

LECTURE VI.

Moral integration produced by the fusion of the races, the condition of social equilibrium.—The historic episode of Bolívar and Pétion.—Disadvantages of intermarriage, which gives rise to a great difference in ideas.—Political unrest of Latin America, formerly the hope of the European democracy.—Causes of the revolutionary disturbances.—The anarchical and conservative elements in the Iberian societies of the New World.—Bolívar's conception and its realization in Brazil.—Strength of traditionalism.—Historic function of the Brazilian Monarchy.—Federation and the rule of dictators.—Private initiative and the work of education and moralization.—Liberty and tyranny.—Troubles in the evolutionary march of the Peoples across the sea.—Lack of harmony between the theory and practice, between the régime and the people.—The Brazilian oligarchy during the empire and its mission.—Political regeneration through social education and economic development.—Mariano Moreno and Dom John VI.—Industrialism and the emancipation of the people.—Violence and culture.—Qualities, services and glories of Latin America.—The American conscience and Pan-Americanism.—America for humanity.

THE fusion of the races inhabiting Latin America is a forceful factor in that moral integration which represents the fusion of sentiments—an integration deeper and consequently more significant than either political association or literary union, since the former might be actuated by self-interest and the latter be merely the result of a worship of form or love of the beautiful. Race fusion produces a state of social equilibrium which will become stable as soon as differences in education are corrected and reality takes the place today occupied by imagination expressing itself in verbosity. And this same fusion constitutes the basis for a cordial union which, as we have already had occasion to verify, represents a tradition and is one of the best guarantees of the future of these lands of Spanish-Portuguese civilization.

During the colonial period in Brazil, the dominion of the Dutch, which with Pernambuco as its capital comprised an empire extending from the Amazon to the São Francisco, was overthrown and the Portuguese power reestablished by the joint efforts of the whites, Indians and negroes, who fought in separate regiments, but under the same flag, the same command and with the same object. The regiments of the three races which formed the national population, worked together for the reconquest of the territory, and their chiefs, regardless of their color, were

equally recompensed, honored and ennobled by the government of the mother country [1].

One of the ceremonies attending the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Independence of Venezuela was the inauguration of a monument to Alexandre Pétion [2], the negro President of Haiti who did not hesitate to welcome the exiled Bolívar and supply him with vessels, arms, ammunition, provisions, money, and even with a printing-press for the sacred enterprise of emancipating the continent from slavery such as that in which this zealous lover of human liberty had been. The only condition which the precursor of Lincoln imposed upon the emulator of Washington in exchange for his valuable services, was that all those in the Spanish colonies who were not yet citizens with rights equal to the freedmen should be set free. Bolívar and Pétion thus offered the foundation of a truly liberal America in which might be effected by peaceful means that union of the nations towards which Bolívar ever strove. This same dream of a great union of free peoples has been aptly described by the well known Venezuelan writer Carlos Zumeta, the author of *Continente enfermo* [3] as the Babel vision, for he sees in it the reënactment of the biblical myth of the nations of the earth coming together and speaking a single tongue even as it was before the fatal confusion provoked by pride.

The conception of what constitutes a race has undergone various modifications and interpretations. There are many people who object to the distinction between superior and inferior races, and such an objection may be well taken when the expression is applied to different types of the same race, as Latins and Germans. On the other hand, such a distinction cannot be denied in view of historical evolution itself, in treating, for example, of Europeans and Africans. The intermarriage of the races was morally and socially a backward step for Latin America, whose greatest defect has been precisely the lack of harmony, one might almost say, the incompatibility between the splendid ideals which individually and collectively have been formed for it, and the petty aspirations of certain component parts of the new race or sub-race which was formed by fusion in its territory. Those ideals were not spontaneous or natural to the people who had adopted and embraced them; they were borrowed and conventional, and hence their ineffectiveness in this case as a means of elevation. A Bolivian writer, who has applied the epithet *sick* to the people of his country, and had thus thought to contribute to the psychology of the Spanish American peoples, has said on this point that "the seductive principles which produced the rights of man were the prime cause of the restless institutional life of our people, because they were

taken as ideals, but not felt; and an ideal whose roots do not go down deep into the consciousness, does not tend to be easily realized, because it does not constitute a necessity of the spirit."¹

Indeed, these peoples needed other more simple therapeutics to cure them of the malady which has given rise to the greatest accusation made against Latin America, that of their political and social unrest. The opinion of Europe and that of your country also is at one with the belief that they are suffering from an incurable revolutionary fever, whose periodicity is but another symptom of its pathological nature. Neither the orderly example of the Empire of Brazil, whose traditions the Republic endeavored to preserve although it did not succeed in avoiding collisions, which were natural and inevitable in the work of adapting the nation to the new régime of a revolutionary origin, nor the peaceful and highly progressive evolution of some of the Spanish-American Republics during the last decades, have succeeded in dissipating that impression which time alone will be able to correct and even entirely undo, for time undoes everything, especially when of itself the effect ceases.

