Date Due

The Pan American Union

Peace Friendship Commerce

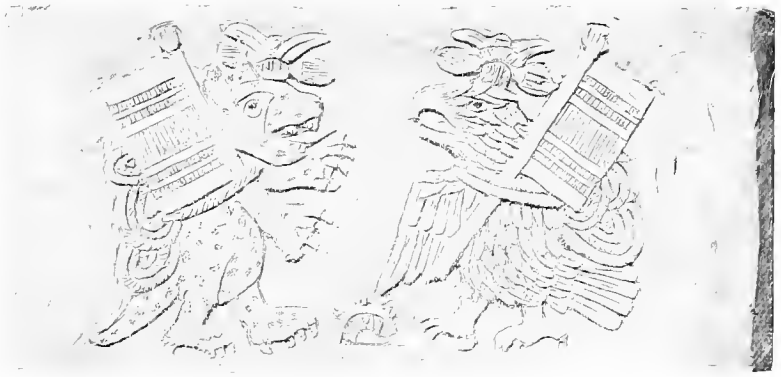
By John Barrett
Director General of the
Pan American Union
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1911

Dedication

THE Director General of the Pan American Union dedicates this little book to Mr. Andrew Carnegie, whose sincere interest in the cause of world-wide peace and in the up-building of lasting friendship among the American nations inspired him to that generosity which has made possible the new home of the Pan American Union—a beautiful temple of international peace and good-will, and a practical office for the extension of trade among the American nations. Its chaste marble walls; its significant ornamentation; its open patio, in which grows vigorously the Peace Tree planted by the hands of President Taft and himself; its spacious and dignified assembly hall, adapted to international conferences; its broad corridors, carrying the flags and escutcheons of the American nations, and its many busy offices, all emphasize the nobility and usefulness of his gift and make the structure a fitting monument alike to his own efforts for the abolition of war among all nations and to the importance of the growing movement for Pan American comity and commerce.

PLANTING OF PEACE TREE IN PATIO OF THE NEW BUILDING

Reading from right to left: Cardinal Gibbons, Senator Root, Secretary Knox, President Taft, Mr. Carnegie, Ambassador de la Barra, Bishop Harding and Director General Barrett



Bas-relief from Patio Fountain

INTRODUCTION

THE Pan American Union (the new name given the International Bureau of the American Republics by the Pan American Conference held at Buenos Aires in July and August, 1910) is a voluntary organization of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States, maintained by their annual contributions, controlled by a Governing Board composed of the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other twenty governments and the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman ex officio, and devoted to the development and conservation of peace, friendship, and commerce between them all. To explain in reasonable and informative detail the scope, purpose, history, work, and achievement of this organization, and in that way to aid the cause of peace, good understanding, and exchange of commerce among nations, this little book has been planned, prepared, and published.

In the first chapter, **"Pan America Today,"** it describes in brief terms a considerable portion of its field of effort—

Latin America, a wonderland of progress, resources, and opportunity.

The second chapter, **"The Pan American Union,"** elaborates upon the statement contained in the opening sentence of this introduction and gives interesting facts which will surprise many persons.

The third, **"The Pan American Building,"** tells the story of the beautiful and practical edifice which is the permanent home of the Union.

The fourth, **"Pan America and Peace,"** reviews the remarkable honor record of the American nations in behalf of Peace and its persuasive hand-maiden Arbitration.

The fifth, **"Pan American Speeches,"** is a collection of historical and notable utterances by distinguished statesmen upon Pan American solidarity of interest and unity of purpose.

The Appendix contains the names of the Governing Board, new statistics of Pan American trade, Mr. Carnegie's celebrated speech "War as the mother of Valor and Civilization," and a long and gratifying list of differences between the American nations which have been settled by arbitration. If this book awakens further interest in the Pan American movement or in Latin America as a field of study, travel, or trade, additional information can be obtained by addressing the Director General, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., U. S. A.

Chapter 1
Pan America Today

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION comprehends an international constituency vast in area, fascinating in opportunity, and limitless in possibilities. Pan America, or that major portion of it which maintains the Pan American Union, includes twenty-one independent governments. It expands over twelve millions of square miles. It provides homes for one hundred and sixty millions of human beings. It conducts an annual foreign trade valued at the grand total of five thousand millions of dollars.

While within the mighty domain of Pan America viewed in its broadest sense the flags of twenty-five different nations float over independent or dependent territory, Pan America in the scope of the Pan American Union means the twenty-one republics having their capitals in the Western Hemisphere. Canada and other European dependencies are not as yet members of the Union, al-

though nothing in its policy or purpose is intended to be antagonistic to Europe. The republics of the Union, it is interesting to note, are almost equally divided between North and South America. In the North American division are eleven: the continental countries, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, the United States, and the island countries of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. In the southern continent are ten: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Everyone of these is a land of the future. Each, in greater or less degree according to area, has latent natural wealth and material resources awaiting development at the hands of capital and labor. Some are far ahead in the world's commercial and economic competition. The majority are in the infancy of their possibilities. All have characteristics which give remarkable evidence of future growth and prosperity. Not one has excessive population; nearly all desire immigration. The crowded conditions of many European and Asiatic countries are nowhere to be found. None is afflicted with the decadent influences which almost handicap civilization's attempts at progress in some parts of the old world.

UNREST GREATLY EXAGGERATED

Reports of revolutions are grossly exaggerated, but when occurring are sometimes a sign of progress, not retrogression. Although it is true that in the case of sporadic or hasty organization they usually represent a movement of the "outs" to get the "ins" out and be themselves the "ins," a sustained revolution is often a popular movement for better government. Two-thirds of the area and population of the countries lying to the South of the United States have known no serious revolution in the last fifteen years. It is as wrong to ascribe to all of Latin America's twenty nations a disturbed condition which exists in one or two as it would be unfair to attri-

bute riots or lawlessness to every state of the United States if such conditions characterized one or two. Capital is an excellent thermometer of stability. Today European and United States money is flowing into the majority of the Latin-American countries as rapidly as it is into the western states and territories of the United States. Recently a great conservative European financial paper declared that capital was as secure and as sure of permanent income in the larger Latin-American Republics as in the United States. England alone has one billion five hundred millions of dollars invested in a single country of South America. Germany is not far behind in the amount it has sent to a neighboring republic. The United States has at least two-thirds of a billion of dollars invested in Mexican mines, railroads, lands, water powers, etc.

AN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION

Before proceeding further, it is well, in view of mistakes often made, to consider one or two definitions relating to the American republics and the Pan American Union. This Union of twenty-one nations, which in its longer description would read "The International Union of the American Republics," includes, it must be remembered, the United States as well as the other twenty countries. It is not confined to Latin America or South America alone as is often assumed. In other words, it is strictly *international* and comprehends *all* of the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere. The Union is a voluntary organization of these republics existing by common consent and co-operation, and not as yet covered by treaty. Its administration and duties are determined by resolutions adopted at the Pan American Conferences held at stated periods and attended by delegates of all the governments. The last or fourth of these met this past summer in Buenos Aires.

Its chief object is the development and conservation of commerce and comity among the American republics. Its executive

Panorama of Part of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and the Entrance to its Beautiful Harbor

officers are a Director General* and Assistant Director, elected by the Governing Board composed of the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the Latin-American governments and the Secretary of State of the United States. The Pan American Union is, therefore, an independent international institution. It is not a subordinate Bureau of the United States Government. It is located in Washington because that city is the only Capital where all the American republics have diplomatic representatives. Correspondingly the Director General and Assistant Director, being chosen by the equal voice of each nation expressed through its representative, are international officers and not subordinate officers of the United States Government or of any other one government alone. The relations, however, of the Pan American Union to and with the United States Government are largely through the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman (ex officio) of the Governing Board. Communications with other governments are through their diplomatic representatives in Washington or direct with the foreign offices if they are not at the moment represented. "The Pan American Union"‡ as an organization and office is treated in detail in the chapter entitled "The Pan American Union." Only enough description of it is given in this chapter to correct mistaken impressions, and to prepare the reader for a better understanding of what follows.

The term "Spanish America" is frequently misused where "Latin America" is the only appropriate phrase. Spanish America comprises the countries lying south of the United States where Spanish influence and language have prevailed, but to employ it to describe all Latin America or South America is incorrect. Brazil, the largest Latin-American and South American country and having a greater population than any other, is Portuguese in language and

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*The Buenos Aires Conference changed the title of the Director to Director General and of the Secretary to Assistant Director.

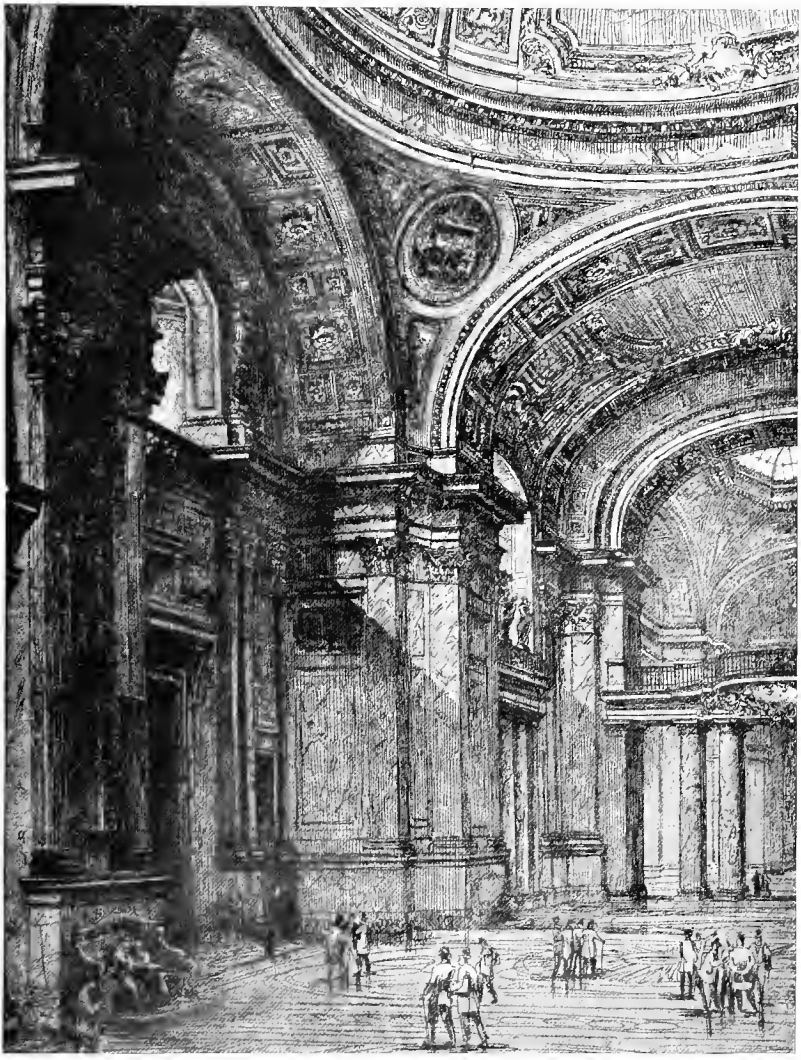
‡The Buenos Aires Conference substituted the short expressive name of "The Pan American Union" for the longer and cumbersome one heretofore used of "The International Bureau of the American Republics."

in original European influence. It is no more Spanish than is the United States. "Latin America," however, comprises Brazil, the eighteen Spanish speaking countries, and the one French speaking land—Haiti.

PAN AMERICA AS A WHOLE

Returning now to Pan America as a whole and to that major part of it which maintains the Pan American Union—all except Canada and the possessions of Great Britian, France, Holland, and Denmark—we can appreciate the limitless possibilities of the broad work of the Pan American Union in the development and improvement of commerce and friendship when we bear in mind that the twenty-one nations forming and supporting it reach practically in unbroken array from Canada to Chile, that they have the same kind of government, and that they are striving towards the achievement of the same ideals. If some are doing better than others they are simply repeating as nations the experience of the individual States of the United States. In order to do deserving justice to Latin America or the twenty sister republics of the United States, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted largely to them. The facts and figures which follow will surprise many, although they should be well known to the close student of the southern republics. As one of the chief purposes of this book is to awaken the interest of persons who have not heretofore studied or appreciated the numerous, ambitious, and resourceful countries reaching south from Mexico and Cuba to Argentina and Chile, the details and statistics given will be only those which are of special importance and can be easily carried in the mind.

In glancing casually at the map of the globe, or in planning his usual trips to Europe or the Orient, the average man of the United States does not stop to consider carefully the extensive area, remarkable physical features, immeasurable resources, historical associa-



Grand Foyer of the new Legislative Palace now under construction, City of Mexico

tions, economic and political progress, social, artistic, and educational development, and other interesting characteristics of the American nations—nearby and neighbors but out of the way of the great east and west travel of the world. He overlooks in his rush for the conventional experience of going to Europe a tempting new field of travel and study in Latin America. He has been so feverishly occupied and excited with the material development of the United States that he does not realize that many of the other American peoples and countries have been going ahead apace also. Respect for them, however, grows rapidly upon acquaintance. In some lands there is astonishment followed by admiration.

AREA, POPULATION AND COMMERCE

These twenty countries occupy nine million square miles, or three times the area of the United States. They have already, in the beginning of their development, seventy millions of people. They conduct now an annual foreign commerce—and commerce is called the life blood of nations—valued at the splendid total of two billions, one hundred millions of dollars. This vast sum, moreover, represents an increase of one billion of dollars, or one hundred per-cent in the short period of the last ten years! If they can buy and sell to that extent before fully coming into their own, as it were, what will they be able to do when all the world wakes up to their possibilities and opportunities and gets into touch with them? Although that section of Latin America bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the South Atlantic Ocean, does the greater part of this trade, the five countries forming the Pacific Coast section of South America are conducting a commerce which forecasts a remarkable development in the future. If, as is true at present, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, tributary to the Pacific, presenting a resourceful and varied coast line which extends five thousand miles south from Panama to Punta Arenas but is isolated in a large degree

from the rest of the world in respect to routes of communication, can carry on an annual foreign trade of three hundred millions of dollars under such adverse conditions, it is not easy to predict what they will do and what progress forward they will make when the Panama Canal is opened. They will then not only be placed in direct touch with the whole Gulf and Eastern coast line of the United States but be given a new and shorter route to all Europe.

The immensity of Latin America is emphasized by the fact that if a merchant vessel steamed out of New Orleans harbor, which is on a line with the eastern Mexican-United States boundary, and encircled South America by the way of Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Strait of Magellan, Valparaiso, Callao, Panama, and finally ended its journey at San Diego near the western Mexican-United States boundary, its log would show fifteen thousand miles, or nearly five times the distance across the Atlantic! If, on the other hand a man inspired by wanderlust wished to make the unusual journey across the widest portion of South America from Pernambuco, Brazil, near Cape St. Roque, in the South Atlantic, via the northern coast of Brazil, the Amazon River, and over the Andes to Guayaquil, Ecuador, he would be obliged to travel approximately three thousand five hundred miles. As that portion of the continent is largely dependent upon water communication in the lowlands and upon difficult trails in the Andes, and is not much better provided with railroads than was the United States sixty years ago, the traveler would require nearly sixty days to accomplish this journey. As he entered and sailed up the Amazon from Para (Belem) to Manaos in Brazil, and again on to Iquitos in Peru, he would be impressed with the volume of water which the Amazon carries to the sea. It empties each day into the Atlantic a flood four times greater than that of the Mississippi. While the latter is navigable only a few hundred miles for ocean-going craft, vessels as large as the Lusitania can steam up the former one thousand miles to enterprising Manaos, a city of fifty thousand inhabitants with modern and progressive

Avenida de Mayo, one of the Modern Avenues of Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic

characteristics. Then, in ocean steamers as large as those which load and unload at the docks of New Orleans, he can proceed another one thousand miles up the same mighty river until he reaches Iquitos. This city, two thousand miles inland, is, moreover, the Atlantic Port of Peru, and yet it is far nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic.

IMPRESSIONS OF PERSONAL TRAVEL

In the summer of 1906, while United States Minister to Colombia, it was my privilege, accompanied by Mahlon C. Martin, Jr., of Glen Ridge, New Jersey, to make a trip on mule back and afoot overland along the lofty cool plateaux and low tropical valleys of the Andes from Bogota, the Capital of Colombia, to Quito, the Capital of Ecuador. We traveled in some sections where no foreigner had before ventured; we encountered all kinds of trails and country without trails; we endured hardships smilingly and conquered mountain fastnesses willingly—all because we wanted to see and explore a region which, after the opening of the Panama Canal, will have a development not unlike that of the Pacific Coast of the United States following the completion of the trans-continental railway.

It would be most difficult within the limits of this book to do justice to the marvelous variety and intermingling of rich lowlands with fertile highlands suited to farming and cattle and sheep raising on a large scale, the evidences of mineral wealth, the extent of primeval forests, the many undeveloped water powers, and the opportunities for railway construction, which we saw in this one thousand mile ride and walk along the Andean backbone of the Western Hemisphere. Could the most skeptical and unfriendly critic of Latin America have made the journey with us he would have completed it with a new and favorable impression that would sink still deeper with the knowledge learned from further travels. In the three trips which it has been my official and personal pleasure

to make around the world, including extended detours into the interior of Asia, while serving as United States Minister to Siam, I have never beheld such a beautiful and variedly resourceful section as I looked upon in my journey along the Cordillera of central Colombia and northern Ecuador. And yet I could relate similar impressions personally gained in other and widely separated sections of Latin America, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Central America during my experience as Minister to Argentina and Panama. My views are the sincere conclusions of one who is trying to describe faithfully what he has actually seen. They are not dependent upon hearsay, nor are they in any sense the exaggerated eulogies and pictures of an enthusiast.

Considering some interesting features of the continent of South America, it should be borne in mind that it might be called "Southeast America." It lies practically southeast of North America. All of South America is located east of a line running directly south from Florida through Havana and Panama. When the Panama Canal is completed, the steamship route from New York to Peru and Chile on the West Coast of South America will be as straight south as the conditions of navigation will permit, and it should be possible to make Valparaiso in twelve days! In order to reach Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires from New York it is necessary to go nearly as far east to pass the jutting cape of Brazil as is required to make the trans-Atlantic trip to Europe. The steamship distance from New York to Rio de Janeiro 4,748 miles—is within twenty miles of being the same as that from San Francisco to Yokohama, a journey which has become most popular. The distance to Buenos Aires from Rio de Janeiro— 1135 miles—is less than that from Yokohama to Shanghai or that from New York to Havana.

PRESENT STEAMSHIP FACILITIES

Although the impression generally prevails that it is advisable to go to Europe to secure good steamer accommodations for the

East Coast of South America, it should, in justice to the companies which are endeavoring to improve their service from New York to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires, be distinctly pointed out that there has been marked improvement of late in the vessels sailing direct from New York. Two Lines, one an English company and the other under the subvention of the Brazilian Government, have put on several new boats of large size, excellent passenger arrangements and fair speed and, as these are successful, are building more for the same route. They deserve patronage for their new venture and it is hoped that the growing interest in Latin America will result in greatly increased travel to and from that part of the world. The more visiting there is done back and forth, the better will North and South Americans know and like each other. Intimate acquaintance of the people of one nation with those of another will do more in one year to promote peace, friendship, and commerce than diplomacy can accomplish in a decade. In discussing steamship service reference should be made also to the many new, comfortable, and fast boats which have recently been put on the routes from New York and New Orleans to Central America, Panama, and Colombia, making the journey to these countries an easy and delightful experience. South from Panama to Peru and Chile a new fast and commodious service is likewise being provided. The greatest present opportunity for improvement of service is between California, Oregon, and Washington and the West Coast of Central and South America, and even that will soon be better.

Without entering upon a discussion of the ways and means of improving fast mail and passenger steamship connections between North and South America, it can be stated that if the exchange of commerce between the United States and her sister republics of the far South is to be placed upon a footing to compete successfully and permanently with that of Europe and South America, it must have steamship facilities like those of Europe. The number of fast

mail, express, and passenger steamers plying between the principal ports of Europe and those of the East Coast of South America is such that there is now almost daily service to and from Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires—and more vessels, even larger and faster than those now in use, are being built to carry business men,

Interior of the Cathedral, Lima, Peru

travelers, immigrants, and express freight rapidly and comfortably back and forth between Europe and South America. During my stay in Buenos Aires as United States Minister, I saw more influential Argentines and Chileans proceed to Europe in one

week on the numerous boats provided, than went to the United States in one year upon the few and slow steamers of that route. As I intimated above, conditions are improving, but it must be borne in mind that it is just as necessary for trade and travel, which go hand in hand, to have fast mail, passenger, and express steamships on the high seas as it is for them to have fast mail, passenger, and express railroad trains upon the land.

CONDITIONS OF TRAVEL AND CLIMATE

It is a good sign that the Pan American Union is receiving increased inquiries about the trip to South America. There are few more interesting or instructive journeys to be made anywhere in the wide world than that around South America. It can be done in sixty days, but that would be unsatisfactory. Three months for the fairly busy person, and four to five for the one of more leisure, are about right. The best time to go is during the summer of the United States and Europe; then it is winter south of the Equator, and those countries and their capitals are seen at their best. It is a mistake to think of South America as disagreeably hot because it is "South." Rio de Janeiro, 22 degrees South, in August is like New Orleans in January. Buenos Aires and Montevideo, 35 degrees South, never get as hot or as cold as New York City or Washington, and average much like San Francisco. Santiago, the Capital of Chile, has a climate the year round much like that of Los Angeles, and Lima, Peru, one similar to that of Havana without the rain.

In visiting the cities in the tropical belt of Latin America, it should always be remembered that altitude makes a great difference in the climate. During the whole period that I served as United States Minister in Bogota, Colombia, which has an elevation of 9,000 feet and is yet only a few hundred miles from the Equator, I never knew the thermometer to go above 80 degrees Fahrenheit, while at night it often registered as low as 58. At Quito, the Capi-

tal of Ecuador, which is almost literally astride the Equator at an elevation of nearly 10,000 feet, I slept under heavy blankets and wore thick clothing all day. The same conditions prevail at La Paz, the Capital of Bolivia, 11,000 feet above the sea. San José, the interesting Capital of Costa Rica, and Guatemala City, the beautiful Capital of Guatemala, are sufficiently high so that the traveler experiences no discomfort from the heat. Mexico City is so well and favorably known that there is no need of discussing its climate. Its altitude gives it conditions much like those of Denver, Colorado. Havana is an ideal point to visit in the winter months. Caracas, the famous capital of Venezuela, is high enough to escape the heat of the Caribbean coast and easily accessible.

Even Panama, which is at sea level and only 9 degrees North, is frequently maligned and can be visited without fear of much vexation from the heat, provided one is reasonably philosophical and does not expect the atmosphere of Bar Harbor. My experience there as United States Minister in 1904-5—although under the worst conditions possible, as it was the time when we were battling with yellow fever and malaria, and before there were water works, sewerage systems, perfected sanitation, and other great improvements which have almost converted it into a health resort—ended without one day's illness in the whole year, and with no recollections of having actually suffered from the heat. A little logical reasoning that I developed in Siam, the Philippines, and India during earlier years helped me to withstand the heat, because there is no doubt that mental attitude has much to do with one's physical feeling. It was this: "God made it hot in the tropics untold years ago, it always has been hot and it always will be hot—why, therefore, continually think and say 'Oh! is'nt it hot!' Better thank God that it is not any hotter!" Just try this reasoning some day when you are in the low-lying tropics and note how, as your fuming and worry stops, your temperature goes down! If at the same time, the traveler who imbibes will limit, almost to abstemious-

A Scene near the Terminal of the Costa Rican Railway

Silver Smelters, Chihuahua, Mexico

ness, his drinks, he will find the tropics after all, a near pleasure and rest resort.

Hotel and railway accommodations in the principal Latin-American cities are good enough so that the traveler is made comfortable. In Buenos Aires the best hotels would be a credit to New York or London. The railway journey across southern South America, from Buenos Aires to Santiago and Valparaiso through Argentina and Chile, is now made quickly and agreeably. The tunnel through the summit of the Andes is completed and the passenger is out only one night and two days on the journey from tidewater of the Atlantic to that of the Pacific. The equipment of the trains compares favorably with those of continental Europe. The scenery ascending and descending the Andean Cordillera is alone worth the journey to South America, and is only equalled in South America by that seen along the line of the Guayaquil-Quito road of Ecuador, or on the famous Oroya road of Peru, next to the highest railroad in the world which forms part of the new Chile-Bolivia road.

BRIEF SURVEY OF EACH COUNTRY

A brief survey of the principal and interesting features of each of the Latin-American republics will help to give a better idea of the significance of the Pan American movement and appeal to both the new student of Latin America and the traveler who goes there for the first time. They are described in alphabetical order as follows: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The United States, the remaining member of the Pan American Union, is omitted because it is so well known to the majority of the readers of this book.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC can boast of an area a little greater than that of the entire section of the United States lying east of the Mississippi River. To be exact it spreads over 1,135,840 square miles and is the second largest country of Latin America. It extends over 2,500 miles south from the Tropic of Capricorn almost to the Antarctic Circle, and is, therefore, in the

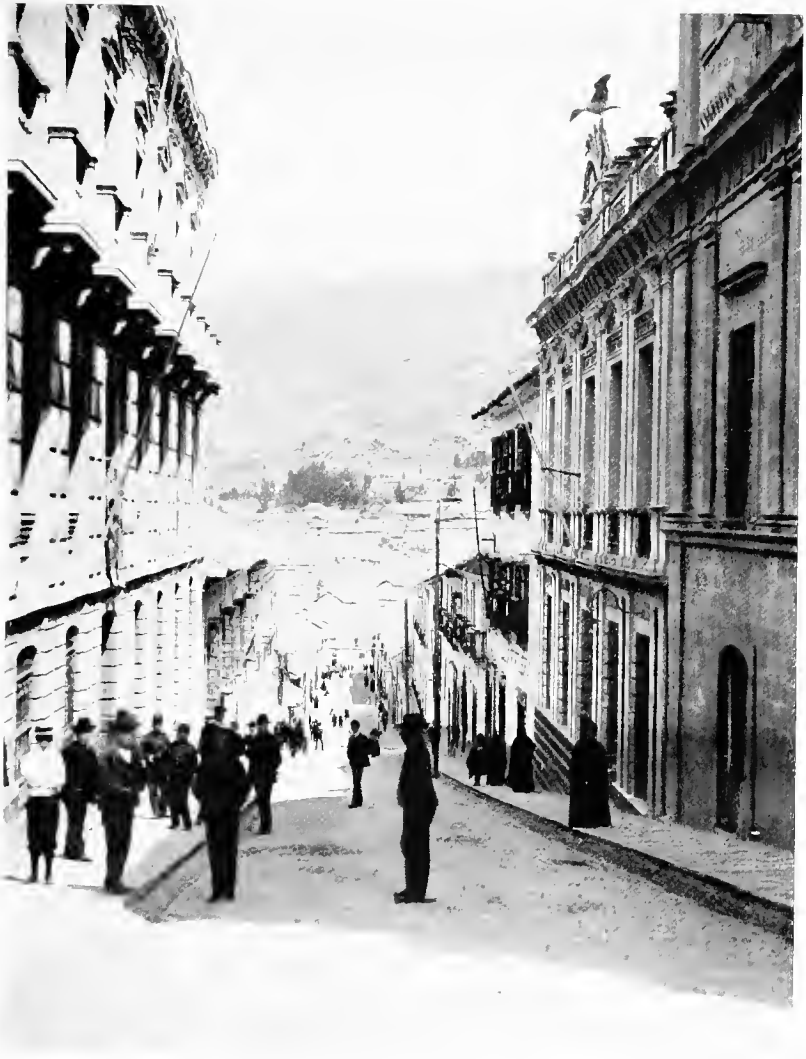
The New Capitol at Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic

south temperate zone. Its population approximates 7,000,000 and is increasing rapidly. It could support in prosperity 70,000,000 inhabitants. Buenos Aires, its Capital, is one of the great cities of the world, having a population today of 1,270,000 and growing faster than any large city in the United States excepting New York and Chicago. It has avenues, parks, public buildings, and docks com-

paring favorably with those of the great cities of Europe. It possesses a magnificent opera house, many sumptuous clubs, and one of the most complete newspaper plants of the Western Hemisphere. The foreign commerce of Argentina last year was valued at $700,000,000, which was larger than that of Japan or of China. Its chief exports are wheat, Indian corn, linseed, oats, wool, hides, frozen meat, dye and tannin woods, and live animals. It has nearly 17,000 miles of railroads in operation and many more in course of construction.

