divided Spanish America—in order to enter the higher sphere of international harmony.

Thus was formed what a Colombian writer has justly termed the international ideal of Bolívar, founded on tradition and a safe basis, therefore, for the codification of public law, which is being proposed by the governments for the people of this hemisphere. And this noble inclination would of itself be enough to doom to oblivion the faults of this great man:—his ambition for personal and autocratic rule; the pretorian spirit which he was largely responsible for infiltrating into the Spanish-American political organism; his imperialism disguised under the cloak of the unity of the race.

As it often happens, however, with social events, the results in this case went far beyond mere personal advantage, the work of the Liberator becoming truly rich in fruits, since his ardent desire for the preponderance of Colombia and his monocratic tendencies indirectly assured, before the Monroe Doctrine, the safety of the independence of the other Republics, through the extension of the military activities which broke the Spanish resistance beyond their original orbit.

We shall see, too, that in the mind of Bolívar the thought for self was never unaccompanied by general ideas or conceptions of public order. But we must first examine the evolution, in America, of the federative principle, which has been its chief political characteristic. As early as 1815, when the hero of Spanish America wandered, an exile, though not hopeless, over the Antilles, he saw in Panamá, whose Isthmus you are soon going to open to the world's commerce, the Corinth of the new Hellenic Confederation, the seat of a political and military league governed by an international assembly of plenipotentiaries, like the Achean League of Greece. The Macedonian influence, and later the Roman, against which that Confederation was warned, finds its modern counterpart in the influence of Europe, against whose influence it was Bolívar's idea to oppose the American political body "with an aspect of majesty and grandeur," as he said, "unparalleled among the ancient nations."