The ancient European monarchies could only congratulate one another on the result of the experiment, and the exultation felt by those of anti-democratic sentiment, over this sorry example was in proportion to the hopes that had been reposed in the future of the essentially Republican continent, where now alone flourished, transplanted from a different flora, the so-called "exotic plant" of the Brazilian monarchy. Latin America had its hour of general popularity when the Abbé de Pradt [4] discovered there the reserve of the worn-out society of Europe. Your virtues of the first period—the heroic age of democracy—associated as they were to be with our wealth, real or latent, but which European imagination exaggerated, seemed to promise a most prosperous and brilliant future for the New World, which was supposed to become a refuge for the persecuted thought and desperate poverty of the Old World.

In discussing a political feature which has already disappeared in a part of Spanish America, we may look at the subject from an historical, as well as social standpoint. I shall therefore begin by having recourse to the South American treatise on sociology, *Le Pérou contemporain*, by Francisco Garcia Calderon, and apply the author's reflections on the evolution of his country in the nineteenth century, to the remainder of the former Spanish colonial empire after it had achieved its independence.

"Throughout the entire century militarism favors anarchy, and the activities of the nation are concentrated in politics, in struggles for power.

¹ A. Argüedas, *Pueblo Enfermo*.

The Constitution, engrafted on the French text, does not reach the soul of the people. Ancient formulas, secular instincts continue, and the power becomes despotic and labor continues to be an inferior occupation. Bachelors of law and of science exercise the power jointly with the chiefs of the army: there is a dynasty of scholars as in the Orient. Wealth increases, thanks to guano and nitrate; life seems easy and free from care; the State plays the part of administrator of fortunes; prodigality increases; the gold mirage disturbs the mental equilibrium. Bankruptcy and the War of the Pacific [6] consummate the previous work of dissolution. The history of half a century is nothing but an unbridled seeking for wealth, amid the instability of things and the ambitious conflicts of men. It is only in the last decade that life changes its aspect, peace becomes final and one notes a more or less clearly defined progress in political and social forms."

Except for the splendor and wealth of Peru and the dramatic incidents connected with its foreign war—periods of great magnificence and great humiliation which were peculiar to this country—the history of the Spanish-American Republics in the past century is singularly alike, apart, of course from the local coloring which distinguishes, for example, an Argentine *gaucho* [7] from a Peruvian aristocrat, or a Chilian *roto* [8] from a Venezuelan *llanero* [9]. The difference of class, the nature of the soil, the diversity of industries, pastoral, mining, agricultural, etc., here as elsewhere served to modify outward appearances, but at bottom the people had the same psychology and an identical conception of the commonwealth (*res publica*).

At first the political mould adjusted itself badly to the condition of the nations for whose use it had been cut, in accordance with the fashion plate. The prejudice of a Constitution based on European principles, an organic law laying down fixed rules and *a priori* solutions for the conduct of affairs, did not fit in well with the inferior, vacillating and transitory character of the societies which it had to govern and for which it had been conventionally framed. The inferior character of the population, the rabble which did not deserve the name of people, offered truly a splendid field for the cultivation of obedience, but of a passive and so-to-speak unconscious obedience. The very soil was suited to the acclimatization of despotic militarism, on account of the absence of the sentiment of individuality, the predominance of the collective instincts and race traditions.

Sr. Garcia Calderon aptly describes the situation in these concise words: "A profound legality terminated the revolutionary conquest. The dead, however, continued to exert a powerful influence. For a long time

the Republic was still but a kind of State socialism. It imposed its will on individual energies for the execution of the reforms undertaken through its strong initiative. The richness of the soil made life easy on account of its abundant yield. The periodical revolutions did not make any changes save in the outward appearance of things. The obscure soul of the people remained unconscious because of its absolute lack of culture and want of vigor."

At a given moment there came a change of scene, for reasons different from those prevailing had provoked a subversive movement. The campaign which, from interested motives, professional agitators were making, was having its effect; their hollow but pernicious phrases were performing their work; the people were being incited to greed; the pseudo-conscience of the political destinies of the country was awakening. Thus for a brief time agitation triumphed over passivity, rebellion over automatism, anarchy over homogeneity. By continuing this contest of tendencies between individuals, some of them half-breeds, and one or the other tendency predominating according as the character of the person expressing it was more nearly like the one or the other original factor, all being subjected to the same influence of culture, Spanish individualism was reborn in the same "excess of movement" which, in the felicitous words of a Castilian writer, transferring action to the literary field, produced the theater of Calderon, Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina.