BOLIVIA is the fourth largest republic of Latin America, and could include within its limits the combined areas of the large states of California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Oregon, and Washington! It covers 708,195 square miles and lies mostly in the tropics, but much of it has high elevation and a temperate climate. Its foreign commerce is valued at nearly $40,000,000, and its chief exports are tin, rubber, silver, copper, bismuth, coca, and wolfram (tungsten). La Paz, the Capital, is the highest seat of government of the Western Hemisphere. Bolivia is approached on the West Coast of South America either through Chile at Arica or Antofagasta, or through Peru at Mollendo. It has no coast line of its own. The country has vast material resources and is rapidly constructing new railways, of which about 600 miles are completed and in operation. Its population is conservatively stated at 2,500,000, but it has room, resources, and opportunities for ten times that number of inhabitants, especially on the eastern slope of the Andes mountains.

BRAZIL alone could fill many chapters, for it is indeed vast in area and possibilities. Within its boundaries could be placed all of the connected area of the United States with nearly enough room left for the German Empire. The best authorities give it 3,218,130 square miles, located largely in the tropics but having in the southeast a number of prosperous states in the tem-



Ayacucho Street, La Paz, Bolivia

perate zone. The largest in solid area of the American Republics, it outranks all the Latin-American Republics in population with 20,000,000 inhabitants. It conducts a foreign commerce amounting to nearly $500,000,000, of which the chief exports are coffee, rubber, hides, herva matte (Paraguayan tea), cacao, tobacco, sugar, cotton, bar gold, manganese, and precious stones. Rio de Janeiro, its Capital, is rapidly becoming one of the show cities of the world, and has a population approximating 1,000,000. It is noted for its beautiful harbor, splendid boulevards and public buildings, and it has great newspapers better housed than most of the leading papers of Europe and the United States. San Paulo, sometimes called the Denver of Brazil because of its elevation, is a beautiful city of 300,000 population. Other important cities are Para (Belem), Manaos, Pernambuco (Recife), Bahia (San Salvador), and Santos. Brazil is entering upon a new program of railway construction, and now has about 13,000 miles in operation. The Amazon River is navigable 2,000 miles inland for large ocean steamers and with its numerous branches provides 20,000 miles of waterways for barges or boats drawing nine feet of water.

CHILE'S remarkable location and extent can be appreciated by a little comparison. If its southern end were made coterminous with the Mexican-United States boundary line, the northern end of Chile would reach beyond the northern line of California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and even into the heart of Alaska! It extends 2,600 miles along the temperate Pacific Coast of South America, and covers an area of nearly 300,000 square miles. It could hold the State of Washington three times over. Its population, according to the Census of 1907, was 3,250,000. Chile's foreign trade for 1909 exceeded $204,000,000. The principal exports are silver, copper, nitrates, borax, sulphur, vegetable products, wines and liquors. The exchange of commerce with the United States was valued approximately at $30,000,000, of

Great Power and Lighting Plant, San Paulo, Brazil

One of the Parkways of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

which the imports from the United States were $10,000,000 and the exports to it $20,000,000. Santiago, the capital, has a population of nearly 400,000 and is often called the "Paris of the Andes." The principal port is Valparaiso where are to be constructed great harbor works which will make it one of the best shipping ports of

Steel Bridge on One of the Principal Railways of Chile

the Pacific Ocean. There are 2,300 miles of railway in operation, 838 under construction, and over 1,000 projected.

COLOMBIA is one of the two most northern South American Republics and the only one of that continent which borders on both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Within its wide reaching limits could be placed the States of Texas, Kansas, Arkansas and Louisiana. It supports a population of 4,320,000 and conducts an

annual foreign trade valued at $26,000,000, of which the share of the United States was nearly $11,000,000. The imports from the United States were over $7,000,000 and exports to it approximately $4,000,000. Colombia's leading exports are coffee, cattle, hides, rubber, tobacco, ivory-nuts and mineral products. The capital, Bogota, is one of the most picturesquely located cities of the West-

Cathedral and Park, Bogota, Colombia

ern Hemisphere, resting upon a fertile plateau nearly 9,000 feet above the level of the sea. It has a population of 150,000 and is noted for the culture and refinement of its inhabitants. Colombia offers many opportunities for railway extension. At the present time the number of miles in operation is less than 600 with about

75 in course of construction. There is probably no land in all Latin America which has greater resources and offers a wider field for legitimate exploitation and development. It should not seem far away when it is remembered that the distance from the southern end of Florida to the most northern point of Colombia is less than that from the city of Washington to Denver. The interior is generally approached through the ports of Barranquilla and Cartagena on the Caribbean, and Buenaventura on the Pacific Ocean.

Interior of Theatre, San José, Costa Rica

COSTA RICA is not a large country but it occupies 23,000 square miles and could hold comfortably within its area the States of Maryland, Massachusetts and Delaware. Its population of 370,000 does not represent one-tenth of what it could maintain if all of its available land were utilized. This Republic is one of the most prosperous of Central America and has a remarkable record for peace and stability. In the year 1909 Costa Rica conducted a foreign trade in excess of $14,000,000. Of this the share of the United States was much the largest of any foreign country being more than $8,000,000. The imports from the United States were $3,375,000 and the exports to it $4,800,000. The leading exports of the country are bananas, coffee, gold and silver bullion, hides, rubber, cacao, valuable woods, mother-of-pearl, etc. The capital of Costa Rica is the attractive city of San José which has a population of 40,000. The principal port on the Caribbean side is Limon and on the Pacific side Puntarenas. At Cartago is located the Central American Court of Justice, and the Peace Palace erected by Mr. Carnegie.

CUBA, in which everybody has a deep interest, is larger than is generally supposed. It could entirely cover the State of Pennsylvania and have 600 square miles to spare. Its total extent is 45,883 square miles and it has a population of 2,050,000. This is an average of 29.6 per square mile, making it one of the most densely populated of the American Republics. Considering its area and population, the foreign commerce of Cuba makes an excellent showing. Its total value, last year, exceeded $204,000,000 with a balance in its favor of nearly $31,000,000. The principal exports were sugar and tobacco with smaller quantities of copper, fruits, woods, skins and hides. The exports to the United States were over $101,000,000, the imports from it nearly $43,000,000, making a total trade exchange with the large sister of $144,000,000.

Havana, the capital, is truly becoming a metropolis, for its population is now given as 302,000. The railway mileage is approximately 2,330 with some new projects under construction.

A Tobacco Warehouse in Havana, Cuba

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC is becoming rapidly better known with a corresponding appreciation of its natural resources. Not remote from the United States, lying between Cuba and Porto Rico, it has an area of nearly 20,000 square miles and a population of 700,000. Its capital, Santo Domingo, on the south coast, and Puerto Plata on the north side, are the principal ports. The foreign trade last year reached nearly $13,000,000 of which

the share of the United States was over $7,000,000 divided into imports $2,600,000 and exports $4,700,000. The Dominican Republic's most valuable exports are sugar, cacao, leaf tobacco, coffee, bananas, wax, hides, goat skins, honey, mahogany, lignum-vitae

The Rack Railroad Near Puerto Plata, Dominican Republic

and other woods. The country as yet has only about 175 miles of railway although there are some 225 miles of private lines in the plantations. The construction of several new roads is possible in the near future to open up the interior.

ECUADOR gets its name from its situation under the Equator and yet such a large portion of it has a high elevation that it has a temperate as well as a tropical climate. There are many different estimates as to its area because its boundary lines are not yet clearly defined, but the limit generally accepted is 116,000 square miles—equal to the combined area of the States of Missouri and

The Cathedral at Quito, Ecuador

Arkansas. It has a long coast-line upon the Pacific Ocean and its principal commercial city, Guayaquil, is located upon one of the finest harbors of the Pacific. A remarkable railroad recently completed and overcoming great physical difficulties carries the traveler from Guayaquil, at sea level, to Quito, the capital, nearly 10,000 feet higher up. This city is indeed worthy of a visit and has a population of 80,000; that of the whole country is 1,500,000.

Ecuador's foreign trade in 1909 was valued at approximately $22,000,000. It imported from the United States products valued at $2,400,000 and sent exports to that country worth $3,400,000, making a total trade with the United States of nearly $6,000,000. The principal articles of exports are cacao, ivory nuts, famous Jipijapa hats, known commercially as "Panamas," rubber, coffee, gold and hides. There are in operation a little over 316 miles of railway with several hundred miles more projected. Ecuador is a land of vast potentialities which will experience great development upon the opening of the Panama Canal, as it is only a few days steaming distance from Panama.

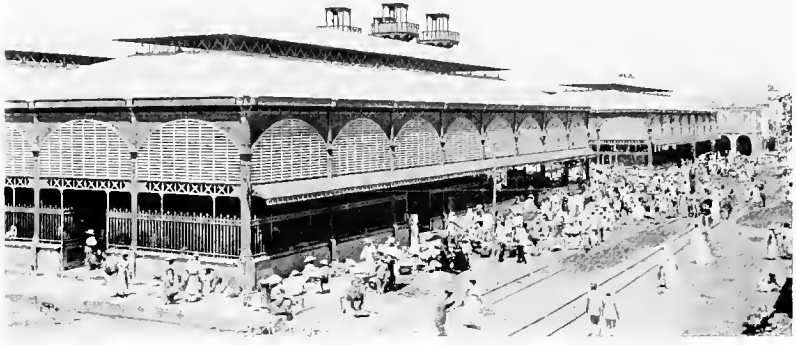
GUATEMALA is so accessible that it is rapidly becoming well known in the United States. Its northern boundary line is coterminous with the southern line of Mexico and it has a total area

The Temple of Minerva, Guatemala City

of nearly 50,000 square miles in which could be placed the States of Kentucky and New Jersey. It has an industrious population of nearly 2,000,000 or about 40 to the square mile. Its foreign commerce, last year, was valued at more than $15,000,000. Exports to the United States were $1,776,000 and imports from it amounted to $1,719,000, or a total trade exchange with that country of approximately $3,500,000. The principal products sent abroad from Guatemala were coffee, hides, bananas, sugar, rubber, woods, chicle and skins. There has been much activity in railway construction in recent years with the result that Guatemala now has a transcontinental road and a total mileage of 435. This main system will presently be connected with the road coming down through Mexico and permit of an all-rail journey from Washington to Guatemala City, the capital, which has a population of nearly 100,000. It is located at such an elevation that it makes an attractive point of residence and is well worthy of a visit by the traveler in Latin-American countries. The country can be approached most easily by direct steamer from New Orleans to Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean.

HAITI occupies the western half of the island which it divides with the Dominican Republic. Although having an area of only 10,200 square miles, it could hold both New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and has a population of nearly 2,000,000. This makes an average of 196 inhabitants to the square mile or more than six times the density of the population of the United States. While apparently crowded, the country is still in the infancy of its material development and possesses a natural wealth awaiting legitimate exploitation. Its foreign commerce in 1909 reached the gratifying total of nearly $17,000,000. Its exports to the United States were less than $1,000,000 and its imports furnish nearly $4,000,000, making a total trade with that country of approximately $5,000,000. Haiti sends to the outer world coffee, campeche logs

and roots, cacao, lignum-vitae, cotton seed, sheepskins, cotton, orange peel, corn, mahogany, cocoanuts, and many lesser articles. It is deficient in railways, having only about 65 miles in operation but extensive new construction is now under way. Its principal port is its capital, Port au Prince, which has a population of 60,000.



Market, Port au Prince, Haiti

HONDURAS is possibly the least developed but yet one of the most resourceful countries of Central America. As soon as it shall be able to adjust finally its finances, it should enter upon a period of remarkable development. The chief need is the construction of railways and the incoming of foreign capital. It has a population of 745,000 distributed over an area of 46,000 square miles, which is about equal to that of Pennsylvania and Rhode Island combined. Lying south of Guatemala, it is generally approached on the Pacific side through the Port of Amapala. There is a short railroad and a long mule trail from Puerto Cortez, on the

Caribbean Sea over the mountains to Tegucigalpa, the capital, but most travelers take the Pacific route. Tegucigalpa has a population of about 35,000 and lies some distance inland. Honduras' foreign trade though small, amounting to $4,600,000 in value, is capable of large growth when the interior is opened up and made accessible

Park, Tegucigalpa, Honduras

for the shipping of its natural products. It bought from the United States products valued at nearly $1,800,000 and sold to it to the extent of $1,835,000 making a total commerce with that country of a little more than $3,600,000. Its principal exports in the order of their value are bananas, cyanide, cocoanuts, silver, coffee, hides, cattle, rubber, mahogany, and ebony. It has only about 100 miles of railway, but if projects now being considered are carried through, 350 miles will soon be constructed.

MEXICO has achieved such a reputation for progress and prosperity under the administration of General Diaz, that it has awakened the interest of the entire world in its onward movement.

The only Latin-American country that is contiguous to the United States and possessing vast resources, it presents a most tempting field for American capital and effort. It is estimated that fully $750,000,000 of United States money are invested in the development of its natural wealth, aside from many millions of European capital.

Borda Gardens, Cuernavaca, Mexico

With a wonderful variety of temperate climate upon its numerous plateaux, and of tropical warmth in its valleys and sea-coast, it covers an area of 767,000 square miles in which could be placed the German Empire, France and Great Britain. It is third in size

among Latin-American republics ranking after Brazil and Argentina. Its population is nearly 16,000,000 or about 20 per square mile. This enterprising neighbor of the United States conducted, last year, a foreign trade valued at nearly $200,000,000 and its chief exports included gold, silver, pearls, copper, lead, antimony, zinc, henequen, coffee, rubber, chicle, mahogany and ebony, tobacco, cattle, hides and skins. It bought from the United States imports valued at $45,000,000 and exported to it products worth nearly $86,500,000. In railway operation and construction, Mexico has made a remarkable record and now has in use nearly 16,000 miles with various new projects being planned or under way. One of the most successful railroads is the famous Tehuantepec road reaching from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico and conducting an enormous business. In 1909 it carried $50,000,000 worth of freight. Mexico City has a population of about 450,000 and is rapidly being made one of the beautiful capitals of the world. It is a most interesting place to visit and is attracting each year thousands of tourists. Among the other important cities worthy of the acquaintance of the traveler are Guadalajara, Monterrey, Chihuahua, Zacatecas, Vera Cruz, Puebla and Merida. Mexico celebrated in September 1910, the one hundredth anniversary of its declaration of independence. Special Ambassadors and representatives were present from the leading countries of the world and the festivities were of a most elaborate character. Mexico can be approached easily in two ways, either by rail in through trains from such a point as St. Louis in the United States, or by comfortable steamers running direct from New York City to Vera Cruz.

NICARAGUA has been in the public eye so prominently during the last year and a half that a few facts about its physical features should be of special interest. Though suffering from the effects of disturbed conditions, it is, in fact, a country of remarkable resources and possibilities. It has a mingling of old

established cities and thickly populated districts with large sections of undeveloped but resourceful land which make it an interesting field of study and commercial effort. Located in the heart of Central America, it has an area of nearly 50,000 square miles—equal to that of New York state. Its population of 600,000 represents only a small part of what it could support if its natural wealth were made fully productive. Despite the handicap of civil strife, it conducted in 1909 a foreign commerce valued at $7,100,000. It bought from the United States products valued at $1,355,000 and sold to that country exports worth $1,004,000, making a total trade

Executive Building, Managua, Nicaragua

with the United States of approximately $2,360,000. Its shipments to the outer world are largely made up of rubber, bananas, hides, mahogany, cacao, sugar and cattle. With a coast-line of 300 miles

on the Caribbean and 200 miles on the Pacific Ocean, its railways are restricted to the Pacific side and have a total length of 171 miles. It is probable that in the near future a road will be constructed from the Caribbean to Lake Nicaragua. To reach its capital, Managua, it is necessary to approach the country by the Pacific coast and take the railroad at Corinto, its principal western port. Managua, in prosperous times, has a population of 40,000. Leon is the largest city with 60,000 while Granada has 20,000. The principal towns on the Caribbean side are Graytown, and Bluefields; these last two places have direct steamer connection with New Orleans.

PANAMA should not be thought of merely as the home of the Panama Canal. Covering an area nearly equal to that of the State of Maine, or 32,380 square miles, and having a population of 361,000, it is a country of agricultural wealth and industrial possibilities. It is now exporting in increasing quantities bananas, cacao, indigo, tobacco, sugar, rubber, vegetable ivory, turtle shells, pearls and mahogany. It has large sections suited to cattle growing and it only needs the construction of railways and good roads to make its interior very productive. The only railroads at the present time are the ones across the Isthmus between Colon and Panama, 48 miles in length, and a banana line in the territory adjacent to Bocas del Toro, which reaches some 29 miles. There will soon be begun the building of an important trunk line westward from Panama to David, a distance of 274 miles. This road will cost about $5,000,000 and form, eventually, a part of the main Pan American system. The foreign commerce in 1909 exceeded $10,000,000. It bought from the United States products valued at nearly $5,000,000 and sold to it exports worth $1,265,000, or a total trade exchange with that country of $6,265,000. Panama, its capital and principal port on the Pacific, has now a population of nearly

40,000, and Colon, the Atlantic entrance to the Canal, about 15,000. The Isthmus can be easily reached from New York or New Orleans by a number of good steamship lines and every traveler who makes the trip comes back feeling that he has been rewarded for his effort and time not only in seeing the way the work is going forward upon the canal, but in having a chance to become acquainted with the country itself.

Statue of Columbus, Cristobal, Panama

PARAGUAY sounds like a far away land and it is back in the southern interior of South America but it can be easily approached either by steamers up the great Parana and Paraguay Rivers from Montevideo in Uruguay, or Buenos Aires in Argentina, or on the other hand, by rail over land through Argentina, upon the approaching completion of a new line. In the near future it will be connected by rail with the southern provinces of Brazil.

National Building, Asuncion, Paraguay

Few countries of South America offer greater opportunities for agricultural development. While small in comparison with its big neighbors Argentina and Brazil, it covers an area of 196,000 square miles within which could be placed both California and Maine. Its population of 715,000 is only a small measure of what it could support. Its capital, Asuncion, has about 52,000 inhabitants and

is worthy of a visit from the traveler to South America. Other important towns are Villa Rica and Concepcion. Paraguay bought and sold, last year, with the rest of the world, a foreign trade valued at nearly $9,000,000. The share with the United States was small, not exceeding $225,000, made up almost entirely of imports from the United States. It has at the present time only 155 miles of railroad in operation but extensions are under way or planned. Its chief channel of communication with the outer world is the Parana River already mentioned.

PERU has a coast line on the Pacific Ocean which equals the distance from Maine south to Georgia and it covers an area of nearly 680,000 square miles, the combined areas of Texas, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico. Its population is estimated at 4,500,000 and yet this is only 6.6 per square mile. Its climate along the Pacific shore is much like that of southern California, while in the interior or on the plateaux it is cool the year round. It also possesses a vast territory which is tributary to the Amazon River, and its Atlantic port, Iquitos, only 500 miles from the Pacific Ocean, has an anomalous location on the Amazon, 2,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. The principal Pacific harbor is Callao while a short distance away is the beautiful capital, Lima, having a population of 140,000. This city is one of the historic capitals of the western hemisphere and is proud of a university which was 100 years old before John Harvard established the famous college that now carries his name. A visit to Peru, approached easily from Panama on the north or from Chile on the south, should include a trip up the famous Oroya railroad which climbs from Callao 140 miles up into the heart of the Andes, to an altitude of 15,680 feet, the highest point reached by any railroad in the world, excepting the new Antofogasta line from Chile into Bolivia. The total railway mileage is approximately 1,500 miles with new

roads being planned. Peru buys and sells from the rest of the world, according to the latest statistics available, products valued in excess of $50,000,000. The imports from the United States in 1909 were $6,386,000, and the exports of that country $4,558,000,

Scene on the Oroya Railway, Peru

making a total trade exchange with the United States of nearly $11,000,000. The products that were sent abroad were made up largely of minerals, sugar, cotton, rubber, wool, hides, rice, petroleum and coca.

SALVADOR has the unique characteristic of being the smallest of the twenty-one American Republics, but it makes up for its limited area by its population. It has 1,700,000 inhabitants or 236 per square mile which is eight times the population per square mile of the United States of America (29.6). It is the most densely

National Building, San Salvador

populated country of the Western Hemisphere and is a little smaller than the State of New Jersey. Its exact extent is 7,225 square miles. It is a prosperous land and very productive. Its foreign trade, last year, amounted to $10,580,000 with a balance in its favor of $2,225,000. Its imports from the United States were $1,345,000

and its exports to that country $1,880,000, giving a total trade with the United States of $3,335,000. Its shipments to foreign lands included, in the order of their value, coffee, gold, silver, indigo, sugar, balsam, hides, tobacco and rubber. It has only about 100 miles of railway in operation but a number of new lines are being projected. Salvador is the only Central American country which does not touch the Atlantic as well as the Pacific. Its only coast line is that of the Pacific Ocean and its interesting capital, San Salvador, having a population of 60,000, is approached by railroad from the Port of Acajutla.

URUGUAY is one of the most prosperous of the Latin-American countries. While its area of 72,000 miles is small, com-

Plaza Cagancha or Libertad, Montevideo, Uruguay

pared to that of its two closest neighbors, Argentina and Brazil, it is yet larger than the States of New York and West Virginia com-

bined, and has a population of 1,112,000. It is a land of exceptional agricultural fertility and possesses a strong strategic commercial location at the wide mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Montevideo, its capital, is a most attractive city with a population of 350,000. The Uruguayan government is expending nearly $10,000,000 on the construction of a harbor at Montevideo that will make it rank with the best ports of the world. Nearly all steamships running between southern South America, Europe and the United States, touch at Montevideo and it is only about 108 miles distant from Buenos Aires, the great capital of Argentina. Uruguay's prosperity is evidenced by its foreign trade which, last year, reached the remarkable total of $86,000,000. Uruguay provides a market for the exports of the United States valued at a little more than $4,000,000 and it sold this country products to the extent of $5,708,814 making a total trade with the United States of nearly $10,000,000. The principal articles which Uruguay sends to other countries include frozen and canned beef, jerked beef, eggs, hides and skins, wool, hair, bones, tallow, barley, bran, Indian corn, flour, oats, wheat and linseed. This Republic has in operation over 1,500 miles of railways while 341 additional miles will soon be under way. Uruguay is easily approached by good steamship accommodations either from Europe or the United States, and the traveler going from Rio de Janeiro to Buenos Aires should plan to spend a few days in Montevideo.

VENEZUELA may be the last country according to the alphabet of the Latin-American Republics but is far from being least in area, resources and potentialities. Having an extensive coast line on the Caribbean Sea, it is easily accessible from the United States, and its capital city, Caracas, is an attractive point to be visited by Americans making the cruise of the West Indies and the Caribbean. This interesting city is only a short distance by rail from La Guaira, its port, and has a population of about

70,000. Venezuela's broad expanse includes nearly 400,000 square miles within which is a population of 2,664,000. Developed within measure of its possibilities, it could maintain 26,000,000. Its foreign trade, last year, approximated $26,730,000. To the United States it exported products valued at nearly $7,400,000 and imported from it to the extent of $1,700,000, making a total trade exchange

Caracas, Venezuela

with that country of $9,100,000. The principal products which Venezuela sent abroad were, according to value, coffee, cacao, balata gum, rubber, hides and skins, gold, cattle, aigret plumes, asphalt, cotton seed, divi-divi and sernambi. The total length of railways in operation in Venezuela is about 540 miles but there are numerous opportunities for construction which will open up its

resourceful interior. At the present time the great channel of communication through this interior is the Orinoco River and its branches. This wonderful river with its tributaries has a total navigable length of nearly 4,000 miles. In the northwestern section is also Lake Maracaibo which provides access to a large and productive country.

SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this survey in a concise form of the twenty Republics lying to the south of the United States, it is well to note that their total foreign trade in 1910 amounted to approximately $2,100,000,000. Going back a little more than a decade and taking the average for the three years, 1896-7-8, the average foreign commerce of those years was valued at $924,000,000. This means that these countries showed a wonderful increase, in a little more than a decade, of $1,176,000,000. What better evidence could there be than this of their growth, and of possibilities in the future, and of the importance to the United States, Europe, and the rest of the world of getting into closest touch with them both commercially and politically.

EUROPE IN LATIN AMERICA

At this point it is fitting to observe that the policy and work of the Pan American Union is not in any sense anti-European. While the Union is maintained and controlled by the American Republics there is nothing in its regulations or administration which can be construed as opposing the development of closer relations of friendship and commerce between Europe and the countries of the New World. There is abundant room in Latin America for the exercise of that kind of European and United States influence and the extension of that kind of European and United States trade which are alike welcomed by the Latin Americans and enjoyed by the

people and commercial interests of Europe and the United States. The more Europe sells to Latin America, and the more money Europe invests in Latin America, the more demand will there be for the products and money of the United States, and vice versa.

On the other hand there must always be considered the opportunity and necessity to Latin America of enlarging the markets abroad for her products in both Europe and the United States. The more the Latin-American countries can sell all over the world the richer and more prosperous will they become, and if such richness and prosperity can be increased by trade with Europe as well as with the United States, they should be encouraged to develop business with both Europe and the United States.

Great credit is due England, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Belgium, for what they have accomplished commercially and financially in Latin America. What they have done should excite the emulation and rivalry of the United States and not its antagonism. The fact that Europe absolutely controls the foreign banking interests of Latin America and has the major portion of its foreign commerce should be recognized at once by the banking and commercial interests of the United States, and move the latter to redoubled efforts to share in the onward material movement of Latin America. Complaint and criticism aimed at Europe will not accomplish the desired aim, but good natured, persistent, and well managed competition will be successful.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

In answer to the question often presented: What is the share of the United States in this commerce, it can be said that in the year 1909-10 it amounted to nearly $631,000,000. The exact figures were: imports from the United States, $239,251,867, exports to the United States, $391,440,511, or a total of $630,692,378. When it is borne in mind that these figures represent an increase of 150 per

Fifty Harvesting Machines on an Argentine Estancia (Ranch or Farm)

Grain Elevators at Buenos Aires, Argentina

cent. in the last twelve years, it can be truthfully said that the trade exchange between the United States and her sister Republics is developing rapidly and that the commercial activities of the Pan American Union are not in vain. The value of the trade exchange between the United States and the twenty Latin-American Republics for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, was $498,737,814. There has been, therefore, a gratifying increase of $131,954,564 during the present administration of the Pan American Union.