Bolívar, with the farsightedness of his genius, foresaw the political disorder resulting from a social confusion which found active expression in an army governed by ambitious military leaders who wished to transform it into a Praetorian guard, and passive expression in a population in reality divided into castes, although theoretically equal by the declaration of a common sovereignty. Hence it was his idea to give the greatest prestige to the conservative element, which had become neutral by force of circumstances and showed a tendency to disappear in the abyss of the successive disturbances of the public order. These ideas of his are invariably reflected throughout all the constructive phases of his public life, from the suggestion, made to the constituent Congresses of Colombia, of 1819 and 1821, of the creation of an hereditary Senate and moral power, to the incorporation in the project of the Bolivian Constitution of 1826 of an irresponsible president elected for life, and of a third chamber composed of censors likewise holding their positions for life. The functions of such an assembly would be to protect the national culture, guard morality and the Constitution, collaborate in the public treaties, and choose the judges and ecclesiastical dignitaries from triple lists submitted by the Senate. Thus in it would reside the moderating power.

The Brazilian Empire, with its constitutional sovereign, its dynasty acclaimed by the people, its Senate elected for life and composed of the finest men of the country, the spirit of its administration, at once conservative and liberal, largely and wisely realized the ideas of Bolivar, which were chimerical in view of their falsely democratic environment as well as the personal reluctance of the great man to wear the trappings as well as the attributes of the dictator. Moreover, the maintenance on the throne of the traditional dynasty representing the Portuguese past, whose heir, however, identified himself with the new destinies of the country and even made himself the decisive agent of its independence, not only removed the crown of Brazil from the conflict of ambitions, but gave the national traditions a strength and importance unique, compared with what occurred in the neighboring countries of the new Spanish world. The revolutions of which Brazil was the theater during the first reign and the Regency represented, therefore, ideas, although expressed by passions, rather than the greed of power. For many reasons, the Brazilian monarchy in the nineteenth century may be said to have been the political régime truly suited to the social status of Latin America.

Traditionalism, which if not a stronger sentiment, at least is more in evidence among us than it is among you; which strikes its roots, if not in a richer, at least in a more dramatic legendary and heroic past than yours, and which is reflected especially in picturesque and charming cities, breathing an incomparable perfume of things gone by, such as Lima in Peru and Ouro Preto [10] in Brazil, the only ones of their kind in America, is naturally strengthened under such a régime and becomes capable of developing a great power of resistance to the destroying instincts of the lower strata of society. This was the case with the Empire of Brazil which yielded to the revolutionary shock and dissolved itself politically, preserving, however, its structure, which in this case was its moral wholeness.

The monarchy of Brazil fully realized its function as protector of the rights and privileges of the uncultivated and therefore powerless masses, who intrusted themselves to it in order not to be despoiled and tortured by intriguing and pitiless oligarchies which were shortsighted and actuated by the most selfish motives. Thus it was that it succeeded in representing, in Latin America, domestic peace and liberty at a time when a condition of anarchy prevailed in nearly all the rest of the continent. That which the Caesarism of Bolivar failed to attain, owing to his repugnance to what a Venezuelan author calls the liberty-destroying temptation, a repugnance which we have seen was largely the fruit of his own

worship of his glory as a Liberator, the Empire of Dom Pedro accomplished completely. The unity of Brazil came out triumphant from the test, in striking contrast to the fiasco of the attempted organization of a great Spanish American nation or confederation, a fiasco all the more felt since as Señor Blanco Fombona [11], the Venezuelan author, well says, the small countries are the heel of Achilles of Spanish America.

But from the splendid dream of Bolívar, which only could have been realized under a monarchy, as the example of Portuguese America proves, there was born that noble inspiration of the Congress of Panama, already mentioned, in which arbitration was outlined as the supreme principle of American Public Law. This moral result amply redeems its political failure.

In South America, after it had become independent and had been freed also from its Napoleons in perspective—for as you know one of them, San Martín, had retired, worn out, to Boulogne in France, and the other, exhausted and profoundly disillusioned, died at an early age at Santa Marta in Colombia—there began to have great vogue a political expression borrowed from your constitutional organization—the principle of Federalism. Only in unified Brazil, however, did this principle correspond to the legitimate aspiration of those honestly opposed to the contrary doctrine of centralization, unless, of course, one associates this sentiment of particularism with the reaction against Bolívar's plans of dominion, a reaction by means of which Páez [12] separated Venezuela from Great Colombia, and Santander [13] had recourse to abuses of power in the very year of the Liberator's death.