Emphasis is laid upon these few commercial statistics because they are the best evidence of material growth and general prosperity. Wherever any country in the Pan American Union has shown a marked increase in its foreign trade, it has experienced a corresponding advance in its economic, social, educational and political development. There is no question that in the future the Latin-American Republics will offer the greatest opportunities for the expansion of the export markets of the United States and for the safe investment of its surplus capital. Reciprocally, the United States is becoming more and more the best market for the natural products of Latin America. The more the United States sells to them, the more they sell to the United States. With better acquaintance, more travel, improved steamship facilities, construction of railways, favorable tariff arrangements, greater interest in each other's welfare, and the making of mutual concessions in both trade and diplomacy, the American Republics will inaugurate a progressive era of Pan American commerce and comity which will bring lasting benefits to all, and so aid the onward and inevitable movement to the time when war shall end and perpetual peace shall reign not only from Alaska to the Strait of Magellan, but the wide world over.

Chapter II
The Pan American Union

WHAT is the Pan American Union? What are its activities? What is its organization, its scope, its purpose, and its history? These are all questions continually asked by those who are not familiar with the work of the Union or who wish to have more than a general impression of its numerous duties and varied responsibilities. It will, therefore, be the aim of this chapter to answer these questions in such terms that those who read them can always follow with interest its efforts in behalf of Pan American comity and commerce.

The Pan American Union, in brief, is an organization and office maintained voluntarily by the twenty-one American republics, controlled by a Governing Board composed of the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other American nations and the Secretary of State of the United

States, administered by a Director General and Assistant Director chosen by this Board and assisted by a staff of editors, statisticians, compilers, trade experts, translators, librarians, clerks and stenographers, and devoted to the development and conservation of commerce, friendly intercourse, and good understanding among all the American republics.

It was originally organized about twenty years ago as a result of the action of the first Pan American Conference held in Washington during the autumn and winter of 1889-90. This famous gathering, presided over by James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, and attended by eminent delegates of the American nations, passed a resolution providing for a "Commercial Bureau of the American Republics" which should collect and distribute commercial and general information among all the republics, and so not only foster the exchange of trade but remove the great ignorance of each other which existed among their respective peoples. At the second Pan American Conference which assembled at Mexico City in 1891-1892, its name was changed to "The International Bureau of the American Republics" and its scope and responsibilities greatly enlarged. One of the main objects of the action of this Conference was to bring out its international character and control. At the third Pan American Conference held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, its duties and field of effort were still further broadened.

ACTION OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS

The fourth Pan American Conference which met this last summer in Buenos Aires gave more attention than any preceding Conference to the Union, considered carefully the report and recommendations of the Director General, passed a comprehensive resolution approving of the work of the institution and favoring the negotiation of an international treaty or convention providing for

the permanent support and existence of the organization, shortened the cumbersome title of "The International Bureau of the American Republics" to the brief, appropriate, and easily remembered name of "The Pan American Union," and changed the descriptive title of the executive officers from "Director" to "Director General" and from "Secretary" to "Assistant Director."

What an office, organization, or institution of this kind *actually does or accomplishes* is after all the main question. It may have a great name, a magnificent building, and be generally known, but if it is not from day to day actively and effectively carrying out the purpose for which it was established and is maintained, it becomes an encumbrance and not a help to those interests which support it.

The Pan American Union's activities are summarized below so that the busy man can, at a glance, as it were, comprehend them. They are not in the least exaggerated, and are even minimized because only a knowledge of hundreds of details would show the complete work of the Union. It is hoped that persons who for any reason may be skeptical in regard to the practical, useful, and beneficial effects on Pan American commerce and comity of the Union may familiarize themselves with this simple statement of what it is doing.

Inasmuch as the fourth Pan American Conference attended by representative delegates from all the American republics, after careful consideration of the report of the Director General first by special committee and later by the Conference as a whole, not only approved the work and favored the continuance of the Pan American Union but provided for its reorganization on lines recommended by him, it is fitting to quote from his report those portions which describe its growth and present activities.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE
Secretary of State of the United States and President of the First Pan American Conference, 1889-90

FACTS OF GROWTH AND ACTIVITIES

RECOGNIZING that, among many, the practical, valuable work of the Union is not known or appreciated, I shall endeavor to point out by actual facts how it has been a direct and effective agency for the development of greater commerce, closer friendship, more intimate acquaintance and better understanding, not only among the American republics, but between them and other nations.

Many men in the United States and Europe are unfamiliar with the wonderful progress of Latin America and express profound surprise at what they learn and see when they visit for the first time the great countries and capitals of Latin America; correspondingly, many North and South Americans are, in their busy lives, unacquainted with the work, scope, and influence of the Pan American Union and are surprised when they learn what it is really accomplishing.

Again, in the same way that persons residing in the northern world, who have devoted their time and efforts to the study of the commercial and political conditions of the United States, Europe and Asia, have little appreciation of the marvelous onward strides of the southern American nations, so those who have been intent on observing the usual phases of international intercourse are not aware of the growth of the work and influence of this international institution. This fact is mentioned in order to emphasize that it is nothing against the Pan American Union if some persons, not being familiar with what it has done and is doing, question its usefulness. The Director General, while recognizing that the Union is yet far from perfection, is confident that, if its most ardent critics could acquaint themselves with its correspondence, its reports, its publications, and with its thousand and one ramifications, they would not only become its stanch defenders but its enthusiastic advocates.

The present Director General assumed his duties about January 1, 1907, and has therefore served as its chief administrative officer for a period of nearly four years. During that time, with due credit to the good work done in the preceding years, there has been a gratifying development in its work, scope, and responsibility. This result, which has been accomplished only in the face of great difficulties and many discouragements, is largely due to the following influences: First, the earnest and constant support given the Director General and the confidence reposed in him by the Governing Board, consisting of the Latin-American diplomatic representatives in Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman *ex officio;* second, the interest and co-operation of the United States Department of State, as expressed first through Secretary Root and Assistant Secretary Bacon and now by Secretary Knox and Assistant Secretary Wilson; third, the construction of the new building, for which Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave $750,000 and the American republics $250,000; fourth, the faithful work of the staff of the Union; and, fifth, the remarkable, progressive and material movement of Latin America, which has called the attention of the United States, Europe and even Asia to that part of the world more than ever before.

INCREASE OF WORK AND RESPONSIBILITIES

As illustrating the growth of the work and responsibilities of the Union since January 1, 1907, when the present Director General took charge, the following facts may be noted:

(A) During the year ending December 31, 1906, the total correspondence with all parts of the world averaged seven hundred letters per month; during the year ending December 31, 1910, it averaged seven thousand letters for the same period.

(B) In the year ending December 31, 1906, only 10% of the total membership of the United States Senate and House of Representatives used the Union in any form; in the year ending December 31, 1910, 97% of the entire membership made use of it in practical form.

(C) In January, 1907, the correspondence with Latin-American officials and peoples was intermittent and mostly with two or three countries; in January, 1911, such correspondence was unremitting and with each one of the 21 countries of the International Union.

(D) In 1906 the total number of printed publications distributed hardly exceeded 60,000; during 1910 more than 600,000 pieces were distributed, and all in response to specific requests.

(E) In January, 1907, the Monthly Bulletin, while containing much excellent material, was little in demand and seemed dry and uninteresting in appearance, not accomplishing its purpose of educating and informing the different countries and peoples about each other; in January, 1911, it was impossible to meet the demand for the new Bulletin, with material carefully arranged and illustrated.

(F) Four years ago it was difficult to trace specific instances where the Union helped to build up commerce and trade; during last year it was directly responsible for $50,000,000 worth of new exchange of trade among the American countries, as shown by its correspondence and records.

(G) When the present administration took charge the total quotas paid annually by the different American governments, including the United States, did not exceed $50,000, and many of them were in arrears; during this fiscal year of 1910-11 the quotas approximate $125,000, with nearly all arrears paid.

HON. ELIHU ROOT
Former Secretary of State of the United States and Chairman of the Governing Board 1905-09

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX
Secretary of State of the United States and Chairman of the Governing Board 1909—

(H) In December, 1906, and until recently, the Union occupied an old residence on the corner of Lafayette Square and Pennsylvania Avenue, where its staff was crowded into unsafe and unsanitary limitations of space; it now has its permanent home in a capacious and artistic new building which, with its grounds, facing the White House grounds and Potomac Park, represents an investment for Pan American peace and friendship of $1,000,000.

(I) In January, 1907, although the Union was doing the best it could under the old conditions, there was no regular systematic subdivision of its work; now, as a result of the reorganization perfected, the Union has the following divisions which, despite the great growth of work and the limited number of employees, enable it to perform its duties with dispatch and efficiency: 1, Executive; 2, Statistics and Correspondence; 3, Monthly Bulletin; 4, Translation; 5, Columbus Memorial Library; 6, Accounts; 7, Files; 8, Mailing Room; 9, Building and Plant. These, in turn, have subdivisions arranged with reference to each duty or responsibility of the Union being performed in the best way possible.

(J) Plans of a comprehensive nature for wider usefulness are in preparation.

PRACTICAL WORK AND USEFUL ACTIVITIES

The practical work and useful activities of the Union can further be appreciated by considering a description or enumeration in brief terms of some of the things it has actually done or is doing for the development of Pan American commerce, friendship and mutual interest.

SEÑOR JOAQUÍM NABUCO DE ARAUJO
Late Ambassador of Brazil

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO LEON DE LA BARRA
Ambassador of Mexico

ITS LARGE CORRESPONDENCE

The Union conducts a large correspondence, averaging many thousands of letters per month:

(a) With diplomatic representatives, executive officials, legislators, and other officers of all the American republics and of many other governments, concerning governmental action on numerous important subjects within its scope and duties.

(b) With manufacturers, exporters and importers, not only in the United States but in Latin America and every part of the world, concerning trade opportunities and conditions in the American republics.

(c) With newspapers and special writers, college professors, students and lecturers, concerning the historical, political, material, social, educational and general progress of the American nations.

(d) With travelers and tourists concerning routes, facilities, conditions and attractions of travel throughout all America.

(e) With capitalists and investors, concerning opportunities for developing latent resources, building railroads and starting new industries.

(f) With mining, hydraulic and electrical engineers concerning opening or operating mines, building water powers and establishing electric power and light plants.

(g) With agriculturists, laborers and intending immigrants concerning farms, employment and homes in new lands.

(h) With lawyers concerning the laws, codes and statutes of each republic.

(i) With librarians and authors concerning books and writers of each of the American nations.

(j) With the curious public-at-large regarding a thousand and one things which make demands upon the time and labor of a staff altogether too small for the work it has to do.

FEATURES OF THE MONTHLY BULLETIN

The Union publishes a monthly Bulletin in magazine form, of two hundred pages, which in quantity, quality and value of material, character of paper and type, artistic appearance, number of illustrations, and size, compares favorably with most of the popular magazines and is quite different from the average official document or publication. The following facts about it should be especially noted:

(a) Its attractive form involves no sacrifice of practical and valuable material and it succeeds now in having its pages carefully read, which in its older and less attractive days were seldom opened.

(b) It is prepared and printed most economically, considering the field it covers and the information it dispenses. The same staff which conducts the large correspondence described above also edits the Bulletin, while the average private magazine has twice the number of employees at its disposal.

(c) Being an official publication it can print no advertisements and is entirely dependent for actual cost of printing on the very small allowance given it at the Government Printing Office by the United States Congress.

(d) In order to pay for cost of photographs, engraving, trade diagrams, maps, good quality of paper and the preparation of special data, it has become necessary to charge a small subscription and to limit rigidly its free distribution.

(e) It has the original characteristic of being published in two language editions; one in English for circulation in the United States, and one with Spanish, Portuguese and French sections, for circulation in Latin America and Europe; and it is difficult to decide which is the more popular, showing a remarkable growth of interest in the Pan American countries and peoples.

(f) The demand for the Bulletin from all over the world, far exceeding the monthly issue of five thousand copies, may be cited as evidence of its value and popularity.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS AND THE LIBRARY

The Union has compiled a series of monographs on the American republics containing the latest statistical and descriptive data, which answer in succinct form two-thirds of the questions that the average person wishes to have answered about a country he intends to visit, in which he may invest capital, or with which he may establish business relations.

The Union also prepares and publishes a comprehensive variety of books, pamphlets and reports relating to the American republics, for which there is a constantly increasing demand.

The Union has maintained and enlarged its library, known officially as the Columbus Memorial Library, until it now has approximately 20,000 volumes upon its shelves, constituting a collection of books relating to the American republics which is being consulted more and more every day. It also has upon its tables the leading reviews, daily newspapers and official gazettes of the Latin-American countries.

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, INTERNATIONAL PHASES, ETC.

The Union has established close relations with Chambers of Commerce and other commercial organizations in both North and South America, giving them useful information about trade conditions in all the American countries and obtaining from them many valuable data.

The Union has acted as an international exchange, disseminating information in each country about the others, and providing each, in response to requests, with data concerning the others. Its utility in this respect bids fair to be greatly appreciated.

The Union has acted as a responsible agency to correct false

Señor Don Joaquín Bernardo Calvo
Minister of Costa Rica

Señor Don Ignacio Calderón
Minister of Bolivia

Señor Don Felipe Pardo, Minister of Peru

Señor Don Federico Mejía, Minister of Salvador

reports and irresponsible information about Latin America in the United States and about the United States in Latin America, as its correspondence and newspaper files plainly show.

The Union, as the only international commercial agency of its kind, has had a direct and practical influence on the development of the trade not only of the United States, but of all the twenty other American republics both with the United States and with each other.

The Union, in the execution of its commercial and other responsibilities, has exercised a strong influence for peace and good understanding among all the American republics, and has promoted that mutual acquaintance and interdependence which is always a powerful factor for peace and friendship.

CONFERENCES AND EXHIBITIONS

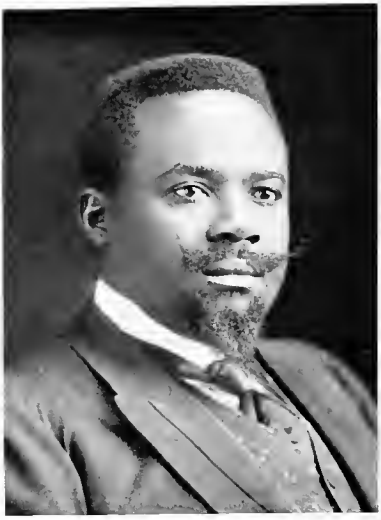
The Union is the office of the International Conferences of American States held at varying periods, keeps their archives, and prepares the programs and regulations. It also assists, and acts in co-operation with other American gatherings, such as the International Sanitary Congresses and the Pan American Scientific Conferences. Under its co-operative auspices also was held the Central-American Peace Conference of 1907.

The Union has directly assisted the work of publicity and of securing exhibits for such exhibitions as those held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1908, at Quito, Ecuador, in 1909, and last year at Buenos Aires, Argentina and at Santiago, Chile. It also sent an exhibit which attracted widespread attention, to the exposition at Seattle, State of Washington, U. S. A., in the summer of 1909.

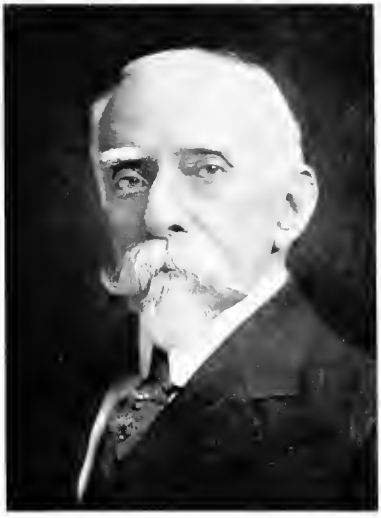
TRAVEL AND STEAMSHIPS

The Union has greatly increased the travel between North and South America and has been directly responsible, according to the records of its correspondence, for large numbers of business men,

Señor Dr. Luis Lazo Arriaga, Minister of Honduras



Mr. H. Pauléus Sannon, Minister of Haiti



Señor Don P. Ezequiel Rojas,
Minister of Venezuela

Señor Don Emilio C. Joubert,
Minister of the Dominican Republic

tourists and travelers visiting for the first time the other American continent than the one in which they dwell.

The Union has influenced several steamship companies to improve their passenger service between North and South America, and caused others to organize and undertake excursions or special journeys to the principal countries, which have been well patronized and give promise of more popularity in the future.

The Union in one of its international phases has helped some of its constituent governments to establish new subordinate divisions or bureaus of principal departments, and it has also acted as an agency to assist other governments in advertising and letting contracts for public improvements.

STUDY OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

The Union has started in several universities and colleges and many secondary schools or academies the study of Spanish or Portuguese, and of Latin-American economic, industrial and political conditions, where previously those subjects have had little or no attention.

The Union has provided newspapers all over the world with special bulletins or legitimate press notices covering the commercial progress, the development of resources, the starting of new enterprises, the building of new railroads, the growth of population, the making of new tariff, mining, land and immigration laws, with the result that the daily papers of the United States and Europe now give one hundred per cent. more attention to Latin America than they did a few years ago, and those of Latin America more prominence to the affairs of the United States.

The Union as an international institution in no way duplicates or interferes with, any subordinate bureau or division of the United States or other of its constituent governments, and performs a class of work which only an international organization supported and

Señor Don Francisco de P. Borda
Minister of Colombia

Señor Dr. Rafael María Arízaga
Minister of Ecuador

Señor Dr. Salvador Castrillo, Minister of Nicaragua

Señor Dr Belisario Porras, Minister of Panama

controlled by a group of governments can perform, and, as such, it is entitled to the liberal and hearty support of every American government.

ADDRESSES BEFORE COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Union in the person of its Director General or of other members of its staff, has accepted numerous invitations from Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, commercial organizations and clubs to deliver addresses before them on the development of trade relations between the United States and Latin America, and it has in this way reached in a practical manner a class of men whose influence counts in the development of interest in Latin-American affairs.

The Union has sent, and is sending from time to time, special representatives not only to different parts of the United States, but throughout the Latin-American countries to collect the latest information about conditions of commerce, industry, and general progress, who, in turn, come back to the office in Washington to prepare reports on the countries visited and to answer the large correspondence that constantly demands attention.

A PAN AMERICAN BANK

The Union in making efforts along many lines to help Pan American trade has endeavored to awaken the bankers and capitalists of the United States to the importance of the establishment of an international or Pan American bank, with headquarters in New York and branches in the principal Latin-American cities. The plan has been received most favorably by the Latin-American countries, and the attitude of their governments is friendly, but, on account of some technical difficulties regarding a charter, certain large financial interests of New York have held back from carrying the idea into execution, and this has kept other groups of capitalists from undertaking it, although they are convinced of the wisdom of the general plan and may yet carry it into execution.

Señor R. de Lima y Silva
Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil

Señor Don Jacinto L. Villegas
Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Republic

Señor Dr. Alfredo de Castro
Chargé d'Affaires of Uruguay

Señor Don Alberto Yoacham
First Secretary of the Chilian Legation

THE COLUMBUS MEMORIAL LIBRARY

A most useful subdivision of the Pan American Union is the Columbus Memorial Library. It is deserving of special interest and of the co-operation of all governments in making it the most comprehensive and useful collection of its kind in the world. The Second Pan American Conference, held in Mexico in the winter of 1901-2, gave it its present name as a memorial to the great Columbus, but its size is as yet hardly worthy of that name, mainly because there has been a lack of funds to purchase books, and a lack of help from the various governments in adding to the volumes upon its shelves. The total number of books and pamphlets in the library is about 20,000, but the fire-proof stack room provided in the new building has space for 175,000 volumes. Although it is made up largely of official publications of the different republics, works of history, description and travel relating to them, it is so far from being complete in these respects that a special effort will be made during the next few years to enlarge it along these lines.

The acting librarian, in his last report, says:

During the year just closed the library received, from all sources, 2,795 volumes and pamphlets, divided as follows:

By gift and exchange (688 volumes and 663 pamphlets), 1,351; by purchase (122 volumes and 24 pamphlets), 146; periodicals bound during the year, 130; review books (from "Bulletin," 54 volumes and 3 pamphlets), 57; duplicates (424 volumes and 687 pamphlets), 1,111; total receipts, volumes and pamphlets, 2,795.

Number of volumes and pamphlets on the shelves at last report, 17,043.

Additions during present year: 810 volumes, 687 pamphlets, 130 bound periodicals, 57 review books. Total, 1,684.

Total volumes and pamphlets now in the Library, 18,727.*

These volumes and pamphlets have all been accessioned, catalogued, and classified. In addition we received 196 maps, making a total of 846 now on file, two atlases, making a total of 60 in the Library, 2,941 photographs from all parts of Latin America, 14 photographic albums, and 40,805 daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines.

*Since this report was submitted the total number of books and pamphlets has been increased to 20,000.

Señor Don Arturo Padró y Almeida
First Secretary Cuban Legation

Señor Dr. Ramon Bengoechea
Secretary of the Legation of Guatemala

Señor Don Epifanio Portela
Former Minister of the Argentine Republic

Señor Dr. Luis Melián Lafinur
Former Minister of Uruguay

In the cataloguing and indexing 6,084 cards were made, and 476 volumes were bound during the year.

Some of these figures, when compared to the receipts of last year make a very creditable showing. For instance, we received 9,261 more newspapers and magazines, over 2,000 more photographs, and 185 more publications were bound. The Library's subscription list now numbers 16.

The loan collections of the Library, were somewhat augmented by additions from Senator Elihu Root of several hundred volumes relating to Brazil and the Argentine Republic, and from Señor Luis F. Corea, former Minister from Nicaragua, who deposited 75 volumes of standard English works and reference books in the Library.

During the year our supply of the list of books relating to the classifications of "History and Description" became exhausted and a new edition was made. We also compiled a supplement to this pamphlet, consisting of 34 pages, which included all titles under these headings received up to July 1st, 1909. The demand for both of these publications continues active.

To enable the Columbus Memorial Library to properly fulfill the purpose for which it was established by the International American Conferences, it should contain all books published relating to Latin America. Even with ample funds it would necessarily take years to accumulate such a collection, but there are many publications coming within the present scope of the Library, which are needed in the work of the Pan American Union and might readily be obtained from second-hand book stores. As colleges, libraries, and private individuals are rapidly securing the available out-of-print publications so badly needed here, I have the honor to suggest that fifteen hundred dollars be set aside to be used in purchasing such books, and of initiating the work of making such a collection.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNION

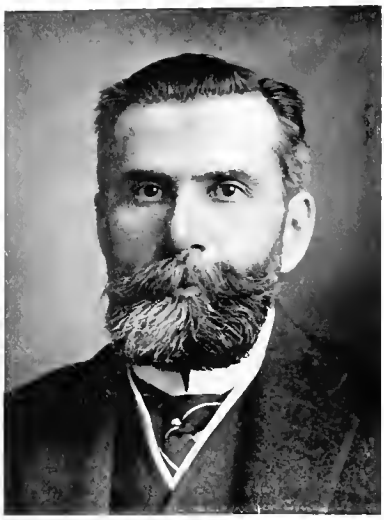
The Pan American Union* is the creature of the four International Conferences held respectively in Washington, 1889-90, Mexico City, 1901-02, Rio de Janeiro, 1906, and Buenos Aires, 1910.

In the First International Conference a resolution was unanimously adopted, on March 29, 1890, in the following words:

"That the governments here represented shall unite for the establishment of an American International Bureau for the collection, tabulation, and publication, in

*The Fourth Conference at Buenos Aires has enlarged the scope and changed the name to "The Pan American Union" from the old title: "The International Bureau of the American Republics."

Señor Dr. Luis Toledo Herrarte
Former Minister of Guatemala



Señor Don Aníbal Cruz
Late Minister of Chile

Señor Don C. C. Arosemena
Former Minister of Panama

Señor Dr. Francisco Carrera y Jústiz
Former Minister of Cuba

the English, Spanish and Portuguese languages, of information as to the productions and commerce, and as to the customs laws, and regulations of their respective countries; such Bureau to be maintained in one of the countries for the common benefit and at the common expense, and to furnish to all the other countries such commercial statistics and other useful information as may be contributed to it by any of the American republics. That the Committee on Customs Regulations be authorized and instructed to furnish to the Conference a plan of organization and a scheme for the practical work of the proposed Bureau."

In accordance with this resolution the Committee considered the matter and made certain recommendations in a report of which the following is a brief resumé:

(a) That there shall be formed by the countries represented in this Conference an association under the title of "The International Union of the American Republics," for the prompt collection and distribution of commercial information.

(b) This Union shall be represented by a Bureau established in the city of Washington, under the supervision of the Secretary of State of the United States, which Bureau shall be charged with the care of all transactions and publications and that of all correspondence pertaining to the International Union.

(c) The Bureau shall be called "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics," and its organ be a publication entitled "The Bulletin of the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics." The Bulletin shall be printed in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages. Its contents shall consist of: (a) Customs tariffs and changes; (b) Port regulations and customs procedure; (c) Commercial and parcel post treaties; (d) Statistics of commerce, production, and other information of special interest to merchants and shippers of the represented countries.

(d) That the represented countries shall furnish to the Bureau official documents and laws, statistics, etc., for publication; that the Bureau shall supply information upon the subjects mentioned, to interested parties.

(e) The maximum expense to be incurred in the establishment of the Bureau, and its annual maintenance, shall be $36,000. The report furnished a detailed estimate for the personnel of the Bureau, consisting of a Director and nine other employees, at annual salaries aggregating $22,000, and for office expenses and for the publication of the Bulletin, $14,000; the Government of the United States to advance to the International Union a fund of $36,000, or so much of that amount as may be required for the expense of the Bureau during its first year, and a like sum for each subsequent year of its existence. It was provided that the $36,000 cost of maintaining the Bureau should be apportioned among all of the countries in proportion to their population, and that the assessment upon this basis, due from the Latin-American countries, should be returned to the United States which was

MR. JOHN BARRETT
Director General of the Pan American Union

MR. FRANCISCO J. YÁNES
Assistant Director of the Pan American Union

to advance the full amount. The total of assessments for the first year embodied in the report assessed the United States $18,806, and the Latin-American countries $17,194.

(f) That the Secretary of State of the United States be requested to organize and establish the Bureau as soon as practicable after a majority of the countries represented had officially signified their consent to join the Union. That the Union shall continue in force for ten years, and, unless denounced, thereafter for successive periods of ten years.

ADHESION OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted by the Conference, and a majority of the countries represented soon after officially notified the Secretary of State of the United States of their adherence to the resolution. Subsequently, all of the eighteen countries represented in the Conference so notified the Secretary of State. These countries comprised all the then existing American republics with the exception of the Dominican Republic. Subsequently the Dominican Republic joined the Union, as did later Cuba and Panama. This report of the Committee adopted by the First Conference is the original charter of the Union, but extensively amended in later years.

On August 26, 1890, Mr. William E. Curtis was appointed the first Director and instructed to organize the Union. This was successfully done by Mr. Curtis, and the publication of the Bulletin and of handbooks descriptive of the countries of the Union was immediately begun. Mr. Curtis continued as Director until May 18, 1893.

In accordance with the report or fundamental charter the Union was under the direct control of the Secretary of State of the United States. In practice, it was found that this provision of the charter to a large extent nullified the international character intended to be stamped upon the Union by the First Conference.