This same principle of federalism, in whose name Rosas [14] tyrannized over Argentina, and in opposition to which Portales [15] modeled Chile, runs like a red thread through the political history of Latin America. Federalism and centralization, however, did nothing more than justify the same disorders and the same violent acts. What remained at bottom was individualism under the picturesque garb of the military dictatorship which served to conceal it [16]. And this dictatorship (*caudillismo*) we see now imbued with a primitive rural democracy, crude and cruel, such as was that of Rosas in Argentina; now with pretensions to splendor and colonial chivalry, as was that of Castilla [17] in Peru; now solitary and ascetic, as was that of Francia [18] in Paraguay; now wildly extravagant and grotesque as was that of Santa Anna [19] in Mexico; now polished and fond of protocol, as was that of Guzmán Blanco [20] in Venezuela; now brutal and intoxicated, as was that of Melgarejo [21] in Bolivia; now tinged with religious mysticism, as was that

of Garcia Moreno [22] in Ecuador; now progressive and businesslike, as was that of Porfirio Diaz in Mexico. Blanco Fombona thus admirably sums up the situation: "The *cacique* rules, and over him frequently the pettifogger, the charlatan, whom the bearded chief admires and the illiterate people applaud."

To talk of federalism where the individual element is everything seems one of the most absurd things in the world, for individualism in such cases unites much better with centralization, a moderate or tyrannical expression of order, while federalism, once stripped of its ideal or traditional meaning, is nothing more than the flag of disorder. In imperial Brazil, the alternative of the historical cadence required that the federalist aspiration should correspond to particularism, which had been the basis of the administrative organization of the colony. In the Spanish-American republics, decentralization seemed to some the condition, to others the corrective for that which, although mitigated by the Revolution, was the political régime of these countries until time and such factors as the development of the public wealth, the diffusion of culture and the formation of an eminent minority of strong thinkers began to exercise their influence.²

When George Clemenceau, the distinguished French statesman, made his brief visit to the east coast of South America, he was not long in discovering the faults and virtues of the political societies with which he came in contact, and in which he discovered, moreover, the environment where the Latin spirit will in future shine with an ardent flame. In referring to the incapacity of the electoral body of these countries to organize the defense of the general interest against the coalitions of private interests, the writer says that he rejoiced for Argentina that abuses such as those which in greater or lesser degree are found in the old countries, and whose surest remedy consists in the development of private energies, should have been able to have aroused in that young society such manifestations of conscience and will as those he found there. And the veteran parliamentarian, whose principal fault is certainly not want of energy, adds the following commentary, full of consolation and hope: "A country, whatever may be its form of government, is strong only through its men, that is, through the sum total of its disinterested energies. Now a people capable of producing men of the intelligence and character of those I frequently met with during my trip, can confidently face the problems of the future" [23].

²These factors are admirably brought out by Blanco Fombona in his lectures given at Madrid, already cited.

The War of Independence had left the ancient Spanish American Empire in a pitiful state of devastation. It was necessary for it to reconstruct its sources of wealth, and to create new ones in order to meet its responsibilities. The protracted struggle had left it also owing to the lack of popular instruction with the worst of anarchies, an anarchy without culture, as the foundation of the national representation, which was sovereignty only in name. As a part of the same blighting heritage were those habits of public dishonesty which, frequent under the mother country's rule, were propagated among the new rulers in spite of the denunciations and oburgations of the publicists who from force of circumstances embodied the *moral power* which Bolívar dreamed of making the axis of his constitutional organization.

All the half-realized work of educating and moralizing the people, which is and must be the formula necessary to maintain Latin America's autonomy, was perhaps greater than that of the conquest or of that of the independence, because it had to contend with a stronger feature of the local past.

This new Latin American world was called suddenly without the elements necessary for readjustments to the responsibilities and dignity of international life. Need we wonder then that the newly acquired political liberty ushered in a period of social chaos. And yet from this same chaotic mass there was loosed a constellation of nations guided by principles not only of liberty, which ill-understood and worse applied had produced that chaos, but also of authority, without which societies wreck entirely and end with dissolution. Now just as liberty easily runs the risk of degenerating into anarchy, authority without moral curbs which guarantee legal curbs, borders generally on despotism: hence the wild oscillation of the magnetic needle between the quadrants as if it could not find its direction under the action of native and foreign influences. And if the native influences spoke of subjection and of revolt, the foreign ones in the nineteenth century were more than ever disposed to revolt and reaction.