The Secretary of State of the United States, the Honorable Richard Olney, on April 1, 1896, called a meeting of the diplo-

matic representatives in Washington of the countries supporting the Union, for the purpose of a consultation regarding its affairs. At this meeting a Committee, consisting of Señor Don Matias Romero, Minister of Mexico, Señor Don Salvador Mendonça, Minister of Brazil, Señor Don José Andrade, Minister of Venezuela, Señor Don Antonio Lazo, Minister of Guatemala, and Señor Don Joaquín B. Calvo, then Chargé d'Affaires of Costa Rica, was appointed to draft a plan for the reorganization of the Union. On June 4, 1896, the Committee reported, recommending the creation of an Executive Committee of five members, the chairman of which was to be the Secretary of State of the United States, and the other four members to be taken in rotation from the Latin-American countries. This Committee was to act as a board of supervision of the administration of the Union. The recommendations of this report were agreed upon, and thus became the first modification or change in the original charter

On March 18, 1899, at a meeting of the diplomatic representatives of the supporting countries, a further enlargement of the plan of the original charter was agreed upon. The Executive Committee, consisting of the Secretary of State of the United States as *ex officio* chairman, and four representatives of the Latin-American countries (the four to be chosen in rotation from all the supporting countries), in addition to having advisory powers was given the power to appoint the Director, Secretary and permanent translators of the Union, to fix their salaries and to dismiss them whenever it seemed advisable so to do. The method of appointment was provided by the plan then adopted and the duties of the Director and subordinates prescribed.

The Executive Committee was, by the plan adopted, charged with the duty of general supervision and perfecting of the management of the Union. This was the second change in the original charter and the one that, in truth, made the Bureau international in its character as was intended by the First Conference.

REORGANIZATION OF THE UNION

At the Second Conference, which met in the city of Mexico on October 22, 1901, and adjourned January 31, 1902, a resolution was adopted on January 29, 1902, for the reorganization of the Union. In Article I of this resolution it is provided that the International Bureau of the American Republics shall be under the management of a Governing Board, which shall consist of the Secretary of State of the United States of America, who shall be its chairman, and of the diplomatic representatives of all the governments represented in the Bureau and accredited to the Government of the United States of America. The resolution contained thirteen articles and provided in detail for the management of the Union, and conferred upon the Governing Board full power over its affairs. The name of the Union was changed from "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics" to "The International Bureau of the American Republics."

The Third International Conference, which met at Rio de Janeiro on July 21st, and adjourned August 26th, 1906, adopted on August 19th a resolution, signed by all of the delegates, for the reorganization of the Union. This resolution did not change in any particular the essentials of the resolution of Mexico City so far as the government, its character as an international institution, and the work to be performed by it, were concerned. It did change many of the details of administration within the Union, and imposed upon it additional work.

A brief outline of the financial contributions to the Union by which it has been able to exist and continue its work, is as follows:

In response to the resolution of the First Conference, the United States of America, on July 14, 1890, appropriated $36,000 for the maintenance of the Union for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891. For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1892, 1893, and 1894, appropriations were made by the United States of $36,000

$30,000, and $30,000 respectively. All of these amounts, it will be understood, covered the proportion of the United States and also advances on account of the other countries. The quotas from these countries, when paid, reverted to the United States.

Beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, the contributions of the United States assumed a different character and have since been for fixed amounts irrespective of the contributions of the other countries, and have always been in excess of the proportion of the United States on the basis of population. For the year 1895-6 this contribution was $23,000, and for the three years following, for each year, $28,000. Beginning with 1898 and down to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, the United States' contribution was $36,000. For the year ending June 30, 1909, it was $54,000; for the year ending June 30, 1910, $56,000, and for the present year, ending June 30, 1911, $75,000.

THE QUOTAS OF LATIN AMERICA

Meanwhile, the contributions of the Latin-American countries have always remained from the beginning and down to the present fiscal year, ending June 30, 1911, upon the basis of a total fixed amount apportioned according to population, always including the United States in the calculation. The quotas varied from year to year as in the calculation were included new population statistics. This contribution from the Latin-American countries has averaged about $16,000 a year down to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908. For all of these years it was calculated on a basis of $36,000 for all the countries, including the United States. For the two years 1908-9, and 1909-10, the basis was raised to $54,000. This made the contributions from the Latin-American countries $23,774.46. For the present year the basis is raised to $125,000, and the proportion of the Latin-American countries fixed at $50,000.

The change in the amount of contributions, largely increasing the sum both from the United States and from the Latin-American

countries, has occurred during the administration of the present Director General.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE UNION

Since its establishment there have been in all seven Directors:

William E. Curtis, 1890–1893.
Clinton Furbish, 1893–1897.
Joseph P. Smith, 1897–1898.
Frederic Emory, 1898–1899.
W. W. Rockhill, 1899–1905.
Williams C. Fox, 1905–1907.
John Barrett, 1907–——.

William E. Curtis (1890-1893) is one of the most distinguished newspaper correspondents in the world, and has been for a long time connected with the editorial staff of the Chicago Record-Herald. He was executive officer of the First Pan American Conference, Special Commissioner of the United States to Latin America, Chief of the Latin-American Department at the Chicago Exposition, and is now a member of the permanent Pan American Committee of the United States.

Clinton Furbish (1893-1897), *Joseph P. Smith* (1897-1898), and *Frederic Emory* (1898-1899), who are now dead, were eminent publicists and held high positions in the official life of Washington.

William W. Rockhill (1899-1905) is one of the most experienced and best known members of the diplomatic service of the United States. He is now Ambassador of that country to Russia, and before going to St. Petersburg had served as Minister to China and Greece. He was also once Assistant Secretary of State, and he is regarded as an authority on all things Chinese and Oriental.

Williams C. Fox (1905-1907) is now United States Minister to Ecuador, where he has been in charge of important and delicate negotiations. Before that he was Consul at Brunswick, Germany, and for a long time connected with the staff of the Pan

American Union representing it at both the Second Pan American Conference in Mexico and Third Conference at Rio de Janeiro.

John Barrett (1907——), the present Director General, has been United States Minister to Siam in Asia, and to the governments of Argentina, Panama, and Colombia, in Latin America. In the Philippines, China, and Japan, he also conducted commercial and special investigations for the United States. He was a Delegate of the United States to the Second Pan American Conference in Mexico, and Commissioner-General to Asia and Australia of the St. Louis World's Exhibition. Mr. Barrett resigned his position as United States Minister to Colombia, after having been elected unanimously by the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to take the position of its Director General and to reorganize it in accordance with the plan adopted at the Third Pan American Conference in Rio, and following the return of Honorable Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, from his trip around South America.

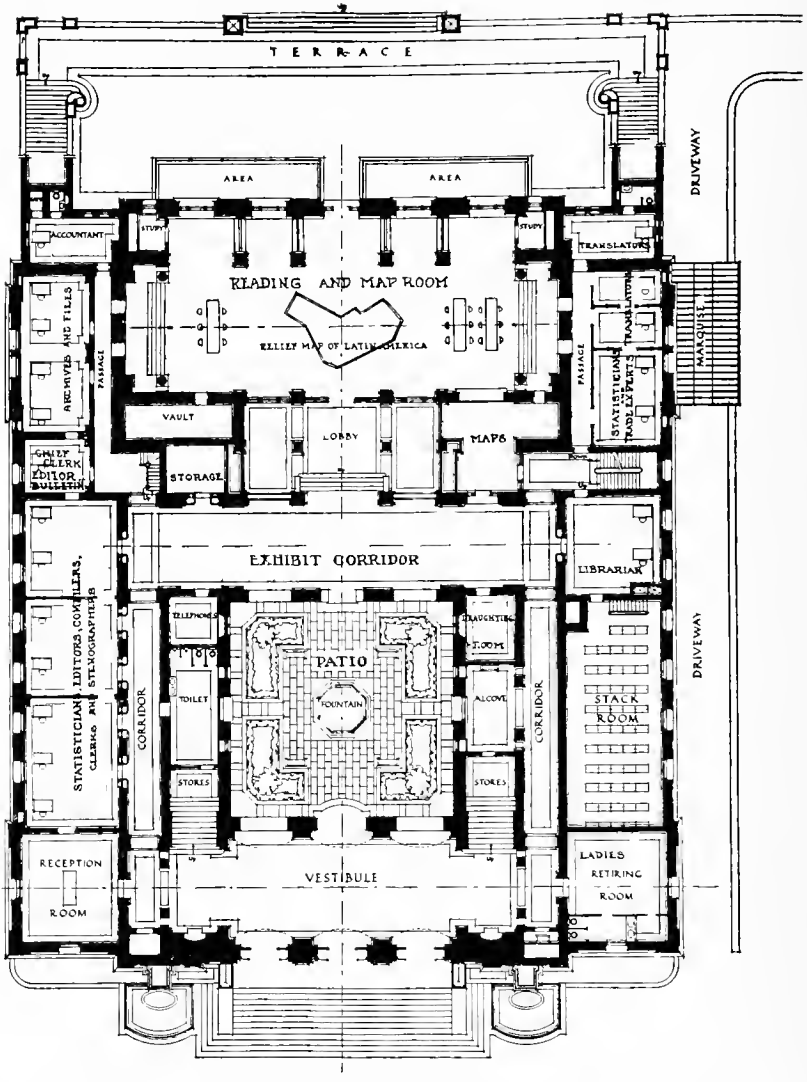
The Assistant Director, who is also Secretary of the Governing Board, is Mr. Francisco J. Yánes, a Venezuelan by birth, who has long been associated with the Union in responsible positions. Before that he had been in the diplomatic and consular service of Venezuela, and later acted as an assistant to the United States Commission in the Philippines. He also represented the Union at the Pan American Conference in Buenos Aires. Several other members of the staff holding responsible places are Latin Americans.

The improvement in the usefulness and appearance of the Monthly Bulletin has been accomplished largely under the supervisory direction of Franklin Adams, who has made a careful study of Latin America. Among those also, who in view of their length or value of service to the Union should be mentioned, are William C. Wells, Emilio Amores, W. P. Montgomery, Julian Lacalle, Dr. Albert Hale, William V. Griffin, Charles E. Babcock, Granville R. Fortescue, C. H. Baker, W. J. Kolb, H. O. Sandberg, and the Misses Phillips, Wood, McNaughton, Kirk, and Brainerd.

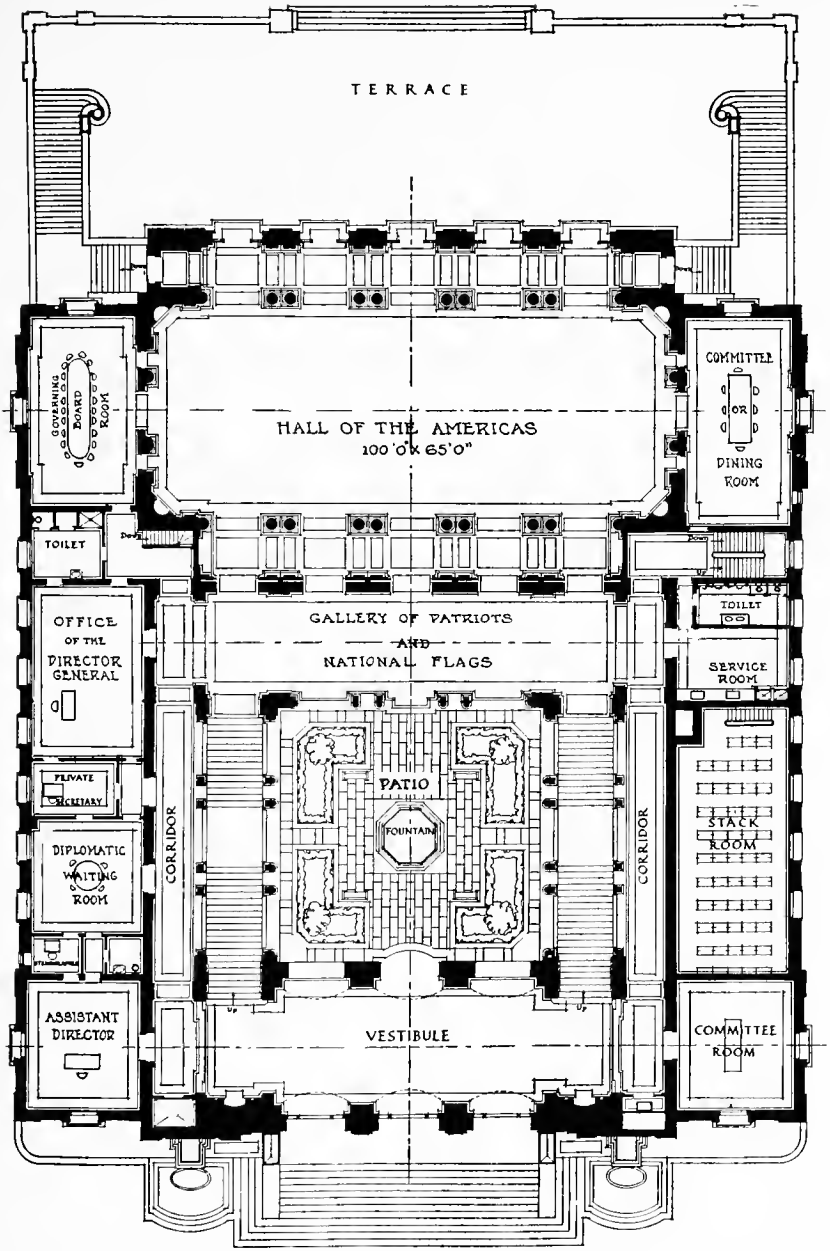
Chapter III
Pan America's New Building

THE unique and beautiful new building just erected for the Pan American Union, formerly known as the International Bureau of American Republics, has a world-wide significance. As the permanent home of the Union, it practically makes Washington the International capital of the twenty-one American nations. It is also notable that the beautiful shape which has been given it was made possible by a generous contribution from the same source that provided for the erection of the new Temple of Peace at the Hague, the capital of Holland, as the permanent meeting-place of the International Peace Conferences.

The total cost of the new building and grounds closely approximates $1,000,000. Three-quarters of that sum was given by Andrew Carnegie, who thus attested his appreciation of the value of this Pan American Union as an instrumentality for the achievement of his ideal of universal peace throughout the world and goodwill among nations. The contribution of the United States, used for the purchase of the site, together with the quotas of the other American republics amounted to $250,000.



FIRST OR GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF THE NEW BUILDING OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION



SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF THE NEW BUILDING OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

Albert Kelsey

Paul P. Crét

THE ARCHITECTS

The building is the result of an architectural competition which proved the largest in the history of the national capital. Of the designs submitted, seventy-eight had qualities that entitled them to serious consideration. The jury of award was of the highest professional character, being composed of Charles F. McKim, Austin W. Lord and Henry Hornbostel. The winners were Albert Kelsey and Paul P. Crét, Associate Architects, of Philadelphia. Mr. Kelsey was the winner of the Travelling Scholarship in Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 and practises his profession in Philadelphia. Mr. Crét is Professor of Design at the University of Pennsylvania, is a native of France, and a graduate of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, 1903.

THE SITE

The site at the corner of 17th Street, N. W., and Potomac Park, is one of the most admirable in Washington as a location for a

monumental building. It may be recalled that the memorable report of the commission appointed to formulate a plan for the improvement of the District of Columbia recommended the location of a group of public buildings in this part of Washington, as well as adjacent to the capitol and bordering the great Mall that is planned to extend from the capitol to the Washington Monument and thence to the Potomac River.

This monumental scheme of development is now realized to a considerable extent in this location as well as in the other sections. It is represented by the erection of the office buildings for the Senate and the House adjacent to the capitol; of the great buildings for the Department of Agriculture and for the National Museum, facing each other upon the line of the Mall. Finally, here upon 17th Street we have a group of three buildings, each of a notably individual design, but agreeing with the general character of monumental architecture in Washington—all three representing interests and activities which, while important phases of public life, are officially distinct and apart from the national government.

General View of Building and Unfinished Surroundings from Washington Monument

Central Feature of the Front Elevation

First on 17th Street comes the Corcoran Art Gallery. Further down stands the new building of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Third comes this building for the Pan American Union. All three are of white marble, and each in its individual way is palatial. The site of the edifice under consideration was long commonly known as "The Van Ness Park." It was purchased a few years ago for the George Washington University, but circumstances caused a change of plans on the part of that institution and the historic site therefore became available for its present purpose. It comprises five acres or about two hectares. With extensive open grounds on nearly all sides, its views can never be obstructed. To the east is the White Lot, or grounds of the White House; on the south is Potomac Park, here traversed by the Mall; nearby rises the Washington Monument. The view reaches unbroken to the river bordered by the new drive and speed-way, while in the distance beyond the river rises the historic Arlington Heights, Fort Meyer and the Virginia hills.

THE ARCHITECTURAL INTENTIONS

The way in which the architects attacked the problem of giving expression, both practically and artistically, to the peculiar underlying purpose of the building is happily set forth in the Bulletin of the Pan American Union for May, 1908. In the first place the work of the Union, as defined by the Rio de Janeiro Conference of 1906, is that of "a permanent center of information and of interchange of ideas among the republics of this continent as well as a building suitable for the library in memory of Columbus." This made it necessary to house under one roof a very active office work and a library which would grow constantly. But there was another important function.

This building in Washington was to be the home of the American Republics in the highest sense of the word. "Every one of these republics has its private home—the residence of the ambasas-

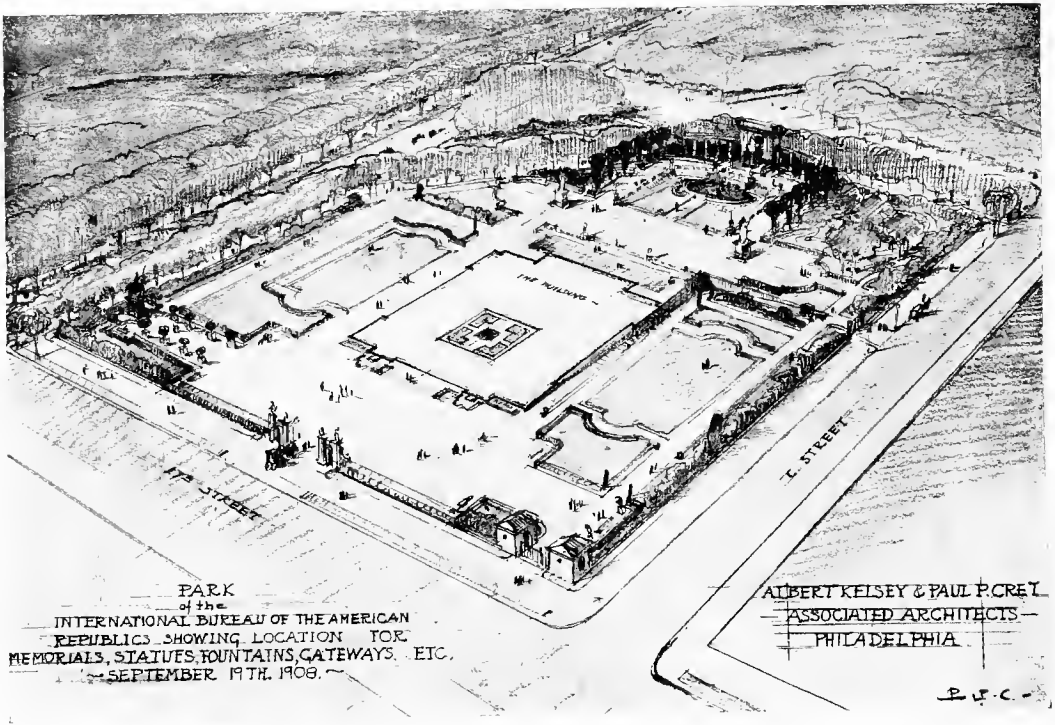
Terrace and Grand Stairways of Rear Elevation

dor or minister—but the Pan American Union is to be the home of all of them, where their representatives may meet as children in the house of their father, to discuss all questions which may arise, to celebrate happy events or to commemorate glorious days."

It was therefore determined to make the building nearer the type of the residence than the impersonal public building, although as dignified as the subject demands. So it became the expressed hope of the Director General of the Union and its architects that when the representatives of the various countries pass the threshold they will have the impression of entering their own house; that when the vestibule, the staircases and the large assembly hall shine with thousands of electric lights as a brilliant gathering throngs the rooms to honor a distinguished visitor, the representatives of the twenty-one Republics may have the impression of receiving guests in their own residences and not in a commonplace meeting room.

To this end the whole building, while of a distinctively monumental character in keeping with its noble environment, has been infused with what might be called a sense of stately domesticity, as in certain palaces that express their character as habitations while they stand for some pre-eminent public purpose. The near neighbor of this building, the White House, is a felicitous instance of this. The same fine feeling has been carried out in combining with a republican simplicity in the design those refinements of form which the Latin race gave to architecture.

In the decorative finish, the care of detail, and numerous characteristic touches, the origin of the greater number of the twenty-one countries is typified. After having won the competition and after the disposition of parts had been planned and settled to meet the requirements of the Institution, the architects determined to interpret or express some of the many and varied characteristics of the countries and people represented in the Pan American Union —to reproduce a bit of local color or that which is most graceful and characteristic of each nation. In other words, the unique



Proposed Final Setting for the Building from Architects' Drawings

opportunity to symbolize architecturally an international movement was embraced with earnestness. In consequence, not only does a consistent theme run through the building, but in a larger sense climatic conditions have been taken into consideration. The building externally is simple and restrained ; above all, presenting an appearance well suited to the climate and conditions as they exist in Washington. Internally, by means of an open court or patio, an entirely different but harmonious treatment has been adopted to symbolize the climate and conditions that prevail in the warmer American countries.

Throughout the design the two grand divisions of North and South America are held in view. These are represented on the front elevation by the two marble pylons on either side of the triple entrances. Here this motive is given emphasis first by colossal groups, then by two historical subjects in low relief, and finally by the eagle and the condor, the great birds of the North and the South. The next thought was to recall the origins of the various peoples making up the Pan American Union. The English influence, the Spanish influence, the Portuguese influence and the French influence are therefore evident in the design. Next, and treated with even greater emphasis, comes the subject of American aboriginal art together with the local history peculiar to all the twenty-one countries before and since their present geographical lines were established.

Finally, if available funds are forthcoming, it is the intention to crown the whole interior scheme of decoration with a large, triple allegory—an idealistic mural painting relating to the destiny of the Americas. Also, as soon as generous aid can be obtained, it is the intention to convert the five now featureless and practically arid acres on which the building stands into an international garden full of significant ideas and suggestions, for indeed, it was no unimportant part of the original design to so characterize, and if possible,

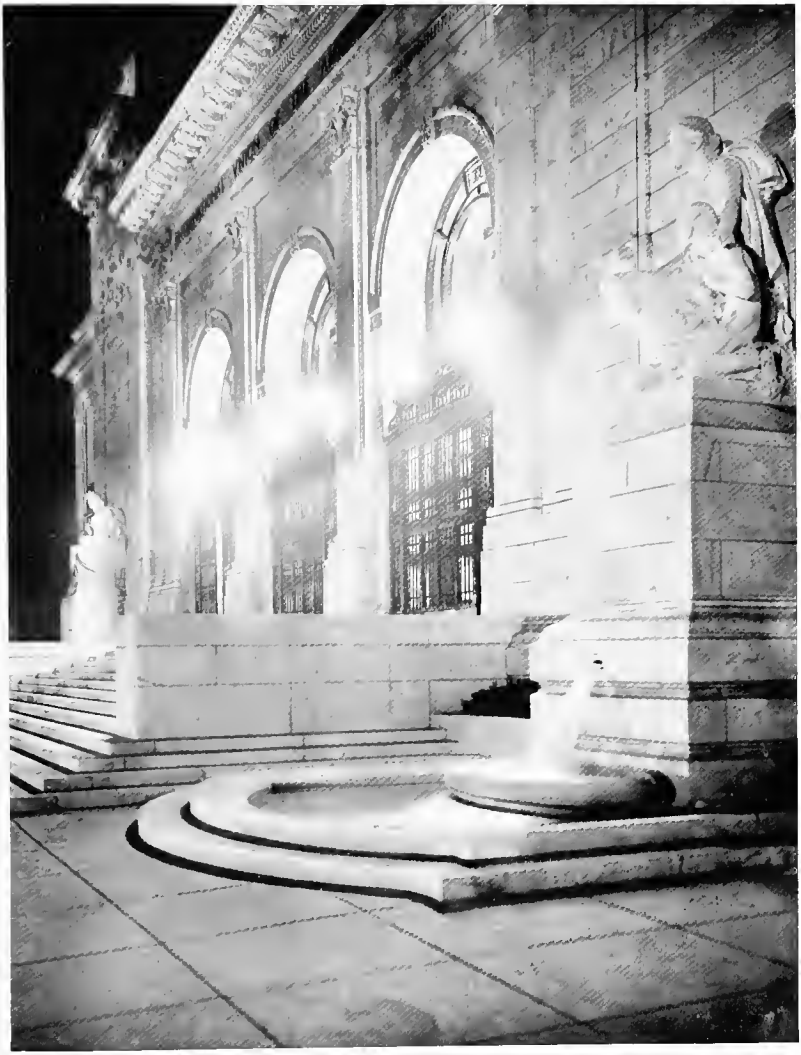
to so poetize this spot as to make it wholly neutral territory—a place apart inspiring and beautiful.

Therefore the grounds are to be enclosed, but a spacious formal court in front is to be given an inviting air of freedom and openness, so that not until one penetrates to the rear will one fall under the spell of absolute detachment. Once there, however, the isolation will be complete. The garden-house at the extreme rear will shut out for all time a distracting view of the few factories that have already crept into this otherwise favored neighborhood, and all will then understand why the back of the building, with its broad and gracious marble stairways leading down to a wide marble terrace, has been designed as it has; why the five balconies and the five largest windows in the building face as they do—then the garden will exercise a spell indeed.

It will become an out-of-door apartment—the largest and most exclusive in Pan America's new home—and if it may not have for its ceiling the sky of the eternal Carib summer, its walls will at least be as richly foliated as the giant hedges of the famous Borda Gardens at Cuernavaca, and its floor will have a fine green carpet divided by a long transparent pool, at the end of which, after the moon has set and the stars have gone to sleep, a beautiful coral reef of translucent marble will define itself slowly, surely and with clearness, to make all beholders feel something of the lure and wondrous charm of tropic seas. Phosphorescent marvels will appear and disappear until the minds of all on the terrace, in the garden, on every step, landing and balcony, and at every window are centered upon this spot, and then by a stroke of modern magic the statue of UNIVERSAL PEACE will burst into light and dominate all.

By night and by day the building will then have a setting and an atmosphere of its own. In short, the building has yet to be detached from alien surroundings and wedded to its site.

But considered by itself, it is strikingly organic in character, that is, it expresses externally a plan and a grouping of architectural



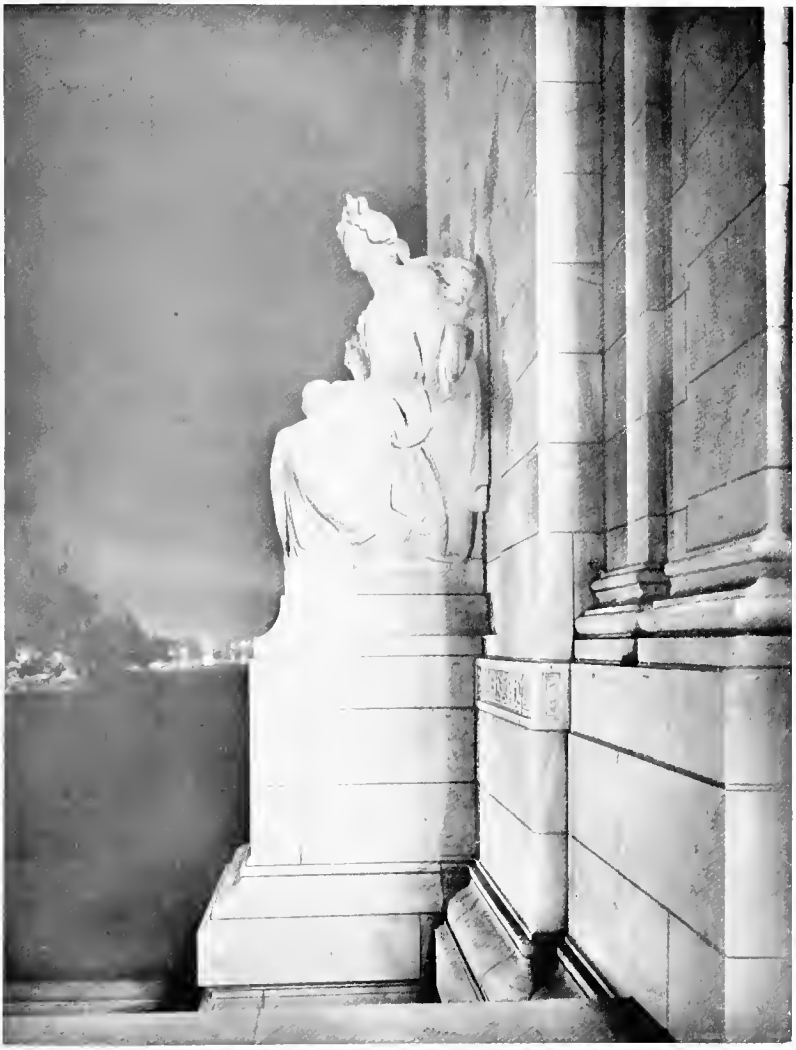
The Front Entrance at Night

units carefully designed to serve the purposes for which the edifice was specifically intended. The fundamental idea requires the monumental expression of a dominant theme. Underlying this are certain functions of utility. This monumental intention is to give visible expression to the ideas of unity, of solidarity, of amity, that found realization in the Union of American Republics. A great hall of state seemed the most suitable expression of this purpose, thus serving as a gathering place, under impressive conditions, for special occasions, festival and otherwise, all having in some way to do with the union of these republics for mutual ends.

The two great subsidiary functions are the providing convenient offices for the Pan American Union, together with the housing of the Columbus Library. To these ends we have such a hall of state here realized, superposed upon a subordinate story containing the library and the working offices, and flanked on its own level by rooms specifically planned for the Governing Board and other purposes connected with the Institution.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLE AND INFLUENCE

The conditions that determined the style of architecture were the external circumstances imposed by the generally classic or renaissance character of monumental buildings in Washington. It was important that this edifice should agree therewith. Of equal importance was the other circumstance that in culture, and largely in race, twenty of the twenty-one American Republics are of Latin origin. As such they have always been characterized in their own cities by forms of architecture that reflect that derivation. In the exterior of the building this Latin-American quality is therefore delicately subordinated to the prevalent classic and renaissance conditions of monumental architecture in Washington, although palpably manifest in various subtile indications. Internally it becomes pronounced in certain important respects; moreover, it embodies here elements of primitive or aboriginal design, such



The South American Group at Night

as in a marked degree have often more or less characterized Latin-American architecture in various parts of the New World.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE DESIGN

Hence externally we have the central motive of the edifice expressed in a dominant mass that rises conspicuously above the second story in order to give within the impressive loftiness requisite for a great assembly hall. This hall is approached by important stairways from two main directions. On one side two flights ascend from the main entrance facing the street; upon the other side the two additional flights already referred to rise more immediately from the formal garden planned for the rear of the building. From this garden broad low steps ascend to a spacious terrace on the level of the ground floor, and thence the two stairways communicate at either end with an aisle of the hall. The two staircases from the street-front connect the long vestibule at the entrance with the hall above, enclosing, according to Mr. Sylvester Baxter, the noted art critic, "what is one of the most conspicuous, original and charming features of the design: an open court or Spanish patio, more than fifty feet square, enclosed by loggias opening from the staircases and adjacent galleries."

This patio was a feature particularly called for in the specifications for the architectural competition. It was regarded as exceptionally desirable, owing to the important part which courts play in Latin-American architecture in general, both monumental and domestic. In this design, however, while it is the element that conspicuously strikes the visitor's attention upon entrance, it is so skilfully developed as to be not so much a central motive as it is something that naturally grows out of the organic character of the plan in regard to the central motive, the great hall above. That is, the scheme of approach to the hall naturally develops this court between the great staircases as a logical incident rather than as a central motive, just as on a seacoast two peninsulas give origin to the bay between them.

DETAIL ON THE FRONT ELEVATION
The Pilaster Caps Are Adorned With a Figure Symbolical of Peace Standing on the Western Hemisphere

The building is square in plan, with dimensions of about 160'x160'. The character of the design may best be described as that of a rich simplicity, expressing an agreeable combination of Renaissance motives in a blend that may well be termed Mediterranean, suggesting as it does, Italian and Spanish as well as French derivations.

The roofs of corrugated tile that cover the portico between the pylons and the great hall beyond contribute materially toward this impression. The pylons, with their simple masses, their wall surfaces undisturbed by perforations, lend to the façade something of the effect that is conveyed by the two towers of the characteristic ecclesiastical architecture of Latin America. Just as the three entrance arches of the portico between the pylons, with their sloping tiled roof, express the vestibule within, so in the organic anatomy of the building the pylons very clearly indicate the terminals of the staircases that enclose the handsome court.

Against the main structure, as thus developed, are placed the two elements at either side that contain the working offices, the book-stacks of the library and other adjuncts to the central purpose. It will thus appear that the internal functions of a building could hardly be more clearly expressed than in this design that so logically grows out of the plan.

SCULPTURE OF THE FAÇADE

The exterior is entirely of white Georgia marble, with bluish veins. The three doorways of the main entrance are approached by a short flight of white marble steps. On either side, against the pylons, are two sculptured groups depicting respectively North America and South America. The bases of the pedestals serve as fountains. Gutzon Borglum is the sculptor of the group that symbolizes "North America." The group that symbolizes "South America" is the work of Isidore Konti. The two groups are similar in motive. In each a draped female figure represents the genius of its division of the Western Hemisphere; each cherishes with

One of the Triple Bronze Entrances to New Building

maternal affection a nude boy approaching adolescence. These boys typify the youthful character of their respective portions of the World. In the North American group the boy, strikingly alert in feature and action, expresses the more energetic spirit of the fully awakened North. This boy is the most successful feature of the group. The figure of "South America," while young and strong, has a softer and more sensuous quality, expressive of tropical ease and luxuriance. The boy has likewise an easy grace of carriage; his friendly, lovable expression, imaginative and dreamy, conveys a sense of great future possibilities of which he is not yet conscious. The woman holds an olive branch, the boy a winged sphere. Contemplating this, he seems to be vaguely stirred by the impulse of a high destiny.

HISTORY AND SYMBOLISM IN SCULPTURE AND ORNAMENT

By the same sculptors are the low-relief groups in the panels above, on a line with the cornice of the vestibule. These groups appropriately express two of the most significant episodes in the history of North and South America. Each stands for a heroic act of great abnegation and sacrifice to a lofty sense of duty. One depicts Washington bidding farewell to his generals at the close of the American Revolution, at a moment when he was urged to remain the permanent head of the nation, clothed with kingly authority. The other depicts the equally decisive moment when San Martín, a great soldier and statesman of the South American struggle for independence, having crossed the Andes in a march that historians regard as a military achievement surpassing the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal and by Napoleon, and having liberated Chile and Peru from the Spanish yoke, met Bolívar, the heroic figure of the struggle in northern South America, at Guayaquil in 1822, and relinquished his leadership. Bolívar had shortly before made a crossing of the Andes as successful, perilous and full

One of the Small Doorways in the Patio

of hardship as that of San Martín. Both these great patriots are equally entitled to respect and admiration, as through their splendid leadership the independence of South America was assured.

The expressive character of the two pylons is further emphasized by the two symbolical birds beneath the cornice above: the eagle for North America; the condor, with the distinctive ruffle, for South America. Both of these birds are the work of Solon Borglum and are capital examples of his admirable work as a sculptor of animal life.

The panel in the cornice above the portico arches, bearing the inscription "International Union of the American Republics," in a reddish gray marble, is flanked by two richly wrought decorative designs in relief. The one on the north contains the figure of an infant of the Caucasian race, and that on the south one of the American Indian type, each sitting amidst a profusion of fruits and other accessories respectively symbolical of the North and the South. These are both the work of Konti, who also modelled the charming pilaster caps—a figure among acanthus leaves—representing Peace, bearing in either hand an olive branch and standing upon a globe where shows the Western Hemisphere.

The ornamentation throughout the building, it should be said, very frequently repeats in its motives the ideas of peace, the letter "A" standing for America. Another noteworthy piece of symbolism is to be seen in the stars that alternate with rosettes in the cornice of the pylons. The star is a symbol for nine American Republics, and here a touch of indigenous character is imparted by enclosing the stars in circles bearing a suggestion of Aztec design.

The ornamentation everywhere contains motives derived from the aboriginal art of pre-Columbian America as well as from Spanish Colonial architecture. Aztec and Mayan designs, for instance, are employed in belts of ornament on the façade and on the garden front.

The parapet of the sections that flank the pylons has a decoration borrowed from the celebrated fountain of the Salto del Agua, in the City of Mexico. This fountain originally terminated the his-

The Entrance Vestibule

toric Chapultepec aqueduct, now destroyed. The fountain has been preserved. The design of the balustrade above the cornice of the pylons and running along the walls that enclose the court and staircase, is taken from the Cathedral of Chihuahua. The balconies of the long casement windows in the second story are of plain wrought-iron work, such as may be seen nearly everywhere throughout Latin America and in Spain.

THE PORTICO; ITS OPEN EFFECT

In most Latin-American countries the court of such a building would be absolutely open to the air, but the climate of Washington does not admit this at all seasons. Nevertheless the outdoor character is maintained here while at the same time the requirements of climate are practically provided for. On approaching the building one looks in through the entrances as into a charming garden, free to the open air. This impression of perpetual openness is given by closing in the entrances with plate glass, set in handsomely wrought framework of bronze. In the vernal months the effect is natural; in the inclement season the contrast has the charm of a climatic marvel.

The Latin-American character of the interior finds an architectural prelude in the richly beautiful bronze grilles of the three gates. In their decorative motives these gates recall work of a similar character in the choirs of the great cathedrals both in Latin-American capitals and in Spain. These designs were specifically suggested by the grilles in the Cathedral of Saragosa in Spain. But the ideas thus conveyed have been freely developed with the introduction of eagles and condors and tropical motives from Latin-America, the initial "A" also showing here and there. These grilles bear in each archway a pair of elaborately designed lanterns filled with clusters of electric lamps.

THE VESTIBULE

Upon entering, the vestibule in its lofty spaciousness at once impresses the visitor with the stately character of the building. With

its barrel-arched ceiling it rises through the two stories and runs the full width of the central section. At either end two columns of "Grand Antique" black marble, veined with white, with bronze capitals and bases, mark the entrance to the corridors that connect with the office rooms on either side and the foyer adjacent to the great reading-room. There are also four pilasters of similar material and design. These handsome columns, whose capitals bear in low-relief significant designs relating to Latin America—for instance, a conventionalization of the two great volcanos of Guatemala—support a balcony that overlooks the vestibule from the corridor above and form admirable points of vantage whence spectators can see visitors as they enter the building. Just off the vestibule, at the end of the south corridor, an elevator (not yet installed) connects with the floor above. At the south end of the vestibule is a reception room; at the north end a retiring room for ladies. The walls and ceiling of the vestibule are of imitation Caen stone. The three arches of the entrance are balanced on the opposite side of the vestibule by three corresponding arches through which one looks into the patio. Of the latter, only the central arch gives entrance to the patio; the two others are closed by the low parapets. It should be noted how the central arch in each of these triple groups illustrates the nicety with which the architects have avoided anything like a rigid adherence to conventional formula. The middle arch is somewhat wider than the other two. The difference is hardly noticeable to the eye, but had it not been made the sense of the beholder would unconsciously have been oppressed with a feeling of restriction.

BRONZE MEDALLIONS IN THE VESTIBULE

In the vaulted ceiling, between the arches in the vestibule, are four bronze medallions in low relief by Konti. The bronze is dull gold in color. In each medallion a single female figure is gracefully poised in mid-air and enveloped in delicate, cloud-like drapery that betrays the modeling of the figure beneath. The subjects "Love of

Country," "Concord," "Law" and "Enlightment" are symbolized by implements or tokens borne by the figures.

In the design of the vestibule floor the center is surrounded by a large interlacing border and this in turn is edged with a strip of gleaming brass. The loops at the foot of each grand stairway have centers of Formosa marble. The field is of Tennessee marble and the outer part of Knoxville.

THOUGHTFUL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORNAMENTATION

It is in the vestibule that the visitor first remarks the strongly individual character of the ornament. Instead of the pleasingly elegant and ever tasteful details that might naturally be looked for in a building so intelligently designed in accordance with the highest architectural scholarship of the day—and which, therefore, would not attract particular attention, for the reason that similar details might be looked for in dozens of the best office buildings of recent date—one is confronted by striking departures from conventional treatment. The artistic effect of this unconventionalism is none the less felicitous, and the circumstance that these details are derived from characteristic Latin-American or indigenous sources makes an impression so unusual as to strike even a casual beholder with a sense of difference. In such ways the design is brought very closely to the purpose of the building.

Hence, with a refinement in detail equal to that obtained under the more conventional procedure, we have throughout the building, in addition to the sensuous charm that is the main function of architectural ornament, a deal of thoughtful delicacy embodied in a wealth of symbolic allusions to the theme of the work. Here in the vestibule we have a notable instance of this in some of the ornament at the ends, which was adapted from that jewel of color and richness in the outskirts of the City of Mexico, the Capilla del Pocito, the Chapel of the Well, at Guadalupe.

ONE END OF THE FRONT VESTIBULE
The Columns are Monoliths of Antique Black and White Marble

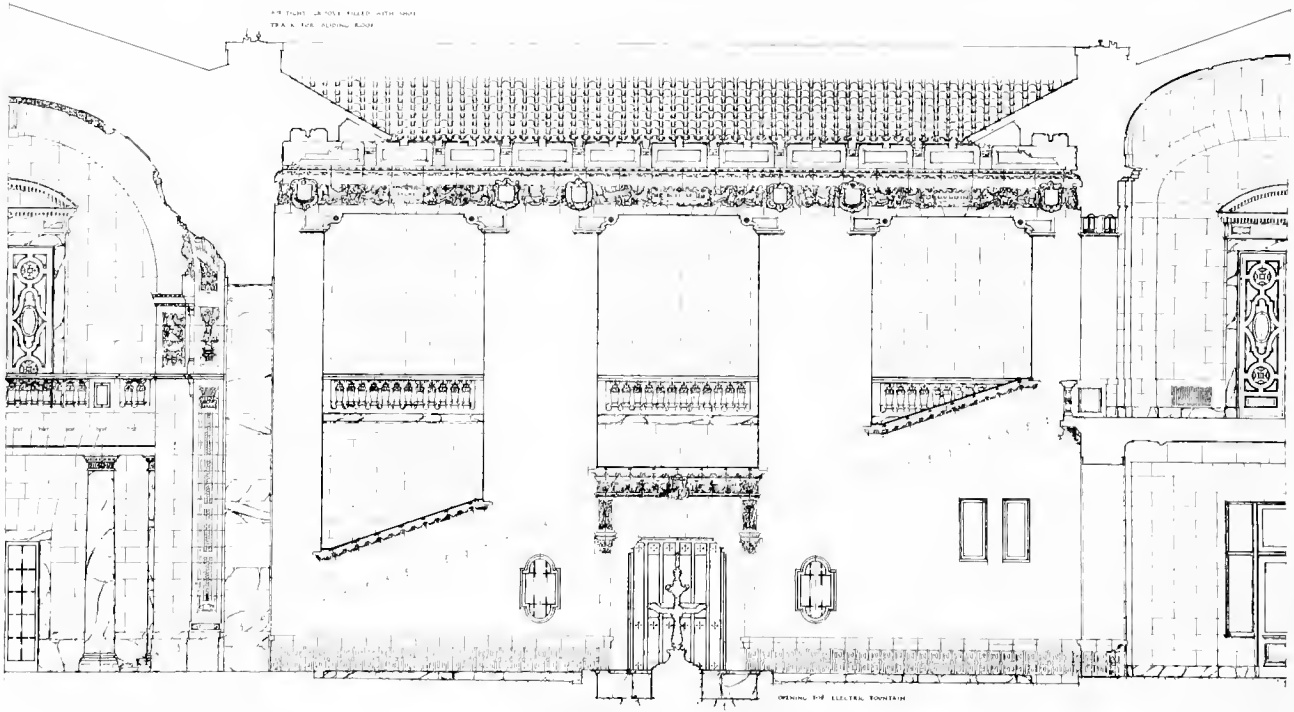
Looking Across the Patio

THE PATIO AND ITS TROPICAL GARDEN

From the vestibule the visitor is at once attracted to the patio, the central court. The visitor seems translated to some strange foreign scene, quaint and remote. Here the eternal tropic summer is maintained throughout the year. The fronds of great palms form the graceful culminations of a diversity of exotic foliage and Southern bloom. The unique fountain in the center flows all winter. Both fountain and plants are kept from freezing and for the entire interior including this court, an equable vernal temperature will be maintained by means of the sliding roof of glass, to be kept closed during the colder months. This piece of construction is in itself a notable achievement in engineering. It is operated noiselessly by electricity. It is in two sections; when the court is to be open to the sky each slides back onto the adjacent flat roof of the staircase.

THE REMARKABLE PROVISIONS FOR CIRCULATION

The observing visitor will note how a leading aim in the design, kept steadily in view by the architects with reference to the character of the building as a gathering-place for large and brilliant assemblages, is the ample provision for free circulation. To this end a striking quality of openness is maintained throughout both stories. This mobility of an assembled multitude lends itself to the impressive effects gained by the dignity of proportions in the vestibule, in the great Hall of the Americas and in its adjacent foyer, the Gallery of Patriots. It should also be noted how skilfully subordinated to this function is the scheme of offices and business quarters. In this development of circulation the two wide stairways are a prime factor. In approaching the great hall on the principal floor—the *piano nobile* of Italy, the *altos* of Spain—the stairways rise directly to the second floor with an interval of spacious landings, like the stately stairs in a Roman palace of the Renaissance.



From Architects' Drawings

RE-REVISED SECTION OF PATIO

INTERNATIONAL BVREAV OF AMERICAN REPVBLICS
WASHINGTON·D·C

ALBERT KELSEY AND PAUL P. CRET
ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTS
1624 CHESTNUT ST PHILA PA
WILLIAM COPELAND - FURBER
CONSULTING ENGINEER

THIS SHEET SUPERSEDES SHEETS 49 AND 85, EXCEPT WHERE NOTED

And not only the stairs, but all the corridors, parallel and beyond, are open to the patio as in the agreeable fashion so prevalent in warm climates. In this way visitors command delightful views of the patio from all directions. A notable aspect of the scene at evening is derived from the circumstance that the patio itself, as befits a garden, is without direct illumination beyond what comes from the irregular play of changing colors in the fountain. All other illumination comes from the brilliant lights in the vestibule, in the staircases and in the adjacent galleries, whence the moving throngs throw shifting shadows into the garden and its foliage.

FEATURES OF THE PATIO

A feature of the treatment in the patio is the pink marble curbing around the flower-beds and the fountain. This is carefully carried out on to the pavement and up eight inches. In the corners this curbing holds the soil of the four L-shaped flower-beds. All the marble work in this curbing is cut from large single stones and is ingeniously fitted together. A wainscoting of gray and dark red terra cotta around the walls is adapted from an Aztec design. The walls above are of rough white stucco supporting a polychrome terra-cotta frieze containing in brilliant positive colors the coats-of-arms of the various countries.

These arms alternate with plaques bearing the following names: West wall (opposite the entrance): "San Martin," "Columbus," "Washington." North wall: "Martí," "Hidalgo," "Morazán." South wall: "Artigas," "Bonifacio," "L'Ouverture." East wall: "Champlain," "Bolívar," "O'Higgins."

All these men, with two exceptions, had to do with the movement for independence in their respective countries. San Martín, of La Plata (now Argentina), was the great leader of the Revolution in the southern provinces of South America. Martí was of Cuba; Morazán of Central America; Artigas of Uruguay; Bonifacio of Brazil; Toussaint L'Ouverture of Hayti; Bolívar, the dominant figure in the

northern provinces of South America, of Colombia (the part now Venezuela); O'Higgins of Peru. After Washington, Columbus, the discoverer of the New World, and Champlain, the explorer of Canada, complete the list.

In this polychrome frieze surrounding the patio, there are twenty-four escutcheons with a name plate between each pair. It was the intention to devote to the coats-of-arms of the American Republics the shields thus displayed. There are, however, but twenty-one Republics in the Pan American Union. It was decided to add Canada, as being to all intents and purposes one of the great nations of the New World, although under British sovereignty. The name of Champlain logically called for the arms of Canada. This left still a vacancy of two, so after much thought it was decided to start on either side of the central name-plate, devoted to Columbus, with an allegorical shield. In consequence one of these escutcheons now bears the scales of Justice and the other the broken chain that is the symbol of Freedom. A noteworthy detail in the patio is the relief map of the Western Hemisphere, white on blue, in the shields over the two doors at the sides.

Over the frieze a wooden cornice projecting seven feet surrounds the court. It is tinted in bright colors. It supports a sloping roof of Spanish tile, the scalloped edges plainly showing all around the patio, in emphasis of the Latin-American character of the place. This cornice resembles that of the patio in the Municipal Palace at Barcelona.

From the patio one can look plainly into all the surrounding corridors and rooms through the loggia openings. The architectural and decorative quality of this court is strikingly original. While expressing most plainly its intention of embodying the Latin-American spirit, it does so in a way which combines the Old World and the New World derivations of the various nationalities that occupy the southern lands of the Western Hemisphere in an architectural impression as fascinating as it is novel. In this ensemble

Sliding Roof, Operated by Electricity, Partially Opened Over Patio

the florid richness of certain parts of the ornament contrast with the absolute plainness of the white stucco walls, their bareness modulated by the tropical growths that show against them. All this makes a totally opposite effect from that of the restrained simplicity of the white marble exterior.

THE FOUNTAIN IN THE PATIO

The fountain in the center of the patio was modelled and executed by Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney (née Gertrude Vanderbilt), an evolution from the architects' design. It symbolizes the continuity of the Americans on their own soil, the theme originating upon one face of the pillar in the hieratic imagery of their remote past; presenting upon another the living American as his European conqueror found him; and upon the third a figure symbolizing a future of which the beauty suggests the possibilities. The pillar referred to rises from the midst of an octagonal basin and supports a smaller similar basin crowned by a "tholos" bearing a third and circular basin of smaller diameter from which the water descends. The lower basin, sunk in the patio floor, is paved with pink and white marble in the form of a Mexican star; between the points of this star boiling springs bubble up. At night these form an illuminated girdle under perfect control in the production of diverse effects in the way of prismatic lights.

On occasion the national colors of the various countries are displayed in luminous running water; above, other effects in electric illumination show in the feathered serpents of primitive American forms, and the fiery tiny jewelled eyes of these creatures seem to wink. Both the colors and the changes of water are controlled at a keyboard desk in an adjacent room. Here they can either be set playing automatically, or a performer may even make the luminous jets keep time to the music of a band. It is doubtful if any electric fountain has heretofore been reduced to so compact a compass, the mechanism so completely concealed and so ingeniously combined with sculpture.

Patio Fountain, Showing Jewelled Eyes in Feathered Serpents' Heads.
Sculpture by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney

The basin that crowns the pillar presents upon its sides symbolic figures embodying the three chief artistic phases of the art of Mexico-Aztec, Zapotecan and Mayan. To those figures correspond, upon the pillar below, the three characteristic hieroglyphic strips indicating epochs in the life of the races. These strips separate the great sculptural motives of the fountain—the three figures above referred to.

The first of these encountered by the spectator is a warrior modelled closely upon the archaic type familiar to the sculptured "steles" of the Aztecs and presents the Aztec civilization thus under the forms of its own highest art. The second figure is the semi-barbarous American presented as a living form in a hieratic attitude that suggests the domination of the primitive mind by its own mythologies. The final figure is a woman. It half emerges, half retreats in shadow, and with its gesture of denial refuses to yield the secret that it suggests. The autochthonous serpent that mounts its side defines the object of this mystery as native, and in the widest sense American.

In its wholly unusual design, at once vigorous and exotic, this fountain fittingly centralizes the individuality of the patio, carrying the imagination backward to the awe in the past of the land, and the mind forward toward the mystery of the future of the race.

One of the many subtile effects provided for in the nicely studied expressiveness of details is to be seen in the way in which the full basin of the fountain overflows its marble lips in a sort of Moorish or Alhambra-like fashion into the surrounding channel cut in the marble border at the floor level.

THE PATIO FLOOR

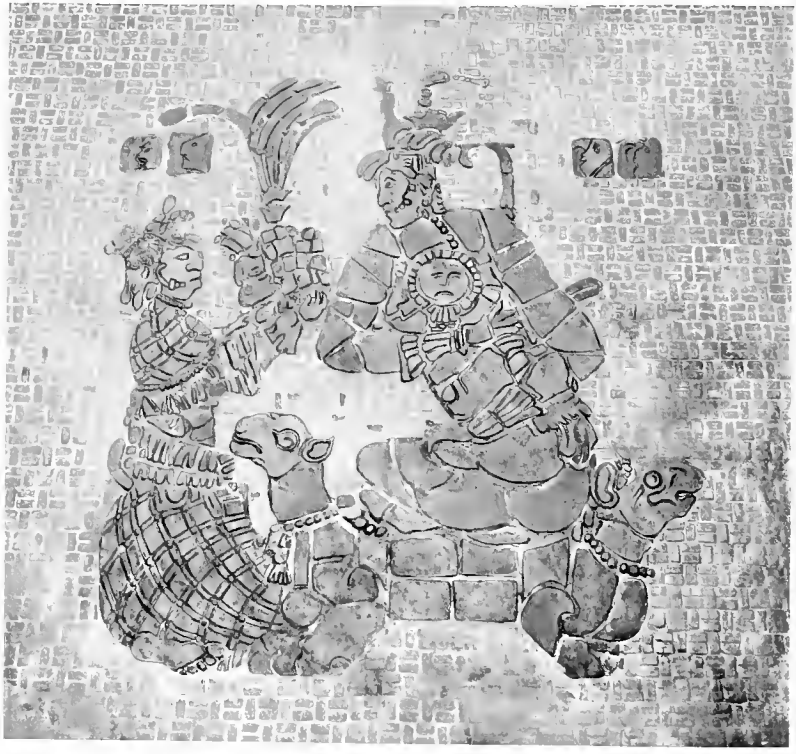
The archaic figure of the Aztec warrior in the fountain faces the entrance to the patio from the vestibule. This figure is echoed in the coarse mosaic designs that give character to the strikingly original pavement of the patio. These pavement designs are of Mayan and Incan origin. The pavement of Enfield tile, composed

Patio Fountain Illuminated by its Own Light

One of the Figures on the Shaft of the Patio Fountain
by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney

Another Figure on the Shaft of the Patio Fountain

of small cubes, is of dull red with figures in black. The group composed of a standing figure in profile, with two seated figures on either side, is after a stucco low relief in the palace at Palenque. The other large group of two seated figures, one cross-legged upon a throne having the design of a conventionalized animal, the other making an offering as to a god—remarkably suggestive of Buddhistic art—is after an oval low relief in stone in the wall of one of the rooms



Section of Tile Work in Patio by J. H. Dulles-Allen

in the palace at Palenque. The repetitions of sixteen small figures are after an altar at Copan. The two large tiles on either side of the patio are after a monolithic gate or doorway at Tiahuanaco.