Thus we see public instruction made gratuitous and compulsory in societies where the leaders of the movement were entirely lacking in culture and where the necessary number of teachers were sought in vain; we see the Church deprived by law of its privileges in countries such as Mexico, where it owned, according to Humboldt, four-fifths, and, according to the historian Lucas Alaman [24], one half of the property of the country, valued at 300 millions of dollars; and we see the death penalty for political crimes abolished, and the guarantee of individual rights "raised to the highest limits to which philosophy has aspired," in countries

where each year generals were shot for the crime of sedition and citizens were imprisoned for the crime of expressing their opinions. The great defect of the Spanish American Republics—and Brazil has gravitated toward this planetary system—was the lack of harmony between theory and practice, and the resulting want of balance between the abstract and concrete. The intermarriage of the races, which characterized the Iberian colonization across the sea, is chiefly responsible for this result. The Anglo-Saxon population which was transplanted to North America and there propagated itself, was and continues to be fundamentally the same people as that of the mother country, and consequently their institutions are the same and fit to them. When fusion occurred, it was with elements of the same race; not so in the rest of the continent, where mating was effected with inferior elements, for we have seen that if there are no inferior races, there are at least inferior peoples.

These peoples were indeed without cultivation and preparation, incapable collectively of adapting themselves quickly to different and higher conditions of culture, although not so individually, for I have already had occasion to call your attention to Juarez. This pure-blooded Indian appears to us as a born legislator, a theoretical statesman, a political constructor of imagination, saturated with liberal ideas. He possessed moreover the faculty of vision in a high degree and, in the opinion of one of your writers, was lacking only in executive ability.

On the whole, the Indians of Mexico, as well as those of Bolivia, the half-breeds of Venezuela like those of Brazil, were as far from representative governments once they had gained possession of it, as were our Tupis [25], whose women prepared the buccan meat [26] for the festivities of cannibalism, or as the Aztecs, whose priests, Bernal Diaz [27] tells us, oiled their hair with the blood of human sacrifices. One can calculate the mad *farandole* which such a multitude would dance when invested in the twinkling of an eye with the attributes of sovereignty, like the people who met in the public square of Athens to discuss the affairs of the Republic, or which gathers in the Helvetian cantons to decide by *referendum* some important matter for the community.

Infinitely more *representative* of such a social state was the colonial government, whose defect consisted in being at different points refractory to progress, rather I should say in offering difficulties to the march of evolution—a forward movement which may not with impunity be opposed. The political oligarchy of the Brazilian Empire, without having this defect, was highly *representative*. It was represented by a Senate whose members were limited in number and held the position for life,

and were chosen by the sovereign from triple lists made up of the names of those receiving the most votes. It was this assembly which, under the influence of the monarch—an influence exercised in fostering progress rather than moderating it—directed the destinies of the country during a period which was a model one for Latin America in the nineteenth century, a period of domestic peace, economic posterity and liberal ideas.

This oligarchy appears so little the enemy of progress that in sixty-three years—the Imperial Constitution went into effect in 1826—it left fully resolved, without the least disturbance of the public order, the fearful problem of the emancipation of the slaves which involved so many interests and resentments; it left on the way to solution the federative problem by an extended decentralization of the administration, established since 1834, as a necessary concession to the particularist tendencies; it left in application an ample foreign immigration system which will renew the population of the country, and whose effect is already so apparent that one of our most remarkable national writers already sees in Brazil a marked contrast between the country traditionally Portuguese and the cosmopolitan country where a new ethical and social type is being formed;³ it left implanted in the soul of the people the principles of political and religious tolerance and of international generosity which have not failed to continue in the new Brazil.

Latin American progress is more pronounced in countries where, as in Brazil, a régime of order and of liberty was early established, or where, as in Argentina and Chile, the proportion of intermarriages was notably less, especially with the negro element, which was lower in the social scale, more subservient in slavery and consequently more debasing as a factor. On the other hand, the Araucanians [28], a fighting and almost indomitable race of Chile, entered largely into the composition of the warlike and stout-hearted temperament of the Chilian people.

Progress is always greater and more rapid where the white factor predominates, even in an atmosphere of disorder. The same is true where the system of government is more liberal, and, besides, more suited to the conditions of the environment, filling up with a restricted but intensive culture, the void caused by the lack of a general or extensive culture.

In the Argentine Republic the era of the periodical and fatal revolutions lasted until the war with Paraguay [29]. This condition was due to the want of education of the native element, which was commonly crude and nomadic in character, and in open conflict with the group of doctrinaires. That era, however, marked the beginning of the wonderful eco-

³ José Verissimo, *Impressões do Sul*.

conomic and intellectual development of a land destined to have an extraordinary future.

How otherwise would it have been possible to bring the *gauchos*, contemporaneous with Independence, skillful cavaliers and cow-boys, given up to a life of mere vegetation on the Pampas deserts where the first great herds of cattle were bred, to a reasoned understanding of the principles of representative government which Mariano Moreno [30], certainly the most advanced and perhaps the most lucid mind of the first generation of public men of Argentina, summarized in his *Representación de los hacendados*, which in substance corresponds to the speeches of your Patrick Henry and the pamphlets of your Thomas Paine?

How is it possible to harmonize that unformed pastoral and native civilization, so different from the refined rural and cosmopolitan civilization of today, with this statement of democratic doctrine, which was based on the subordination of the government and of the laws to the interest and the will of the people and on the intervention of the latter in political affairs?

Mariano Moreno had suggested the answer to this great problem of the *Hacendados*—the producing and property owning classes—when they protested against the attitude of the *Cabildo* and Consulate of Buenos Aires in their refusal to sanction the opening of the River Plate to British commerce. It seems that the *Cabildo* and Consulate had been short-sighted enough to oppose the decision of the Viceroy Cisneros who had been sent by the Central Junta of Seville to settle local disputes and had thrown open the commerce of the River Plate to the English. This measure was not only contrary to the old Spanish ideas of exclusion, but it was all the more reasonable at this time since the English, as allies of Spain in the war against Napoleon, were already holding undisputed sway over the sea.

This same enlightened policy of commercial freedom appeared also in Portuguese America. Animated by this double motive of friendship and policy, the Portuguese Court, which had been established at Rio de Janeiro since 1808, had declared, soon after it had passed Bahia, the first Brazilian land sighted, the opening of the ports of the colony to the commerce of the world. Dom John VI and Mariano Moreno both saw the need for economic expansion of lands which were going to enter upon a new and different political life, and estimated the possibilities of such expansion. They scented modern industrialism, a term which sums up all our material, utilitarian and progressive civilization. Such a régime unquestionably offers decided advantages. It may arouse attacks because of its

greedy character, which it assumes so easily, because of the voracity with which large fortunes are accumulated for the benefit of the few, while the majority remain in poverty; but to it is due, although indirectly and without speaking of the general improvement in the conditions of life, the inestimable benefit of the emancipation of the laboring class. By emancipation in this case I mean consciousness of its rights and responsibilities.

In Chile, so long as the people were represented by the despised *roto*, who slaved and spilt his blood for those above him, without receiving in exchange either consideration or elevation, and could only attenuate the hardships of his lot by becoming intoxicated and quarreling with and stabbing his comrades, there prevailed the ultra-conservative régime which gave to this society the aspect of a jealous patrician oligarchy.

Yet this oligarchical régime was not without decided advantages in the historic evolution of Chile. It was this same régime which early checked the country on its downward course of military manifestoes and civil disorganization on which it had entered, like all the rest of Spanish America soon after its independence had been assured. While its neighbor, Peru, with its great wealth, was exhausting itself in civil wars, Chile, thanks to the rigorous work synthesized in the Constitution of 1833 [31], was preparing for itself an extended period of order and material development. To its oligarchy and to the austerity which a less prosperous period implied—a period of hard work in the mines and in the fields which preceded the easily-won and abundant profits of the nitrate deposits—is really due the conquering power contained in the crystallization of Chile.

A society, however, which detains itself indefinitely at a stage of evolution which others of the same stock have already passed, is a society destined to be fatally eclipsed. An uninterrupted peace in which no ripple alters the smooth, mirror-like surface, is not of itself an exclusive guarantee of progress. Labor strikes may be a symptom of social unrest, but they are also an indication of the power of labor. Their absence indicates either a servile régime or economic atrophy.

Brazil before the abolition of slavery, the Brazil of twenty-five years ago, governed by the landed wealth which delegated its rights and powers to the class of advocates possessing a ready tongue and irresistible arguments, was certainly a more legitimate political expression of the social conditions than Brazil governed in the name of popular sovereignty by the votes of an electorate reduced by absenteeism and of which not all are equally worthy of the franchise. Was it possible meanwhile to continue slavery, the basis of that territorial wealth which was politically confined in a restricted electoral census? Is it not more worth while to pass to

the faults of an epoch of more pronounced or characteristic transition? Would, moreover, the present notable economic expansion of Brazil have been compatible with colonial methods and institutions?

Certainly I do not include the throne among these institutions, for personally I consider it is possible to have a monarchy with liberty, just as it is possible to have a Republic with despotism, and I would be lacking in tolerance and intelligence if I thought otherwise. History furnishes abundant examples of both assertions and it is unnecessary for me to cite them here. I have already said more than once that Brazil under the Imperial régime enjoyed all political rights and privileges to such a degree that from this point of view, after the establishment of the Republic, there remained nothing for it to gain, but only to imitate.