A joyous and vibrant theme runs all around the patio. This may best be appreciated by passing through the vestibule and noting there the piquant mingling of strange primitive American ornament with some of the more conventional mouldings; Konti's four bronze reliefs; and finally by observing the rich elegance of the fixtures and the remarkable lantern which completes the decoration of this lofty apartment. All the fixtures were made from special designs. The lantern in particular is unique, being adorned with eagles and condors, heads of Indians, and other symbolizing details.

THE STAIRCASES

Passing up the broad stairways one sees deeper and further into the building, getting a glimpse of the spacious Hall of the Americas with its large windows and noble colonnade. At the top of the stairway in the Gallery of Patriots one stands among the portrait busts of the great men of North and South America, beneath the flags of the twenty-one republics. These flags are all of embroidered silk, uniform in size and permanently displayed as in the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The busts are carried around three sides of the patio in the second story corridor; that of Washington occupies the place of honor, opposite Bolívar and San Martín, facing the central door of the Hall of the Americas.

It is from either end of the vestibule, enclosing the patio, that the grand staircases communicate with the story above. The stairs are of Tennessee marble with easy ascent. The loggia openings of the staircase are so designed as to give unobstructed views of the scene below from both the stairs and the adjacent corridors above. The attention of spectators all over the building, on the stairs and on the second floor, is thus carried to the patio as the focus of attraction.

Looking Down One of the Monumental Stairways

The Gallery of Patriots overlooks the patio as from a loggia. As we have seen, the side galleries run alongside the two great staircases, with views commanding not only the stairs, the patio and the vestibule below, but providing on the days of large gatherings a beautiful vista that extends from the vestibule into the great Hall of the Americas.

ROOMS OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL AND ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Adjacent to the Gallery of Patriots on the south is the room of the Director General of the Union, handsomely decorated and furnished, and in direct communication with the Board Room. There are connecting rooms for the Director General's private secretary and stenographer. Beyond, a waiting-room for visitors to the Union communicates by corridors both with the Director General's room and that of the Assistant Director, another handsome room occupying the southeast corner of this story. The corresponding room in the northeast corner is assigned to committee purposes.

THE GALLERY OF PATRIOTS

In the Gallery of Patriots each of the portrait busts is a contribution from one of the twenty-one republics. With the exception of the bust of Washington, a replica of Houdin's portrait, which stands free, all occupy engaged pedestals formed of severely plain square pilasters of reddish Languedoc marble. In the contrast of this color with the white marble of the busts in their plastic uniformity, we have an impressive effect of monumental order beneath the splendor of the banners above. These busts are distributed through the two adjacent corridors as well as in the foyer. The panelled wooden ceiling of these corridors, together with the

The Assistant Director's Office, Overlooking Front Vestibule

Plateresque design of the doors of the adjacent suites, contributes to the distinctive Latin-American quality of the building.

THE HALL OF THE AMERICAS

The uncommon quality of openness that prevails throughout the interior, suiting it so exceptionally to its festal purposes, is further illustrated in the way whereby the Gallery of Patriots as a foyer connects with the great assembly-room, the Hall of the Americas. The Gallery of Patriots, with its vaulted ceiling and its gorgeous array of national standards above the formal ranks of portrait sculpture, serves as a richly developed overture to the culminating stateliness, the imperial magnificence, of the adjacent lofty hall with which it communicates by means of five high entrances along its side. It should be noted that in the Gallery of Patriots, on the wall opposite the staircases, are two great cartouches with designs in low-relief that depict the ancient and modern methods of transportation between Europe and America in the shape of the caravel of the age of Columbus and the great ocean steamship of the twentieth century.

The vaulted ceiling of the Hall of the Americas, barrel-arched like the foyer and the great vestibule, is supported by twenty-four columns; the sixteen at the sides are in pairs, four on each side. These columns are fluted, with corinthian capitals; between the columns and the walls are aisles. In the outer wall, on the garden front, five windows fill arched openings corresponding with the five entrances from the foyer. The plain glass of these windows is relieved by delicately designed borders in color that include the arms and other symbols of the twenty-one American nations by Nicola D'Ascenzo, whose cartoons are reproduced in Chapter II. The delicate translucent coloring in the windows is just sufficient to give a quality of design to the great arched spaces and at the same time not in the least confuse or interfere with the view. With the carrying out of the formal garden as intended, this view will be one of

General View of the Assembly Room, Called the Hall of the Americas

exceptional charm, inviting the assembled guests to stroll outside in the soft air of the long open season in Washington, during which frequent festivities will be held here. Immediate access to the garden is gained from the great hall by means of the doors at either end of the aisle on that side. From these doors broad stairs, continuing in the same longitudinal direction as the aisle, descend to a spacious landing whence another flight turning at right-angles reaches the great terrace on a level with the ground floor. From this terrace a short and very wide flight of steps reaches the garden level. The casements of the five windows in the hall open upon balconies that overlook the garden and the terrace below. The hall is over 100 feet long by 65 feet wide, and 45 feet from floor to ceiling. Conspicuously repeated on tablets between the capitals at the corners is the word "Pax," which may be regarded as the shibboleth of the Union of American Republics. The floor of polished oak is laid in marquetry.

Even in its white newness this hall is exceedingly impressive. When the contemplated color-scheme is carried out and the projected decorative paintings are in place—three allegorical subjects in the ceiling and five in the lunettes on the side opposite the windows—the spectacle will be one of rare beauty. In the words of the number of the Bulletin previously quoted: "One may readily imagine what a beautiful setting this room will give when an international convention, a reception to a distinguished guest, or a brilliant diplomatic reception, shall assemble within its walls. There is no other building in Washington, either private residence, embassy or public government building, which can offer such accommodations for important functions."

Adjoining the north end of the hall is a large committee room, correspondingly rich in its architectural treatment. It is intended to be thrown open for use in connection with the great hall on festal occasions; also for the giving of moderate-sized dinners, as for a gathering of the Governing Board or for a state occasion by some diplomat.

THE GOVERNING BOARD ROOM

Historical Bronze Frieze, by Sally James Farnham. The Furniture is of Dominican Mahogany and Each Chair Bears the Arms and Name of One of the American Republics

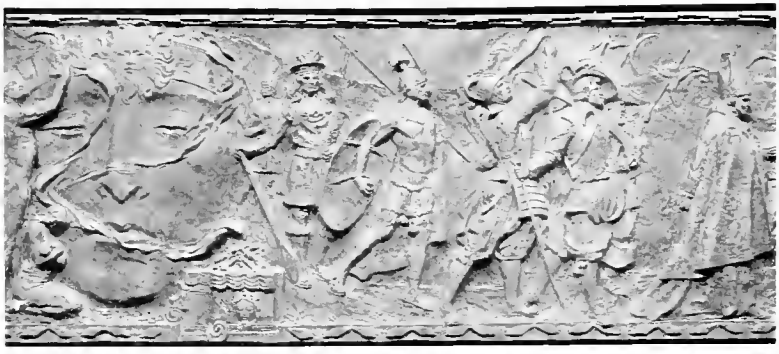
THE GOVERNING BOARD ROOM

The Board Room, at the south end of the great hall and connecting with it in the same manner, is of exactly the same dimensions as the room on the north. It is one of the show rooms of the building; it is intended for the regular meetings of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. A luxuriant richness is the distinctive quality. The whole color scheme, including ceiling, floor and rug, is in brown and gold. The walls are covered with a dull yellow brocade up to the line of the gilded bronze frieze. The furniture in this room, unique in its elegance of design, is of Dominican mahogany and Spanish leather. The table is oval, twenty feet long and nine feet wide. Each chair bears the name and the coat-of-arms of one of the countries in the Union. Both chairs and table are of Spanish design with an accent suggestive of Latin America.

A FRIEZE OF NEW WORLD HISTORY

A feature of this room is the bronze frieze, its four panels divided into sections with a Churriguesque flavor. These panels were conceived and modelled by Mrs. Sally James Farnham of New York. They are two feet and nine inches high; the two at the sides are each twenty-five feet long; those at the ends nine feet six inches long. Their subjects illustrate early struggles and decisive events in the history of the New World.

On the south wall is the South American panel. Its five sections typify the beginning of history in South America and the heroes and types of the North and the South in that part of the Western Hemisphere.

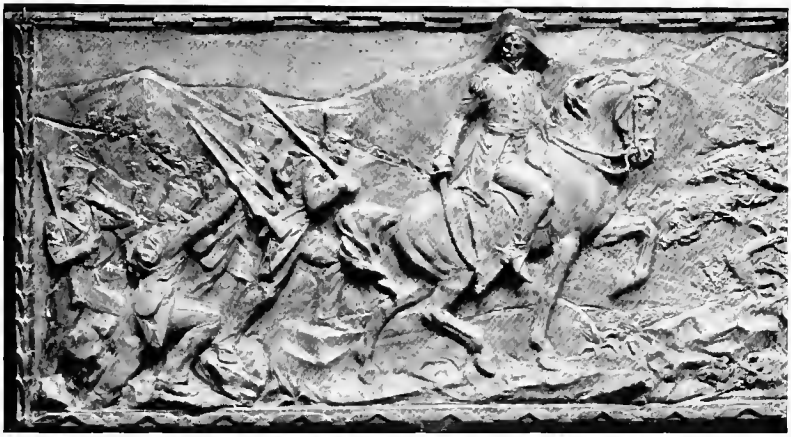


PIZARRO AND THE INCAS

The history of ancient South America is lost in obscurity. Only its traditions reach us; vague tales of vast cities and strange gods whose smoking altars bore tragic tribute. From this dim past emerged the Inca race, the sun-worshippers; a wise, gentle, peace-loving people. Great rulers from Manco Capac to Atahualpa, who beautified the land with temples and palaces and brought their nation both mineral and agricultural wealth; destruction overtook them; fire and sword descended upon them when the mailed heel of the conquistadors crushed out their nation's life. Pizarro, the ruthless, followed by his little band of adventurers, overran the fertile valleys; his clanging armor, his death-dealing cannons, his neighing horses, struck terror and paralyzed resistance. For the lust of gold and the glory of God a whole people were subjugated. But the Christian spirit reaching out to the vanquished sent its noble army of heroic missionaries to heal the wounds of war and to bring to the new land the blessings of a great and uplifting religious life.

BOLÍVAR AND HIS ARMY

The panel to the left represents Simon Bolívar leading his dis-

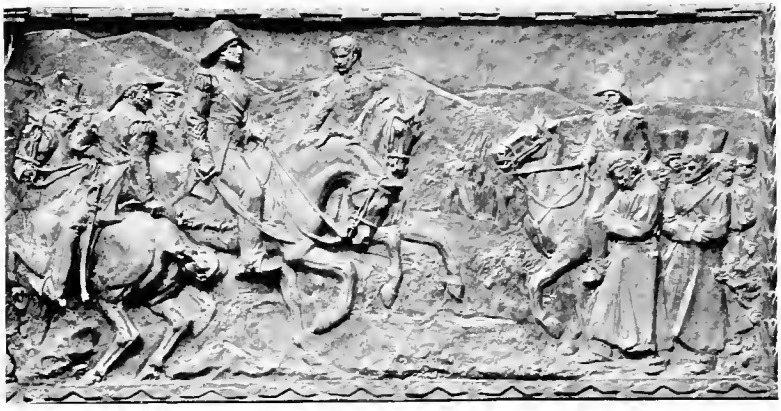


Bolivar Crossing the Andes

mounted cavalry across a mountain pass. The "Liberator" of South America won his greatest successes by his lightning dashes through almost impassable mountain fastnesses, surprising and routing large forces with but a handful of men. His career is full of romance. At one time he was proclaimed dictator, at another he was reviled by his countrymen as a traitor. He was a brilliant strategist and a patriot whose courage, energy and sublime persistence were chief factors in securing South American independence.

SAN MARTÍN AND O'HIGGINS

The panel to the right in the South American group represents the meeting at the battle of Chacabuco in 1817 of San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins, whose father, a native of Ireland, became viceroy of Peru, and later governor of Chile. San Martín, one of the truest patriots and one of the ablest generals ever produced by the three Americas, relinquished his leadership at the very moment of victory in order that Bolívar might assume the hard-won mantle of authority and coalesce the warring factions that disrupted the revolutionary movement and threatened internal strife. San Martín



San Martin and O'Higgins Meeting

deliberately sacrificed his own future for the cause he loved, but left behind him a name untarnished by suspicion of self-seeking or personal aggrandisement.

The Llama Driver

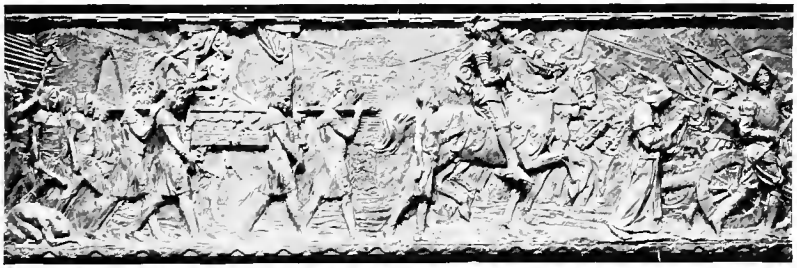
The Gaucho

THE LLAMA DRIVER

Framed by the torsion columns and surmounted by the horns of plenty peculiar to Spanish architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands the characteristic figure of the llama driver. About him hangs the poncho with which he protects himself against the cold of the mountain passes where he travels with his laden beasts. The llamas seen behind him are the burden-bearers of the hills. In the distance loom the treeless Andes.

THE GAUCHO

In the corresponding panel on the right, southern South America is represented by the Gaucho. This typical rover of the pampas, the vaquero, or cowboy, of vast ranges, is shown in his riding dress, his bolas in his hand—a peculiar weapon with which he has acquired marvellous dexterity. It consists of a thong tipped at either end with leaden balls. When slung with a rotary motion it can be made either an engine of death or a means of milder capture. The gaucho wears soft toeless boots formed of the pliably dressed hocks of horses. Companioned by his favorite pony and his inevitable cigarette he looks without envy on all the world.



CORTEZ AND THE AZTECS

On the northern wall is the Mexican and Central American panel. Mexico, a land of great resources, inhabited successively by native races that attained a high degree of culture, fell a prey to the consuming greed of the Spanish invaders under Cortez and Alvardo. Hailed as gods by a people who looked for the coming of a deity

who should be tall and fair, an incarnation of the all-powerful sun, they were revered and worshipped until cruelty and lust of gold too late revealed their evil human nature. Indignant resistance was suppressed at such a cost of human life that historians stand appalled at its hideousness. The last of the Aztec rulers, Guatemoczin, was tortured by the conqueror's orders and died in heroic silence. Spain seized upon the devastated territory and imposed its civilization and customs.

The central section shows us the monuments of the Aztec kings from which winds the procession of the conquerors and conquered. Prone upon the ground two aged Indians wail over the fallen greatness of Mexico. Guatemoczin lifts his standard; Montezuma passes borne by his attendant lords. Beside Cortez, her hand upon the war horse's trappings, walks Marina, or "la Malinche," the invader's native wife who not only acted as his guide but faithfully shared the dangers and fatigues of all his campaigns. Cowled and sinister stalks the figure of the Grand Inquisitor, his power to be a curse in the land to which he comes, preceded by sword and cannon.

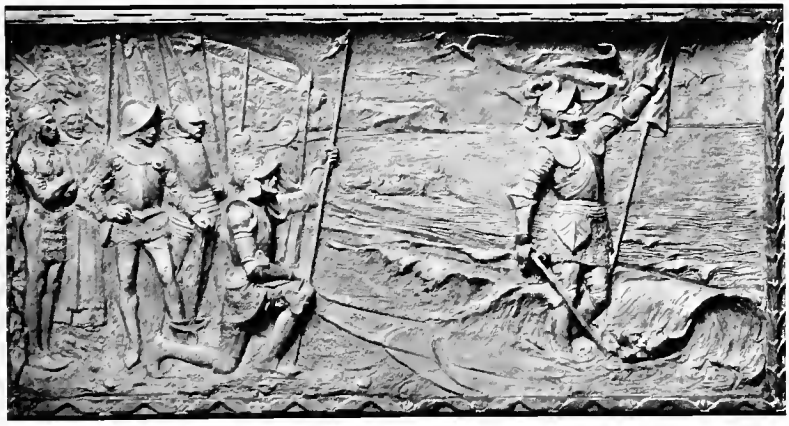
The Landing of Columbus

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

To the republics of the Caribbean belongs the left-hand section. This shows the landing of Christopher Columbus on the island of San Salvador, October 12, 1492. The intrepid mariner, after years of fruitless effort amid poverty, disbelief and ridicule, at last achieved his ambition. With the help of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain he fitted out his expedition, bent upon proving his theory of the spherical form of the earth. In so doing he discovered to the world a new continent.

BALBOA DISCOVERING THE PACIFIC

The right-hand, or Central American section, shows Balboa taking possession of the Western seas in the name of the King of Spain. In September, 1513, guided by the Indian chief Ponca and accompanied by a small band of followers, Balboa made his way through the almost impenetrable forest of Darien until at last his labors were rewarded by the sight of the vast unknown ocean which he named Pacific.



Balboa Taking Possession of the Pacific in the Name of Spain

Agricultural Wealth

Mineral Wealth

AGRICULTURAL WEALTH

The two sections that flank the center belong also to Mexico. The one on the right represents "Agricultural Wealth." Here we see the famous stela of Copan in Yucatan, whose curious detail suggests a civilization influenced by Indo-China, and more remotely, Egyptian art. The low-relief behind the Indian figure of the Goddess of Plenty is the sacred tablet now preserved in the National Museum of Mexico. It is adorned by a figure of the quetzal—the bird whose marvelous plumage made it a symbol of the sacredness of royalty.

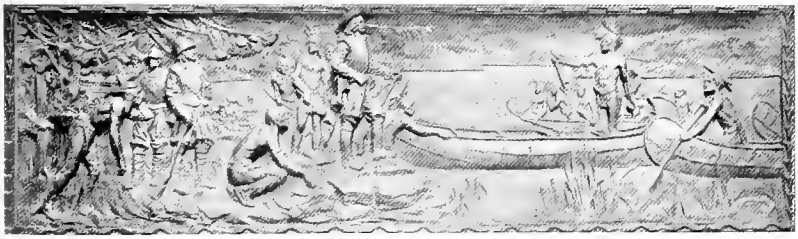
MINERAL WEALTH

The section on the left symbolizes "Mineral Wealth." Again the Stela of Copan is used to frame the figure of the toiling Indian wrenching from the stubborn rock the wealth whose abundance proved the undoing of its owners. Vast hordes of gold are fabled to be securely hidden, their whereabouts remaining unrevealed, even the oppression and torture of the invaders failing to wrest the secret from their victims.

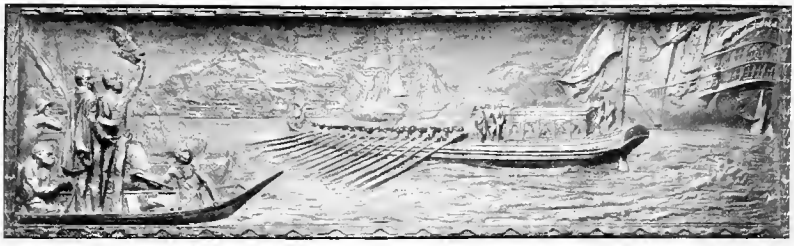
CHAMPLAIN, THE EXPLORER

On the west wall of the Board Room is the North American panel, representing Champlain. At a conference between the Huron and Algonquin chiefs, which took place near Quebec, Champlain was requested by them to head a party against the Iroquois, the all-powerful Five Nations. After some debate and accompanied by two Frenchmen who volunteered for the expedition, Champlain allied himself with the Indians and began the fateful journey, whose crowning achievement was the discovery of the great body of water that now bears his name. The tragic influence of this alliance with the savages led to the French and English wars. The Iroquois, angry at the French for their interference in the Algonquin War, at once sided with the English colonists in their border quarrels and precipitated the conflict that ended in the loss of Canada by the French.

The panel represents the moment of the meeting. The Indian, standing in the canoe, presents the undecorated pipe, a native symbol which is interpreted "I have organized a war party;" his left hand makes the friendship sign. His head-dress and those of his companions indicate that they are men of prowess. Crouching in the foreground is the native guide pointing to his birch-bark map of the proposed route up the St. Lawrence. A dramatic moment fraught with world-wide consequences.



Champlain Negotiating with the Indian Chiefs

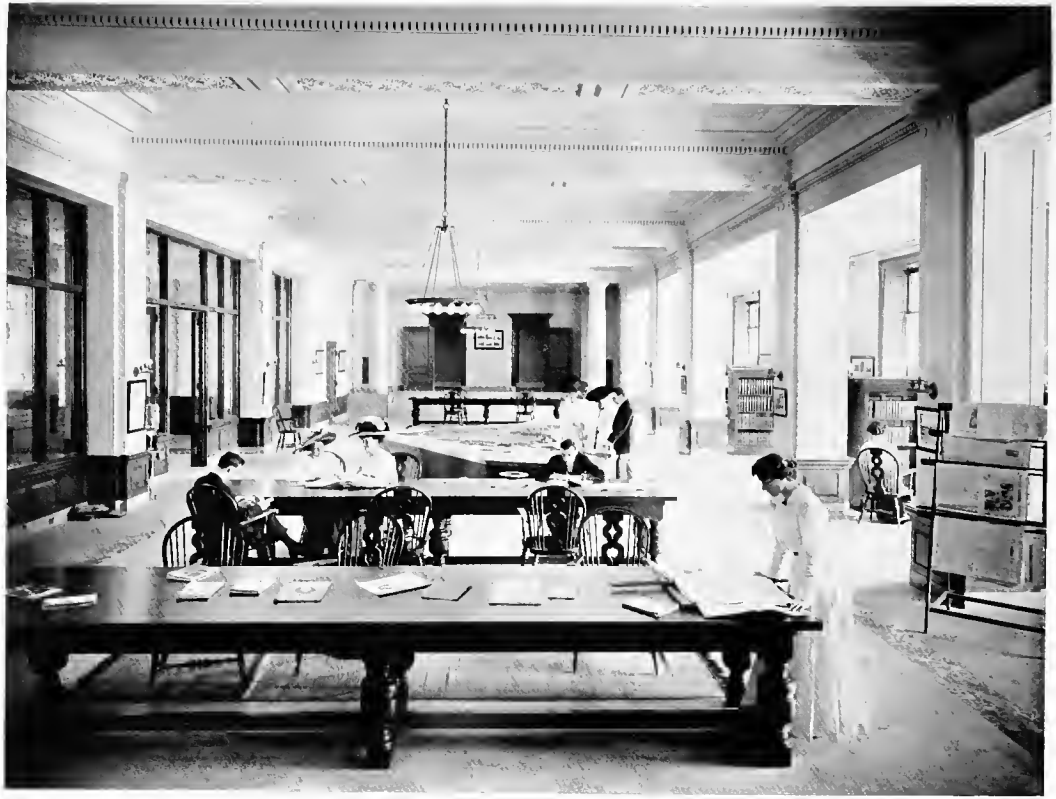


DOM JOÃO, KING OF PORTUGAL, LANDING AT RIO DE JANEIRO

On the east wall is the Brazilian panel. This represents "The Landing of Dom João, King of Portugal." Dom João of Portugal, driven from his ancestral possessions by Napoleon, sought refuge in his colony in the New World, transferring the Portuguese seat of government to Rio de Janeiro, where he landed in 1808. This transference of the seat of an ancient monarchy to the New World was an event absolutely unique in the history of the American nations, an act at once making it impossible that great Brazil should continue dependent upon little Portugal and determining the special and peculiar course of Brazil's development.

The panel shows the monarch conveyed in state from his warship to the palace prepared in anticipation of his coming. The many-oared barge of state in which he made his landing is still preserved and shown in the city that was the first in America to receive the person of its King. When Secretary Root visited the Brazilian capital to attend the memorable Pan American Conference of 1906 he was brought to the shore in this barge.

The borders of all these panels are designed to harmonize with the character of the subjects. On the top of the frame is the key pattern, symbol of construction used in decoration by all primitive peoples; the lower border and sides is a conventionalized adaptation of the "flower of the Incas."



Reading Room and Reference Library

Corner of Stack Room with Capacity for 120,000 Volumes

THE COLUMBUS LIBRARY

The Columbus Library occupies the ground floor of the section of the building developed for the Hall of the Americas, together with almost the entire portion in both stories on the north side of the patio. It is approached from the main entrance either by crossing the patio or by way of either of the two latteral corridors from the vestibule. Directly opposite the main entrance, the lobby of the library occupies a space between coat-rooms on the left and a room for the delivery of books for home reading on the right. Adjoining the coat-room is a large fire-proof vault for valuable documents. The great reading-room of the Library, entered directly from the lobby, is 100 feet long and 40 feet wide. Five

large windows overlook the terrace on the west front and the garden beyond. There are two private studies where persons making special researches in history, geography, social and economic conditions and other subjects relating to the New World, may utilize the rich material at hand. The offices of the librarian and his staff, ready to give all information at command to the public, are close at hand. The large stack-room on the north side of the patio, occupying the two stories, has room for 40,000 volumes and may be extended to accommodate 80,000 more. The library at present has something more than 20,000 volumes, including many rare and invaluable works. All the fixtures are of steel and represent the most approved standards in modern library practice. An electric carrier brings the books with prompt dispatch from any one of the five tiers in the stack. A large collection of prints, maps and statistics is always ready for use.

Some of the Well-Lighted Offices

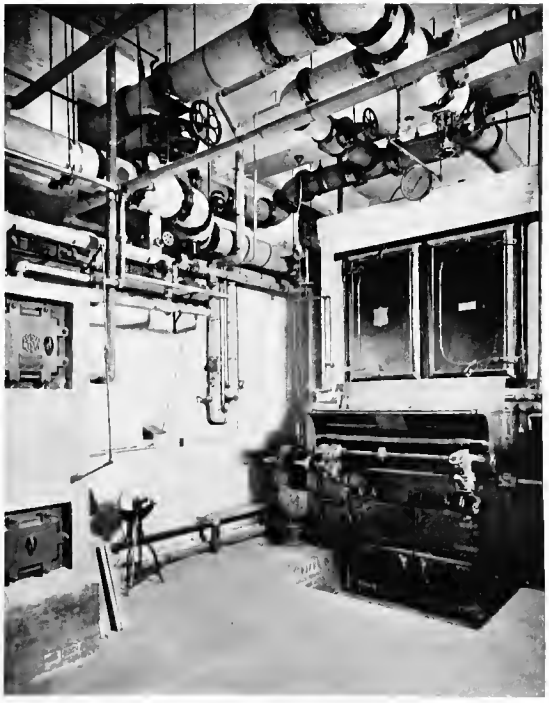
Where Much of the Practical Work is Done

WORKING OFFICES OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

The south side of the building is devoted to the working offices for the large staff of the Pan-American Union. Here the editor of the Bulletin and his staff, the statisticians, the translators, the clerks and stenographers all have most convenient and comfortable accommodations under conditions that encourage good work. Adjacent to the editor's room is room for the archives and files. The handsome reception room in the southeast corner has been finished in native pine by the State of Oregon in compliment to the present Director General. At the corresponding end of the vestibule on the opposite or northeast corner, a large retiring-room for ladies will be an appreciated feature on the many festal occasions for which through a great part of the year the building will be in constant demand.