Among the factors which contributed to the material development of Brazil may be mentioned a broadening of the economic foundation, a freer play of productive forces, a more varied exploitation of resources, a greater protection afforded productions—a protection which even included such advanced economic methods as those applied to coffee [32]—and finally a closer connection established between individual expression and associative methods. The political system has nothing to do with such conditions of progress, which meanwhile has gone on extending itself, for the new world is still in the growing stage. This progress may be rapid or slow, but these degrees do not affect the substance, which is regulated largely by the direction which is given to each country by the circumstances of its development. Thus, while in Brazil, thanks to the influence of tradition which at a court is tenderly cherished, however involuntary the endearments may be, literary and artistic culture was maintained more personal and more carefully cultivated. And while the same was the case in countries of Spanish America having a more dramatic past or a more intense spirituality, in Argentina letters assumed preferably a realistic tone and a scientific point of view, as one of your recent tourists to that country has observed and given expression to in picturesque *slang* [33].

This utilitarian civilization prevailing in Argentina, of which the literary qualities just mentioned are characteristic offsprings, must be the first shield of Latin America against ambitions from the outside. But no less efficacious is it against the attacks of internal enemies. Industrialism—meaning by this term not the perfect manufactured product, whose finish cannot compete with that of the European product, but the ample régime of capital in full play and under good labor conditions—will be moreover the best corrective for the armed civil strifes, of such disastrous effect, in which the restless Creole temperament has delighted and with which the early traditions of rers has been fed.

In Brazil during colonial times, also, adventures were not wanting and the tendencies were equally violent, as our sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, later, the agitated times of the first reign and of the regency prove, but an efficient political organization through the use of authority, and particularly a prestige superior to the ambitions of the guerilla leaders, ended by establishing peace and creating a milder tradition which is endeavoring to continue. This influence, although not perfect, was highly beneficial: it made us take the lead in the open road of progress, in which other Latin-American countries, particularly the Argentine Republic, have caught up with us in recent times, thanks to the wonderful realization of her economic possibilities.

Violence therefore is yielding daily the first place to culture, or rather culture, which at no time was unknown among the Iberian societies of the New World, is gradually recovering the position which belongs to it, and from which first the physical struggle for existence, later race struggles, and finally political struggles in the name of imported and ill-acclimated principles had removed it. Everything, moreover, favors such an improvement: European immigration which will increase constantly, however great may be the obstacles placed in its way, for the hope of obtaining easier living conditions must always be a decoy for those who struggle with difficulties; the development of communications which will inevitably transform the desert of ignorance, albeit possessing some intellectual oases, into a fruitful and cultivated plain on which shall grow in great luxuriance the tree of knowledge, beneath whose shade certain harmful weeds which distinguished the revolutionary flora and cast the greatest discredit upon the entire continent, do not thrive.

With the increase in population, with greater facilities of communication, with all that, which, in fine, characterizes modern life will tend to disappear that comparative but real isolation in which the Latin American countries have lived with respect to one another, making difficult the interchange of ideas. The same tendencies will destroy within each of those nations that social isolation of the different classes or the different elements of the population, a situation caused by the great distances between the centers of population, by the climate, by the aspect of nature itself—steep mountains, wild forests, and swiftly-flowing streams.

The change will give place not only to a national conscience, which is still lacking, but to an American conscience, for much talking about it does not make it a reality. The national conscience will come into being as soon as the new feudalism, as Blanco Fombona calls it, the feudalism of the local *caciques*, woven in a rough political loom, gives way to a régime of public opinion and fair elections which will remedy the lack of liberty

which still characterizes some of these so-called democratic societies, and will inaugurate for all time an era of independent and fearless criticism. As the Venezuelan author already cited justly says, relief by the pen in a country enjoying a free press, frequently avoids relief by a revolution, when war is the only recourse against tyranny.

Latin America has frequently been admonished and censured as it deserves, but it has also as frequently been treated with excessive severity, and at times cruelly ridiculed and even maliciously slandered. Thus, the ignorance of the great majority of its population is not peculiar to it alone; in order to rival in this respect the more backward countries of Europe it only lacks the counterpoise of a traditional authority, strong in its military arrogance or in its administrative despotism.

Its indolence is a myth: M. Clemenceau was astonished to see how they work in Brazil, and if he made this observation about Brazil rather than Argentina or Uruguay, it was because he took into consideration the tropical climate. The distinguished French statesman expected to find the people half asleep and was greatly surprised on learning that no one even takes a siesta [34].

The so-much-talked-of wars and revolutions, which moreover are not unknown in the other continents, as the spectacle of every day proves, do not fail to show in the final analysis weighty and lofty motives; they do not come solely from a disease which has been unjustly called Iberian, or from social parasitism, by virtue of which the strong try to live at the exclusive expense of the weak.

Oppression and exploitation constitute up to a certain point the sad inheritance of a past which is far from being exclusive to us: they are features moreover which have been gradually disappearing. From the contest between the conservative and the racial tendencies, between the reactionary and the liberal forces, there has resulted here as everywhere, political and social progress, real and not apparent only.