Preparing the Outgoing Mail

A Corner of the Kitchen Used for Official Dinners



One of the Boilers in the Well-Equipped Engine Room

Sorting the Incoming Mail

THE BASEMENT

The basement is reached by either one of two stairways from the first floor or from the driveway along the north wall, where under shelter of a marquise, supplies, mail matter, etc., are delivered without entering the public part of the building. Here is a great mail-sorting room for classifying mail and addressing the Bulletins to be sent to all parts of the world. Here are also the boilers and engine for the great heating and ventilating plant which through the cool months maintains an agreeable temperature throughout the building. Here, too, is a finely equipped kitchen to meet the requirements of festivals, banquets and other occasions for which

the building is in demand. On the south side are the living rooms for the janitor. The needs of the service-section are met here in the basement, including coat-rooms and other accommodations for employees.

LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE MAY 11, 1908

The laying of the foundation began on April 13, 1908, and the corner-stone was laid May 11, 1908, with perhaps the most impressive ceremonies of the kind ever held in the city of Washington. Nearly five thousand people, including all the leading officials and most of the distinguished private individuals of the Capital were present, together with many eminent visitors from other parts of the United States and foreign countries. The participants in the program included the President of the United States; the Secretary of State of the United States; the Ambassador of Brazil, Mr. Joaquim Nabuco, speaking on behalf of the Latin-American countries; Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Cranston and Director General Barrett. Special cable messages from the Presidents of all the American republics were read and earnestly applauded, while the flag of each American nation was raised to the music of its national anthem.

THE DEDICATION ON APRIL 26, 1910

After that event the work went forward without interruption and the formal dedication took place on April 26th of this year, or about fifteen days less than two years after the corner-stone was laid. The dedicatory exercises were as impressive as those of the corner-stone laying, and the participants this time included the President of the United States; the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman ex officio of the Governing Board; the Ambassador of Mexico, Mr. Francisco León de la Barra, speaking on behalf of Latin America; Senator Elihu Root, Mr. Andrew

One of the Side Aisles in the Hall of the Americas

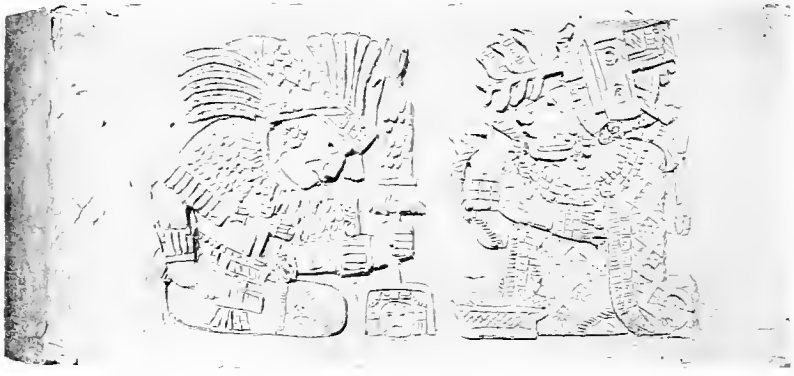
Carnegie, Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Harding, Mr. Albert Kelsey and Director General Barrett. Cable messages were again received and read from the Presidents of the Latin-American republics. In the evening, following the actual dedication, there was given in the grand salon, or "Hall of the Americas," as some have suggested it should be termed, a notable reception in which the President of the United States headed the receiving line and the members of the Governing Board and their wives and Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie assisted. Over twenty-six hundred guests were present, including the diplomatic corps, the Supreme Court, the members of the Cabinet, Senators and Congressmen, and other distinguished official and unofficial persons.

On May 10, 1910, almost exactly two years after the cornerstone laying, the building was actually occupied by the office staff. Since that date it has been crowded by visitors from all parts of the world, averaging as many as several hundred in a day. All of these go away with a new idea as to the importance of the Pan American Union and of the future of the Latin-American republics. The publicity which Latin America has received throughout the United States, and even in Europe, as a result of the construction of this new building, has had a most beneficial effect in awakening the world to a realization of their resources, progress and possibilities.

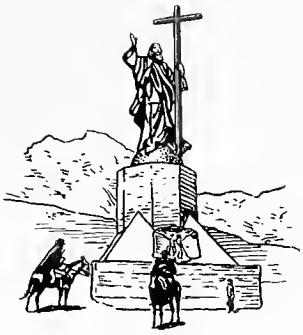
In conclusion, there is nothing that gives the Director General more pleasure than to report upon the completion and occupation of the new building. It is without doubt, considering its cost and size, one of the most beautiful structures in the world. It certainly is unique in the United States. It not only stands as a temple of a great principle, but as the home of a practical office. It is a physical demonstration to everybody who visits Washington that the Pan American Union has an actual force and that its office is housed in an appropriate manner. It is, as Elihu Root said at its dedication, "A confession of faith, a covenant of fraternal duty, a declaration

DETAIL OF RECEPTION ROOM
Showing Silver Plate Recording the Gift of Oregon Fir with which the Room is Finished

of allegiance to an ideal." In the same speech he also said, "This building is to be in its most manifest utilitarian service a convenient instrument for association and growth of mutual knowledge among the people of the different republics. The library maintained here, the books and journals accessible here, the useful and interesting publications of the Bureau, the enormous correspondence carried on with seekers for knowledge about American countries, the opportunities now afforded for further growth in all those activities, justify the pains and the expense. The building is more important, however, as the symbol or ever present reminder of perpetual association of unity of common interest and purpose and hope among all the American republics."



Bas Relief from Patio Fountain

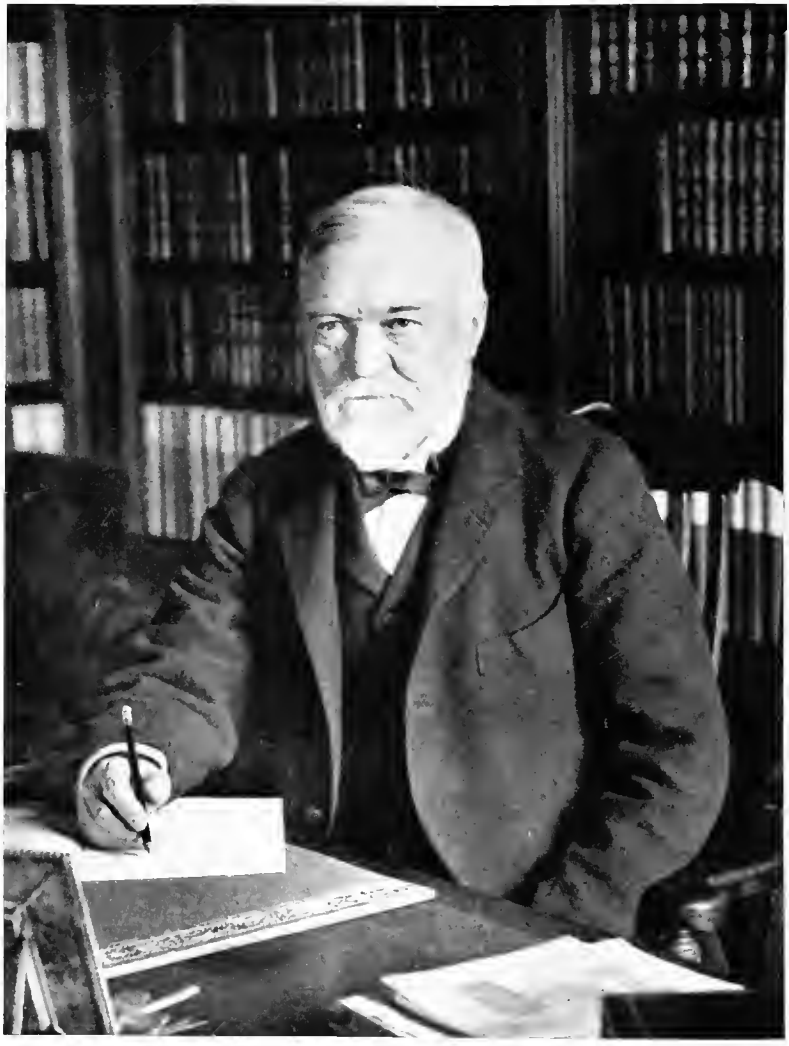


Chapter IV
Pan America and Peace

UNIVERSAL peace is the goal toward which the nations of the world are inevitably moving. For long centuries the movement was halting and spasmodic, but beginning with the last decade of the eighteenth century the advance has been remarkably accelerated. The impetus it has attained in this modern era it has received largely through the influence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Their consistent and persistent efforts to avert war, or to bring international conflicts to an end by mediation or the advocacy of impartial arbitration, have been potent and noteworthy. To resort to arbitration as the best means to settle international differences, has been the rule of the Republics of the Pan American Union from the beginning of their national existence.

The idea of settling differences by pacific means seems to spring spontaneously in the minds and hearts of peoples who have

In the preparation of this Chapter, the Director General has been much assisted in the gathering of material therefor by Mr. Charles Ray Dean, formerly of the United States Department of State.



ANDREW CARNEGIE

won their freedom in heroic struggles with despotism. Their minds, untrammeled with the cares of aristocratic institutions and military traditions, which impose conditions of caste and the oppressive maintenance of expensive organizations, have readily conceived and adopted broad and comprehensive ideas based on principles of justice and equity which have made mightily for the advancement of peace among the nations.

ARBITRATION'S FIRST RECOGNITION

When John Jay succeeded in having written into the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, bearing his name, signed November 19, 1794, a clause providing, in effect, for the submission to arbitration of differences between the two nations regarding the boundaries and the pecuniary claims of their nationals, he in fact had inaugurated the "Modern Era of Pacific Settlements." The principle of arbitration thus adopted was but the concrete expression of the sentiment of the great people he there represented.

So, only five years after its birth as a Nation, the United States established for itself a principle and a rule of practice for settling differences with other nations which has saved it from many a conflict and has made it a mighty power for peace.

The Jay treaty met with a hostile reception when some of its provisions became known in the United States, but none of that hostility was felt or directed towards the clauses referring to arbitration. These were universally acceptable.

In 1795 and again in 1802 the United States and Spain by conventional agreements settled by arbitration mutual claims of their nationals, and in 1814 very serious differences growing out of boundary disputes were adjusted by the United States and Great Britain. Public opinion regarding peace was beginning to take definite form in the United States, and in 1815 the New York Peace Society was organized, the first in the world, followed in the same

Bust of Simon Bolivar in Foyer of the Hall of the Americas, by Rudolph Evans

Bust of San Martín, in Foyer of the Hall of the Americas, by Herbert Adams

year by the organization of the Massachusetts Peace Society. These and kindred associations have been leavening agencies of untold benefit among men.

But during this formative period of the great Republic of the North forces were at work in the Southern half of this hemisphere creating a group of independent, self-governing nations, in spite of the forces of despotism in Europe, laboring under the guise of a so-styled "Holy Alliance," to aid Spain in her attempt to keep them in subjection. Out of a long travail of fifteen years, fraught with the horrors of fire and sword, repression, imprisonment, denial of rights, there came forth nine weak yet strong Republics—strong in the righteousness of their cause.

A heroic figure looms up through the mist and darkness of those times. A patriot and mighty warrior, Simon Bolivar, a native of Venezuela (then a part of Colombia), who bears the well-deserved title of "Liberator," for by his efforts and leadership there were released from the bonds of Spain, five nations. But Bolívar was more than a warrior he was a statesman with the broadest views, and widest vision.

> He "dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
> Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be."

Becoming president of Colombia in 1821 he promptly entered into treaty relations with Peru June 6, 1822, with Chile October 21, 1822, with Mexico October 3, 1823, with Central America March 15, 1825, and with the United States October 3, 1824, and in all of those treaties are found articles providing for arbitration of differences which may arise between the contracting parties. Nor was Chile less advanced in her ideas regarding this method of settling international disputes, for in her treaty with Peru dated April 26, 1823, there is a provision for arbitration of differences arising between them.

While Bolívar was at work in northern South America, the great San Martín, the "Liberator" of the southern part of the continent,

was by his own personal example of heroic unselfishness and devotion to the cause of freedom preparing the way for the peaceful development of such progressive countries as Argentina and Chile.

We see then, that with regard to the idea of arbitration it is as Minister Wu has tersely said of *right* and *justice:* "Right is of no color, and justice is of no race."

THE FIRST PAN AMERICAN PEACE CONGRESS

As further evidence of Bolívar's broad statesmanship his plan for a Congress of the American nations challenges our admiration. While his concept was in part an offensive and defensive alliance for protection against the threatening powers of Europe, he sought to emphasize the idea that they were in fact sister nations with common interests, language, religion, aims, customs and institutions. As appears from his instructions, he desired that the "assembly should be permanent so as to answer these important ends: 1st, To watch over the exact observance of treaties, and over the safety of the Federation; 2nd, To mediate amicably between any of the allied states and foreign powers should any controversy arise: 3rd, To act as conciliator and even as arbitrator, if possible, between the allies, should they unfortunately have ground for antagonism tending to disrupt their relations."

With these objects in view Bolívar in the name of Colombia issued an invitation to all the nations of America, including the United States, to meet in a Congress at Panama in 1826.

Only four countries, Colombia, Central America, Peru and Mexico were represented at the Congress. As one of the results of their labors, a treaty of union, league and confederation, was signed, article 16th. of which reads in part as follows:

"The contracting parties solemnly obligate and bind themselves to amicably compromise between themselves all differences now existing, or which may arise in the future," etc.

Temporary Plaster Cast of
Houdin's George Washington

Herrera of Panama
by Chester Beach

Juarez of Mexico

Busts in the Foyer of the Hall of the Americas

It thus appears that the idea of arbitration had already taken root in the minds of the men of Latin America as well as of North America.

The United States Government was in hearty sympathy with the general purposes of this Congress, and but for the deliberation with which Congress voted an appropriation for the expenses of our delegates, would have participated in its proceedings.

The treaties adopted at the Panama Congress were not ratified, but as Mr. Quesada has so well said: "These conventions remain as monuments to the honor of Bolívar and Latin America, as heralds of the lofty aspirations that they embodied and the Republics of the new continent, true to them, have generally followed the precept of appealing to arbitration for the settlement of their international disputes."

ORGANIZATION OF PEACE SOCIETIES

In the succeeding years in the New England states of North America, a mighty movement for peace was gathering momentum, started by two quiet, inconspicuous citizens, William Ladd, and Elihu Burritt, the latter known as the "Learned Blacksmith." These men, under divine inspiration, were profoundly moved to devote their powers and influence to the cause of universal peace. The remarkable effect of their activities on the lecture platform and in the press, was seen in various ways. In 1837 the legislature of Massachusetts adopted resolutions to the effect that "some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes, instead of resort to war," and again in 1844, similar action was taken.

William Ladd in 1840 proposed the creation of a "Congress of ambassadors from all the civilized nations, to devise and promote plans for the preservation of peace and ameliorating the conditions of man." Joined to this was a plan for a permanent Court of the Nations.

Morazan, of Honduras, by Robert Aitkin

José Bonifacio, of Brazil, by Charpentier

Busts in the Foyer of the Hall of the Americas

Those ideas were commended by resolution adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1844, and by the legislature of Vermont in 1852. Similar activity was manifested in the United States Senate. Burritt, with the hope of drawing Europe and America closer together in the bonds of peace, spent several years abroad advocating these ideas and organizing peace societies. By his efforts international peace conferences were held at Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), Frankfort (1850), London (1851), which made a profound impression on the nations. It is not difficult to see in the recent Peace Conference at The Hague a remarkable approach to the realization of the dream of those men.

The United States Government in her treaty with Mexico signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo February 2, 1848, gave evidence of her continued adherence to the principle of arbitration, though it was after a most regrettable lapse from the path of right, for the war which that treaty closed was probably the most unjustifiable of any war in which the United States has ever been engaged. It is to her credit, however, that she has since that time consistently maintained and enthusiastically pursued a course of advancing in every way possible the cause of universal peace.

In 1846-7 the republics on the Pacific coast of South America were startled anew by the apparition of a Spanish invasion with the object of establishing a great monarchy in America with a Spanish prince at its head. And stirred by this common fear, representatives of New Grenada, Ecuador, Bolivia and Chile came together by invitation of Peru in a Congress at Lima, held from December 11, 1847, to March 1, 1848.

LIMA SETS EXAMPLE FOR THE HAGUE

In the treaty of confederation adopted at this Congress appear provisions for mediation and arbitration so nearly resembling those adopted at the first Hague Conference that they seem to be clearly anticipatory of the convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of Inter-

national Differences, adopted at that conference. Article II. Title II. of the latter convention provides that "In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms, the signatory powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers," and in Article III. it is recommended "that one or more powers, strangers to the dispute, should on their own initiative, * * * * offer their good offices or mediation." Article XVI. "In questions of a judicial character, and especially regarding the interpretation or application of international treaties or conventions, arbitration is recognized by the signatory powers as the most efficacious * * * and equitable method of deciding controversies."

The Lima convention provided in effect that in any case in which differences arise likely to disturb the peaceful relations existing between the parties, the governments of the other confederated republics shall interpose their good offices in order to restore good relations between the parties. Suggestions for voluntary arbitration might also be made, and if refused, the differences were to be examined by the delegates to the Congress not involved, and a decision rendered by them.

Again the European invasion apparition, and suspicions as to the designs of the United States because of the Mexican war and the Walker filibustering expedition, gave occasion for holding other Congresses of the Latin-American states, one at Santiago (1856), the other at Lima (1864-5). In the former mediation, and in the latter, arbitration, were adopted as methods for settling international disputes.

Venezuela in the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Bolívar, invited the American nations to meet in a Congress at Caracas in 1883, and the representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Salvador, Mexico and Venezuela there assembled, formally declared themselves as in favor of arbitration as the only solution of all controversies arising between States.

Many notable arbitrations have taken place since 1794, but by none has the cause of arbitration been given greater impetus than that between the United States and Great Britain.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE ALABAMA CLAIMS

In 1863 the United States Government was in the throes of the greatest Civil War in history. The nation had been aroused to a point bordering on desperation and harbored a deep-seated feeling of resentment caused by the conviction that Great Britain had failed to perform its neutral duties in allowing the fitting out of the "Alabama" and other cruisers in its ports. Public feeling ran high —Congress in an attempt at retaliation had declared the reciprocal agreement of 1854, with regard to fisheries terminated, thus opening up old controversies. Boundary questions, still unsettled, were growing acute. All the conditions were calculated to test the power of national self-control. Yet in the midst of this excitement and turmoil these words of Minister Adams to Earl Russell in a note dated October 23, 1863, ringing true to the principle of arbitration, are noteworthy: "I am directed to say there is no fair and equitable form of conventional arbitrament or reference to which they (the United States) will not be willing to submit."

This overture was rejected by Earl Russell on the ground that the questions in controversy involved the "national honor," of which "her Majesty's government are the sole guardians." Fortunate was it for the cause of peace that different counsels prevailed after Earl Russell's retirement, and those more favorable to an amicable settlement of the pending differences came into power in Great Britain. It required eight years and a transfer of the negotiations to Washington, to bring forth an agreement, and the Treaty of Washington, signed May 8, 1871, providing for the settlement by arbitration of what are known as the "Alabama Claims," stands forth a prominent mile-stone on the road of the nations towards

universal peace. It also had the effect of increasing greatly the number of arbitrations in Europe and elsewhere.

It is difficult to see, in the light of the results of this notable arbitration, in which questions of national honor were thought to enter so largely, why the nations should be so insistent upon making an exception of such questions in their treaties of arbitration. "So-called questions of 'national honor,'" as Ambassador Bryce has forcefully said,

> "Are often just the questions which most need to be referred to arbitration, inasmuch as they are those which a nation finds it hardest to recede from, when it has once taken up a position, so that the friendly intervention of a third party is especially valuable.
>
> The value of arbitration or conciliation by a third party lies not merely in its providing a means of determining a difficult issue of law or fact, but in its making it easy for the contracting parties to abate their respective pretentions without any loss of dignity."

ADVANCE STAND OF LATIN AMERICA

The States of South America have taken an advanced stand on the question of arbitration as a means of settling international differences. Thus Argentina in 1874 declared that it had resolved "whether with treaties or without them, to terminate all international questions by arbitration."

As one evidence of her adherence to this declaration she made a treaty with Italy, July 23, 1898, in which it was agreed to submit to arbitration all questions of whatever nature which may arise between them while the treaty is in force—even if the questions had their origin in acts prior to the date of the convention.

So, Colombia has persistently followed the principles advocated by Bolívar and has set an example to her sister republics by agreeing with Chile in 1880, and with Costa Rica and Salvador in 1882, to submit perpetually every controversy of whatever nature which may arise between them to arbitration, and the treaty with Salvador is still in force.

General treaties of arbitration with the Dominican Republic and Uruguay were also negotiated by her in 1882, neither of which, however, was ratified. Again with Spain in 1902 Colombia agreed to submit to arbitral decision all questions of whatever nature which for any cause may arise between them, provided they do not affect the precepts of the constitutions of the countries and cannot be settled by direct negotiation.

This anticipation of a state of affairs when the nations of the earth shall war no more and all shall follow the Golden Rule, though regarded as Utopian by the older and more practical nations, is none the less praiseworthy. It is setting a standard—an ideal—to be striven for, which these younger nations are likely to be the first to attain, because of their faith and optimism. "The first shall be last and the last first."

The strongest evidence of the deep hold which arbitration has taken upon the nations of Latin America is shown in the fact that in the constitutions of five of the republics appear provisions for a resort to arbitration before declaring war—in the constitutions of Venezuela of 1874 and 1893, Ecuador, of 1878, Santo Domingo, of 1880, Brazil, of 1891, and the Greater Republic of Central America, of 1895.

BLAINE'S EFFORTS FOR PAN AMERICAN PEACE

Of the close observers of the great movements affecting the nations none was more keenly alive to the progress of the peace movement than Secretary Blaine. His mind was deeply stirred as he considered the ruthless horrors of war with its attendant financial burdens, despoiled cities, devastated land and ruined homes. He realized the immense benefit which would result if the American nations should unite in a declaration in favor of peace.

Not long, therefore, after he became Secretary of State in 1881, he formulated a plan for a Pan American conference, "to consider

and discuss the methods of preventing war between the nations of America."

Untoward events making the meeting at that time impracticable, it was not until 1889 that his dream was realized.,

The first subject suggested by the invitation for the consideration of the conference, was

> "An agreement upon the recommendation for adoption to their respective governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes and differences, that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented."

The invitation was eagerly accepted by practically all the other American republics, and for the first time their representatives came together to deliberate upon plans to advance their common interests. The significance of, and possibilities for, humanity to issue from this conference time is still demonstrating.

By practically unanimous action of the delegates it was voted to "recommend all the governments by which they are accredited, to conclude a uniform treaty of arbitration," in a form set forth, which included the adoption of arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of differences, and made arbitration obligatory in certain specified controversies.

Speaking of the plan adopted by the conference, Mr. Quintana, delegate from Argentina, said:

> "As a work of peace, of justice, and of concord it does not rest, then, upon the strength of numbers nor the force of arms. It rests solely upon the public faith of the nations accepting it, upon the sense of dignity of each of them, and upon the moral responsibility incurred by any one which shall threaten this great work of civilization and of law, of the American mind and heart, faith, sense and responsibility, more respectable, nobler, and more efficient than the material strength of any one nation, however great and powerful."

Such lofty and ennobling sentiments uttered on behalf of the great people he represented, are in truth the sentiments of all the

people of Latin America, and are full of promise for the future of universal peace.

In his farewell address to the conference Mr. Blaine spoke these most fitting and apt words, full of inspiration:

> "If, in this closing hour, the conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace, and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference."

THE BENEFITS OF THE VARIOUS CONFERENCES

The benefits resulting from this First Pan American Conference were so evident that it was the opinion of all the governments that periodic conferences should be held. Accordingly at Mexico City in 1901-2 and at Rio Janeiro in 1906, delegates from all the American states met. A fourth conference at Buenos Aires in 1910 has just finished its labors, and its most important act viewed from the standpoint of its possible benefit to the cause of general peace, was a unanimous agreement on the part of the American nations as represented by their delegates to the conference, to submit to arbitration all pecuniary claims that they are unable to settle amicably by means of diplomacy.

The efforts of the delegates at the second and third conferences were, in accordance with the instructions of their governments, chiefly centered on the great cause—international arbitration—which received fresh impetus therefrom.

At Mexico a proctocol was signed providing for the adhesion of all the American states to The Hague conventions of 1899, the United States and Mexico being at that time the only American States which were parties to those conventions.

South American Group on Front Elevation, by Isidore Konti

North American Group on Front Elevation, by Gutzon Borglum

A treaty providing for compulsory arbitration of all controversies existing or which may arise, provided the controversies do not, in the judgment of the interested nations, affect either their independence or honor, was proposed to the conference, but it received the support and signatures of only nine of the delegations, to wit:—Argentina, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. The adhesion of the United States to this treaty was withheld on the ground that it is impracticable owing to the absence of any motive power to bring about its use outside of the two countries interested, and there being no power to force a country to carry out a general treaty obligation to arbitrate a case, when it is believed its independence, its national life or interests would be jeopardized by such a recourse.

A proposal on the part of the United States delegates for the establishment of a permanent tribunal for the adjustment of indemnity claims arising between the American Republics, on lines analogous to The Hague tribunal, was carefully considered. It was recognized that such a plan would be a distinct step in advance but the difficulties found in creating it prevented its adoption by the conference.

The most important achievement of that conference and a real step in advance, was the unanimous adoption of a convention by which the governments agreed for a period of five years to submit to arbitration pecuniary claims presented by their respective citizens, not capable of adjustment through diplomatic channels, and of sufficient importance to warrant the expenses of arbitration. Such claims are a most frequent source of international controversies, often inflaming the minds of statesmen and embittering international relations.

The third conference at Rio Janeiro in 1906, by resolution ratified its adherence to the principles of arbitration and recom-

mended that the nations represented instruct their delegates to the second peace conference to be held at The Hague,

> "To endeavor to secure by said assembly of world-wide character the celebration of a general arbitration convention so effective and definite that, meriting the approval of the civilized world, it shall be accepted and put in force by every nation."

It was further agreed to continue in force for another five years the treaty on pecuniary claims adopted at the second conference.

Thus in these great conferences, which have been a distinctive feature of American polity since the time of Bolívar, the American Republics are coming into better understanding of each other's aims and purposes and are establishing a real solidarity of interests. They are coming to realize, as Secretary Knox has aptly said, "That the development and prosperity of each is in harmony with the advancement of the rest."

> "The happiest results," says Mr. Alvarez, "of the Pan American Conferences, are, that they harmonize into all of the States of America, and that they contribute powerfully in developing and forming upon its true basis the *American Conscience*, a conscience which is one of the characteristics of the contemporary political life of the States of the New World."

The recommendations and resolutions adopted by the Pan American Conferences, and the arbitration treaties negotiated by them, as well as those which at various times the individual governments have entered into, have often failed of approval by the ratifying branch of the several governments. And it is too true also, that the treaties adopted have not always been strictly observed. Nevertheless they demonstrate the existence of a permanent sentiment—an invariable opinion prevailing in the American nations which augurs well for the certain and possibly imminent coming of the era of universal peace.

The creation of the International Bureau of American Republics, now known as the Pan American Union, was one of the happy re-

Enlightenment

Peace

Bronze Medalions in Front Vestibule, by Isidore Konti

sults of the work of the First Pan American Conference. Originally designed to merely collect and distribute information among the Republics, its usefulness in other directions has been so thoroughly demonstrated that at the subsequent conferences its scope and functions have been greatly enlarged. So that now it has become a most potent institution for the establishment of a feeling of fraternity, of harmony, and of real unity among the American Republics. Its recently dedicated palatial home, which is largely the gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie—"that man," as President Taft has so truly said, "who is the most conspicuous man out of official life in the bringing about of universal peace," forms a common meeting place for the representatives of the Republics. Here they come to know each other, consult on matters of mutual interest, cultivate fraternal feelings, and thus foster mutual knowledge, co-operation, harmony and amity, which will cause differences to vanish and help to establish perpetual peace among the Republics.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Boundaries have ever been most prolific sources of international differences. On no subject are nations more sensitive. It is greatly to the credit of American nations that most all such differences between them have been settled by arbitration.