Real and not apparent, too, is that profound, if not vast intellectual movement which is seen in Latin America and of which its conquests in the scientific, juridical and literary field are testimony.

At the Hague Conference—and I cite this in particular because it was so to speak a parliament of nations and the most important international meeting of recent times—the juridical culture of the new Spanish-Portuguese World was a revelation to many European jurists and statesmen, who did not count upon finding so much erudition, albeit disclosed in a perfectly natural manner and without betraying any effort, among a people with whom the public mind has associated the defects of intellectual negligence and revolutionary delirium.

Thus it was that we saw Brazil upholding with persuasive eloquence the juridical equality of the nations; Colombia defending the humanization of war, and Argentina go so far as to obtain that the employment of force for the collection of international debts should be condemned. Ruy Barbosa [35], Perez Triana [36], and Luiz Drago [37] were the exponents, whether of the knowledge, or of human sympathy, or of political sense, of their respective countries. And not only this; tradition exerted its influence there as usual. It was the past which once more affirmed itself in its unbroken continuity, adjoining the present.

Of Latin American scientific progress I could cite a great many instances, and would do so if it were not for your incomparable development, which necessarily makes all other achievements of the same kind appear mean by the side of them.

However, as regards Brazil, the sanitation of a city of nearly a million inhabitants like Rio de Janeiro, which is today free from the yellow fever which desolated and discredited it, constitutes a work of extraordinary scientific and social importance, and the magnificent work of the Oswaldo Cruz Laboratory [38] in connection with various endemic diseases of the country is a most creditable testimony to competence and perseverance—words which are not often employed in reference to South America, where science has been treated as bookish, literature as verbose and art as superfluous.

I am well aware that the foundation of this high state of culture is still far from being solid and adequate. The masses among us need to be educated as well as instructed. The proportion of illiterates is painfully large, in spite of the diffusion of the schools, for in this direction not a little has been done. The school system of the Argentine Republic is an honor to the country: Sarmiento was the best of the disciples of Horace Mann [39]. Rural education is being carried on successfully in Uruguay; in Chile, technical education is a reality, and in Brazil, professional education, particularly agricultural instruction, is being widely disseminated.

This is indeed the fundamental task which should occupy us; the cupola of the magnificent edifice whose foundations were laid by Columbus, Vespucci, Cabral, Cortez, Pizarro, Nuñez de Balboa, and so many other navigators and conquerors, must be the budding of the aforesaid *American conscience*.

Such a sentiment, however, cannot well harmonize, as some lightly advocate, with the establishment of a protectorate of a part of America over the other part; in order to flourish and prosper, it must strike its roots deep down in the layer where the responsibilities and rights are declared equal for all the nations of the continent.

Spanish America, in spite of its political fragmentation and the intellectual particularism of the nationalities into which it is divided, does not fail to form, up to a certain point and under different aspects, a moral whole. Among the nations comprising it, there exist, besides identity of origin, so many features of similarity, the offspring of their close relationship, that they cannot be considered isolated. They constitute a latent, or perhaps it would be better to say a spontaneous confederation, it being possible to separate them and even to set them against one another, but it is not equally possible to differentiate and integrate each one of them, for they have a common soul. The best part of Bolívar's work was his American conception; it was the dike he aimed to set up against a nationalism which had not yet been formed and only afterward was gradually organized.

The filiation and evolution of Portuguese America are separate from those of Spanish America; not infrequently, nay frequently rather, was this evolution hostile to that of Spanish America: but today they have common, identical interests, and a desire for a closer approximation appears so reciprocal that this movement becomes every day more pronounced and more firmly rooted. For Pan-Americanism to be complete, it would be necessary for the United States to ally itself with Latin America, with the importance, the influence, the prestige, the superiority to which its civilization entitles it—it would not be human to do otherwise—but without any thought, expressed or reserved, of direct predominance, which offends the weaker element and renders it suspicious [40].

It is this which those who, like myself, know and esteem the United States—and the best way of showing one's esteem is not by praising unreservedly—are hoping will come as the result of the great university movement which is gradually crystallizing in this country, where idealism is a feature of the race (nor would you without it belong to a superior race), an ideal so noble and elevated as that of respect for the rights of others, as that of human solidarity through the unification of culture. The great statesman [41] who now presides over the destinies of the Argentine Republic, proclaimed at the First Pan-American Conference, at Washington, that America belonged to all humanity, not to a fraction of it; and indeed America is and will continue to be more and more the field for the employment of European capital, of study for European scholars, of commerce for European merchants, of activity for European immigrants. Only thus will the New World fulfil its historical and social mission and redeem the debt contracted with Europe, which has given it its civilization.