A noteworthy example of this was seen when, in 1896, the republics of Argentina and Chile, whose peoples had become so aroused and hostile that every preparation had been made for war, through the mediation of England, agreed to an arbitration of the questions of the proper boundary line between their countries.

The question was one extending back to 1843. In 1881 the situation had become extremely acute. But through the intervention of the United States Ministers at Buenos Aires and Santiago, an accord had been effected and a treaty entered into which it

Law Patriotism

Bronze Medalions in Front Vestibule, by Isidore Konti

was thought finally settled the controversy. It is worthy of note that this treaty contained a stipulation to resort to arbitration in case of further differences on the question. And happily this was observed when in 1896 the matter again arose. It was at this time that W. I. Buchanan, the eminent and lamented Pan American, did notable service for peace in his position as United States Minister to the Argentine Republic. In 1902, the King of England announced his decision as arbitrator, which gave satisfaction to both countries and ended a most serious and long-standing dispute. In commemoration of this happy issue the two nations as a manifestation of their good-will and harmony, raised a permanent monument in 1904, on the crest of the separating mountain range, on ground that had been the subject of the dispute and seemed destined to serve as the theatre of a bloody conflict. The monument—a statue of the Christ, the Prince of Peace—is strikingly appropriate, and is a material evidence of the noble spirit, and lofty conceptions which animate those two great nations.

It is specially worthy of note, at this point that, inspired by a desire for peace, these same countries entered into an agreement on May 28, 1902, for the limitation of their naval armament, and that too, at a moment when their relations were strained, being just previous to the announcement of the arbitral decision above referred to. Thus two American nations were first to accomplish what the nations in their conference at The Hague in 1899, called chiefly for that purpose, had solemnly concluded it was impracticable, if not impossible to do.

PAN AMERICA AT THE HAGUE CONFERENCES

At the first Hague Conference in 1899, Pan American representation was confined to two nations—the United States and Mexico. Their delegations brought to the work the enthusiasm and progressiveness so typical of the spirit of the New World.

The interest of the conference was chiefly centered in the topic of arbitration. The American delegation contributed much to the work on this subject and the subsidiary agencies to arbitration. Thus, a plan for special mediation proposed by Mr. Holls of the United States delegation, was unanimously adopted.

The plan of a permanent court or tribunal as adopted was shaped to a considerable extent by the suggestions made by the United States delegation, though they urged the adoption of a much more advanced plan, including a permanent judicial tribunal, such as the second conference did approve in 1907. Also a very important provision in the code of procedure as to revision of awards of the tribunal in the event of new evidence being discovered, was inserted at the suggestion of the United States delegation in spite of determined opposition.

Two American nations, the United States and Mexico, were the first to invoke the services of The Hague Tribunal in 1902, in the "pious fund" case. Again, in 1903, Venezuela, supported by the United States, referred to that tribunal the question whether certain governments of Europe were entitled to preference in the payment of claims against Venezuela by reason of having used force to obtain a settlement. And now in this year of 1910, the two Anglo Saxon countries that have since 1814, settled *all* their differences by diplomacy or arbitration—the United States and Great Britian – have made use of the tribunal to bring about the settlement of differences between them of over a century's standing.

This notable arbitration has removed causes of irritation and discord between these nations, and has satisfactorily adjusted and settled conflicting claims of such importance and far-reaching effect that in a former time it would doubtless have seemed that war was the only possible recourse as a means of settlement.

Both nations have cheerfully acquiesced in the award and thus have increased the general respect for The Hague Tribunal. They have given to the world an admirable example of self-control and

mutual consideration. But above all they have advanced the cause of arbitration and universal peace and the best interests of mankind.

For a second time, the United States and Venezuela have recently resorted to The Hague Tribunal for the settlement of a difficult controversy over a claim which had been the subject of arbitration in 1903, but the award rendered therein had been regarded by the United States as failing to conform to the rules of justice and equity, and by agreement the case was re-arbitrated. The award of the Tribunal has been cordially accepted by the two Governments as a final determination of a vexing difference between them.

The record of Pan America at the second Hague Conference, forms a bright page in the history of arbitration, which, as President McKinley said, "has been recognized as the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire national history."

The delegation of the Dominican Republic was the first to offer a proposition on arbitration—a proposition of the most advanced type providing for arbitration without restriction and covering all possible differences. But a treaty in such sweeping terms it was not within the competency of the other delegations to accept under their instructions. The project of the United States delegation was found the most worthy of consideration and became the basis of general discussion upon the subject of obligatory arbitration. The project received the loyal and unanimous support of all the other American republics, and the exposition of their views upon it before the conference made by delegates of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and others, is brilliant and very enlightening. When the vote was taken on the project the nineteen American delegations enthusiastically recorded their votes for it. But, in view of the lack of unanimity a world-treaty of obligatory arbitration failed of adoption. Thirty-one out of forty-four votes were cast for it.

The conference contented itself with adopting a declaration accepting the principle of obligatory arbitration. This, while

regarded as an advance, was a bitter disappointment to the American delegations and other friends of arbitration.

INTERNATIONAL INTERMEDIATION

It was due to the efforts of the able delegations of Chile and Peru that a desirable amendment was made to Article 27 of The Hague Convention of 1899, for the peaceful adjustment of international differences. Their proposition was that not only should it be the duty of third parties to suggest to the parties in conflict resort to arbitration, but also that one of the interested parties might suggest it by informing the International Bureau at The Hague of its willingness to submit to arbitration, thus increasing the facilities for arriving at an agreement, and making that Bureau a valuable intermediary. This proposition became part of Article 48 of the Convention of 1907.

Another notable advance made at this conference for eliminating the possibilities of war, was the distinctly American proposition put forward by the United States delegation regarding the recovery of contract debts by the employment of force—a matter in which all Latin America was profoundly interested because of their firm belief in the Drago doctrine.

The proposition was formulated into a convention by which it was agreed by the contracting powers:

> "Not to have recourse to armed force for the recovery of contract debts claimed from the government of one country by the government of another as being due to its nationals."

Certain reasonable provisos were made in the convention not affecting its efficacy as a means of preventing war.

The crowning work of the conference, however, was the provision for the establishment of a court of arbitral justice. The establishment of a permanent court of arbitration by the First Hague Conference marked a new era in arbitral procedure. Yet the latter court, though reasonably effective, left much to be desired as a judicial agency for the settlement of disputes. It is in fact a tem-

porary tribunal, erected for the purpose of deciding as arbiters a particular controversy submitted. The court of arbitral justice, on the contrary, is meant to be a permanent court, composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility and capable of assuring the continuity of arbitral jurisprudence.

The project which served as the basis for discussion on this matter was the one presented by the United States delegation. It was later withdrawn, however, in favor of a joint project of the United States, German and British delegations. The Brazilian delegation also submitted a plan but it was withdrawn.

The American contributions to the plan adopted showed much wisdom and judgment and were on lines chiefly suggested by Secretary Root.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE CONFERENCE

While the nations were holding their second Peace Conference at The Hague, a peace conference in miniature was being held at Washington by representatives of the five states of Central America —states which began their political existence as constituent parts of the Federal Republic of Central America, in 1823, upon attaining their independence. But separation and repeated attempts at re-union has been the story of the years accompanied by periods of civil and international strife, disorder and lawlessness.

With a sincere desire to see harmony, order, prosperity and peace prevail in those unhappy countries, the governments of the United States and Mexico were moved in 1907, to offer jointly their good offices toward this desirable end:

The conference which resulted was indeed a triumph in the cause of peace. The most signal achievement was the unanimous agreement to establish a Central American Court of Justice,

> "For the purpose of efficaciously guaranteeing their rights and maintaining peace and harmony inalterably in their relations, without being obliged to resort *in any case* to the employment of force."

In two cases thus far these nations have resorted to this court and have thereby avoided revolution and war. They have thus made a practical application of an ideal long dreamed of in Europe —an international tribunal before which a State could present its grievance against another State.

The first method provided by the Hague Convention of 1899 for the pacific settlement of international differences is that of "good offices" or "mediation"—a method which until very recently has not been made use of. Acting under this provision the government of the United States, with the co-operation of Argentina and Brazil, has recently brought about an accord between Peru and Ecuador between whom a most serious dispute had arisen regarding a portion of their boundary line and which seemed likely to involve Bolivia, Chile and Colombia.

PEACE COMMISSION AND PEACE SOCIETIES

The belief that the limitation of armaments by the leading Powers of the world would be a most effective means of preventing wars and establishing peace is quite general throughout the Americas. In the United States that sentiment has recently taken definite and significant form. On June 25, 1910, the Congress adopted a Joint Resolution providing for the appointment by the President of a commission of five members "to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war."

It is understood that Mexico and other American states contemplate taking similar action.

It is interesting to note that this action of Congress was inspired by a group of earnest, thoughtful and practical men who are representative of a large majority of the intelligent people of the United States and, it is safe to say, of all the American States. These men believe that world federation is a prerequisite for universal peace. They organized the World Federation League in 1909, and inaugurated an extensive laymen's movement to this end.

This movement has gained great impetus from the enthusiastic and forceful co-operation given the League by Mr. Carnegie and the New York Peace Society of which he is the president, and it was this League which originated and suggested the idea embraced in the above Resolution. In fact it is to societies and associations of laymen such as the New York Peace Society, the Massachusetts Peace Society, the American Peace Society, the Lake Mohonk Peace Conferences, and all similar agencies, that credit is largely due for creating, stimulating and propagating the enlightened, advanced and sound sentiments regarding this subject which concerns in so transcendent a measure the welfare and happiness of the people of the American continent and of the world.

The above Resolution offers an opportunity to the Government of the United States to render a service of immeasurable value and benefit to the family of nations. It contains possibilities for the relief of countless millions of men groaning under the burden of a taxation devoted to the maintenance of a false standard of national power and prestige—a burden constantly increasing in magnitude —wasteful, extravagant, unjustifiable from every point of view save that of expediency, and destined, if not soon limited, to create economic havoc and ruin among the nations.

Will the United States and the other American nations measure up to the opportunity? It is confidently believed they will.

SUMMARY OF ARBITRATION CASES

Let us hear, then, the conclusion of the whole matter. Since the year 1794, which is regarded as the beginning of the "Modern Era of Pacific Settlements," the nations of the world have entered into formal agreements for the adjustment of differences by arbitration in 299 causes. In 178, or 59.5 per cent. of these, American nations have been parties, and these disputes have involved almost every conceivable subject.

During this period also American nations have celebrated 139 conventions containing arbitration clauses.

Since the first Hague Conference in 1899, there have been 87 general arbitration treaties entered into by the nations of the world—American nations are parties to 40 of them. In addition to this are 7 general arbitration treaties adopted at the various Pan American Congresses and Conferences, and the Hague Conventions to which the American nations are parties.

Out of eight cases thus far submitted to the Hague Tribunal, four have been taken there by American nations. Five American nations have written into their fundamental law provisions for arbitration.

We have seen, also, how American nations were the first to establish and put into practical operation an international court of justice. It is, therefore, true that:

> "The principle which they (the American Nations) have most extensively proclaimed and systematically practised before its general acceptance in Europe, is the employment of peaceful means to prevent or settle international conflicts."

The people of the Americas have shown themselves to be animated by a common purpose to do their full part in promoting the best interests of mankind by making wars impossible. They have also shown a ready disposition to heed the wise injunction of President McKinley to "ever remember that our interest is in concord, not in conflict; that our true glory rests in the triumphs of peace, not those of war."*

*See Arbitration Cases in Appendix.

Chapter V
Pan American Speeches

SPEECHES of historical significance delivered by great and distinguished men on the occasion of epoch making celebrations are always interesting and instructive. In this rapidly moving age, however, they are easily forgotten or overlooked unless preserved and reproduced from time to time. There have been many events in Pan American history which have brought forth remarkable addresses by brilliant statesmen, but there is space in this little volume for only a few. Those selected are all worthy of careful study and will help to inspire those who read them with a new or additional interest in Pan Americanism and in the scope, purpose, and responsibilities of the Pan American Union. The names alone of those whose words are quoted suffice to invite consideration of their opinions and sentiments. This roll of honor includes James G. Blaine, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Joaquim Nabuco, Elihu Root, Philander C. Knox, Francisco Leon de la Barra, Andrew Carnegie, Cardinal Gibbons, and Bishop Harding.

MR. BLAINE'S ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON.

It is indeed fitting that the famous address of welcome which James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State of the United States, delivered at the opening session of the First Pan American Conference, October, 1889, should have a place in these records. It was at this Conference held in Washington that the Pan American Union was organized and provision was made for the establishment of its office in the form of the "International Bureau of American Republics." In his felicitous remarks Mr. Blaine sounded the keynote of Pan American mutual interest and solidarity.

Secretary Blaine, at the opening of the First Pan American Conference, said:

Speaking for the Government of the United States, I bid you welcome to this capital. Speaking for the people of the United States, I bid you welcome to every section and to every State of the Union. You come in response to an invitation extended by the President on the special authorization of Congress. Your presence here is no ordinary event. It signifies much to the people of all America to-day. It may signify far more in the days to come. No conference of nations has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possessions so

Director General Barrett Introducing Speakers, Corner-stone Laying, May 11, 1908

vast and to contemplate the possibilities of a future so great and so inspiring. Those now sitting within these walls are empowered to speak for nations whose borders are on both the great oceans, whose northern limits are touched by the Arctic waters for a thousand miles beyond the Straits of Behring and whose southern extension furnishes human habitations farther below the equator than is elsewhere possible on the globe.

The aggregate territorial extent of the nations here represented falls but little short of 12,000,000 of square miles—more than three times the area of all Europe, and but little less than one-fourth part of the globe; while in respect to the power of producing the articles which are essential to human life and those which minister to life's luxury, they constitute even a larger proportion of the entire world. These great possessions to-day have an aggregate population approaching 120,000,000, but if peopled as densely as the average of Europe, the total number would exceed 1,000,000,000. While considerations of this character must inspire Americans, both South and North, with the liveliest anticipations of future grandeur and power, they must also impress them with a sense of the gravest responsibility touching the character and development of their respective nationalities.

The Delegates I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect, and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable, peaceful conference of eighteen independent American Powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single Delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance—a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the Delegates, timely and wise and peaceful.

And yet we cannot be expected to forget that our common fate has made us inhabitants of the two continents which, at the close of four centuries, are still regarded beyond the seas as the New World. Like situations beget like sympathies and impose like duties. We meet in firm belief that the nations of America ought to be and can be more helpful, each to the other, than they now are, and that each will find advantage and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the others.

We believe that we should be drawn together more closely by the highways of the sea, and that at no distant day the railway systems of the north and south will meet upon the Isthmus and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America.

Water Parkway of Rio de Janeiro. Visited by Mr. Root in 1906

We believe that hearty co-operation, based on hearty confidence, will save all American States from the burdens and evils which have long and cruelly afflicted the other nations of the world.

We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest between the American States, will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood.

We believe that friendship, avowed with candor and maintained with good faith, will remove from American States the necessity of guarding boundary lines between themselves with fortifications and military force.

We believe that standing armies, beyond those which are needful for public order and the safety of internal administration, should be unknown on both American continents.

We believe that friendship and not force, the spirit of just law and not the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule of administration between American nations and in American nations.

To these subjects, and those which are cognate thereto, the attention of this Conference is earnestly and cordially invited by the Government of the United States. It will be a great gain when we shall acquire that common confidence on which all international friendship must rest. It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into close acquaintance with each other, an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid intercommunication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American States, south and north, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all.

Before the Conference shall formally enter upon the discussion of the subjects to be submitted to it I am instructed by the President to invite all the Delegates to be the guests of the Government during a proposed visit to various sections of the country, with the double view of showing to our friends from abroad the condition of the United States, and of giving to our people in their homes the privilege and pleasure of extending the warm welcome of Americans to Americans.

MR. ROOT'S SPEECH AT RIO DE JANEIRO

The journey which Elihu Root, then Secretary of State of the United States, made to South America in the summer of 1906 was remarkable in many features. It was the beginning on the part of the government and people of the United States of a new interest

in their sister republics which had lagged to some extent in the years that had passed since the days of Mr. Blaine; it was the first time in the history of the United States that its Secretary of State had made such a visit to distant foreign lands; and it was characterized by a cordiality of reception on the part of Latin America which could not have been greater if Mr. Root had been the President of the United States or a crowned monarch of Europe.

It was necessary for Mr. Root to make many speeches on this continent-encircling journey, but possibly the most notable was that delivered at the opening of the Third Pan American Conference held at Rio de Janeiro in July, 1906. It was in response to the welcoming address of Mr. Joaquim Nabuco, the President of the Conference.

Secretary Root, at the opening of the Third Pan American Conference, said:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Third Conference of American Republics:

I beg you to believe that I highly appreciate and thank you for the honor you do me.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this, that we are all engaged under new conditions, and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World, in working out the same problem of popular self-government.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation nor in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected and effective self-control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first fruits of democracy are many of them crude and unlovely; its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self-government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty.

To reach the goal towards which we are pressing forward, the governing multitude must first acquire knowledge that comes from universal education,

wisdom that follows practical experience, personal independence and self-respect befitting men who acknowledge no superior, self-control to replace that external control which a democracy rejects, respect for law, obedience to the lawful expressions of the public will, consideration for the opinions and interests of others equally entitled to a voice in the State, loyalty to that abstract conception—one's country—as inspiring as that loyalty to personal sovereigns which has so illumined the pages of history, subordination of personal interests to the public good, love of justice and mercy, of liberty and order. All these we must seek by slow and patient effort; and of how many shortcomings in his own land and among his own people each one of us is conscious.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone but the whole civilized world is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our great undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress towards more perfect popular self-government.

I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in my own country has advanced, in the intelligent participation of the great mass of the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality, and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has risen above partisanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed; national faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished, or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race.

There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of others' judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American Republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose, and professing the same principles, I understand to be the function of the American Conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that cannot benefit the others; there is not one that cannot receive benefit from the others; there is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all.

According to your program no great and impressive single thing is to be done by you; no political questions are to be discussed; no controversies are to be settled; no judgment is to be passed upon the conduct of any state; but many subjects are to be considered which afford the possibility of removing barriers to intercourse; of ascertaining for the common benefit what advances have been made by each nation in knowledge, in experience, in enterprise, in the solution of difficult questions of government, and in ethical standards; of perfecting our knowledge of each other; and of doing away with the misconceptions, the misunderstandings, and the resultant prejudices that are such fruitful sources of controversy.

And there are some subjects in the program which invite discussion that may lead the American Republics towards an agreement upon principles, the general practical application of which can come only in the future through long and patient effort. Some advance at least may be made here towards the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war.

The association of so many eminent men from all the Republics, leaders of opinion in their own homes; the friendships that will arise among you; the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interest; the ascertainment of common sympathies and aims; the dissipation of misunderstandings; the exhibition to all the American peoples of this peaceful and considerate method of

conferring upon international questions—this alone, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt and the conventions you may sign, will mark a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These beneficent results, the Government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire.

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign States in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies; so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

Not in a single conference, nor by a single effort, can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present; but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among all the millions of people in the American continents long after your final adjournment, long after your lives, with incalculable benefit to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ages to come.

Secretary Root Delivering Address at Corner-stone Laying

ADDRESSES AT THE CORNER-STONE LAYING

The laying of the corner-stone of the new building of the Pan American Union May 11, 1908, was a memorable event for the western world. The speeches delivered by President Roosevelt, Secretary Root, Ambassador Nabuco of Brazil and Mr. Carnegie were all so significant that they are quoted in full.

SECRETARY ROOT.

Following a brief introductory address by Director General Barrett, the Secretary of State, Elihu Root, said:

We are here to lay the corner stone of the building which is to be the home of the International Union of American Republics.

The wise liberality of the Congress of the United States has provided the means for the purchase of this tract of land—five acres in extent—near the White House and the great Executive Departments, bounded on every side by public streets and facing to the east and south upon public parks which it will always be the care of the National Government to render continually more beautiful, in execution of its design to make the national capital an object of national pride and a source of that pleasure which comes to rich and poor alike from the education of taste.

The public spirit and enthusiasm for the good of humanity which have inspired an American citizen, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in his administration of a great fortune, have led him to devote the adequate and ample sum of three-quarters of a million dollars to the construction of the building.

Into the appropriate adornment and fitting of the edifice will go the contributions of every American Republic, already pledged and, in a great measure, already paid into the fund of the Union.

The International Union for which the building is erected is a voluntary association, the members of which are all the American nations from Cape Horn to the Great Lakes. It had its origin in the First Pan American Conference held at Washington in 1889, and it has been developed and improved in efficiency under the resolutions of the succeeding conferences in Mexico and Brazil. Its primary object is to break down the barriers of mutual ignorance between the nations of America by collecting and making accessible, furnishing and spreading, information about every country among the people of every other country in the Union, to facilitate and stimulate intercourse, trade, acquaintance, good understanding, fellowship, and sympathy. For this purpose it has established in Washington a

Bureau or Office under the direction of a Governing Board composed of the official representatives in Washington of all the Republics, and having a Director and Secretary, with a force of assistants and translators and clerks.

The Bureau has established a rapidly increasing library of history, travel, description, statistics, and literature of the American Nations. It publishes a Monthly Bulletin of current public events and existing conditions in all the united countries, which is circulated in every country. It carries on an enormous correspondence with every part of both continents, answering the questions of seekers for information about the laws, customs, conditions, opportunities, and personnel of the different countries; and it has become a medium of introduction and guidance for international intercourse.

The Governing Board is also a permanent committee charged with the duty of seeing that the resolutions of each Pan American Conference are carried out and that suitable preparation is made for the next succeeding conference.

The increasing work of the Bureau has greatly outgrown the facilities of its cramped quarters on Pennsylvania avenue, and now at the close of its second decade and under the influence of the great movement of awakened sympathy between the American Republics, the Union stands upon the threshold of more ample opportunity for the prosecution of its beneficent activity.

Many noble and beautiful public buildings record the achievements and illustrate the impulses of modern civilization. Temples of religion, of patriotism, of learning, of art, of justice abound; but this structure will stand alone, the first of its kind—a temple dedicated to international friendship. It will be devoted to the diffusion of that international knowledge which dispels national prejudice and liberalizes national judgment. Here will be fostered the growth of that sympathy born of similarity in good impulses and noble purposes, which draws men of different races and countries together into a community of nations, and counteracts the tendency of selfish instincts to array nations against each other as enemies. From this source shall spring mutual helpfulness between all the American Republics, so that the best knowledge and experience and courage and hope of every Republic shall lend moral power to sustain and strengthen every other in its struggle to work out its problems and to advance the standard of liberty and peace with justice within itself, so that no people in all of these continents, however oppressed and discouraged, however impoverished and torn by disorder, shall fail to feel that they are not alone in the world, or shall fail to see that for them a better day may dawn, as for others the sun has already risen.

It is too much to expect that there will not be controversies between American nations, to whose desire for harmony we now bear witness, but to every controversy will apply the truth that there are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settle-

ment, while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything.

The graceful courtesy of the twenty Republics who have agreed upon the capital of the United States for the home of this International Union, the deep appreciation of that courtesy shown by the American Government and this representative American citizen, and the work to be done within the walls that are to rise on this site, cannot fail to be powerful influences toward the creation of a spirit that will solve all disputed questions of the future and preserve the peace of the Western World.

May the structure now begun stand for many generations to come as the visible evidence of mutual respect, esteem, appreciation, and kindly feeling between the peoples of all the Republics; may pleasant memories of hospitality and friendship gather about it, and may all the Americas come to feel that for them this place is home, for it is theirs, the product of a common effort and the instrument of a common purpose.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, said:

"This is a memorable occasion for all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The building, the corner stone of which we lay to-day, emphasizes by its existence the growing sense of solidarity of interest and aspiration among all the peoples of the New World. It marks our recognition of the need to knit ever closer together all the republics of the Western Hemisphere, through the kindly bonds of mutual justice, good-will, and sympathetic comprehension.

At the outset, on behalf of all of us, I wish to thank Mr. Carnegie for his generous gift—a gift to all the nations of the New World, and therefore pre-eminently fitting as coming from one who has so sincerely striven for the cause of peace among nations; for while we have yet a long path to tread before we can speak with any certainty of the day when wars shall cease from the earth, we of this Western Hemisphere, by movements such as that symbolized by this building, have taken great strides toward securing permanent peace among ourselves.

In the next place, as President of this Republic, I greet the representatives of all our sister Republics to the south of us. In a sense, you are our elder sisters and we the younger people, for you represent a more ancient civilization on this continent than we do. Your fathers, the Spanish and Portuguese explorers, conquerors, lawgivers, and commonwealth builders, had founded a flourishing civilization in the Tropics and the South Temperate Zone while all America north of the Rio Grande was still unmapped wilderness. Your people had founded American

President Roosevelt Delivering His Address, at Corner-stone Laying

universities, were building beautiful cities, were laying deep the foundations of future national life, at many different points in the vast territory stretching from the Colorado to the Plata, before the ships of the Frenchman and the Englishman, the Swede and the Hollander, had found permanent havens on the North Atlantic seacoast. For centuries our several civilizations grew each in its own way, but each sundered from the others. Now we are growing together.

More and more in the future we shall each give to and get from the others, not merely things of material value, but things that are of worth for the intellectual and spiritual welfare of all of us. In the century that has passed, the development of North America has, on the whole, proceeded faster than the development of South America; but in the century that has now opened I believe that no other part of the World will see such extraordinary development in wealth, in population, in all that makes for progress, as will be seen from the northern boundary of Mexico through all Central and South America; and I can assure you that the people of this nation look with the most profound satisfaction upon the great growth that has already taken place in the countries which you represent—a growth alike in political stability and in the material well-being which can only come when there is political stability.

Our battle fleet has just finished its trip around South America, and I wish to thank the rulers and the peoples of South America and of Mexico for the generous and courteous hospitality which has been shown this fleet on every possible occasion throughout the trip.

In conclusion, let me speak of another trip, made a couple of years ago by the Secretary of State, Elihu Root—the first time in our history the American Secretary of State, during his term of office, left the country to visit certain other nations. Mr. Root made the complete tour of South America, traversed Central America, and afterwards visited Mexico. He was everywhere received with the heartiest greeting, a greeting which deeply touched our people, and I wish to say once more how appreciative we are of the reception tendered him.

His voyage was unique in character and in value. It was undertaken only because we citizens of this Republic recognize that our interests are more closely intertwined with the interests of the other peoples of this continent than with those of any other nations. I believe that history will say that though we have had other great Secretaries of State, we have had none greater than Elihu Root; and that though in his high office he has done much for the good of his nation and of mankind, yet his greatest achievement has been the success which has come as the result of his devoted labor to bring closer together all the Republics of the New World, and to unite them in the effort to work valiantly for our common betterment, for the material and moral welfare of all who dwell in the Western Hemisphere.

Ambassador Nabuco of Brazil Delivering Address at Corner-stone Laying

THE AMBASSADOR OF BRAZIL.

The Ambassador of Brazil, Joaquim Nabuco, said:

You have spoken, Mr. President, of the other States of this continent in a manner that shall cause intense satisfaction among them, and for which they certainly will feel greatly indebted to you and to your nation. With their admiration for your mighty country and the pace of its progress, never equalled before, they all bring into this Union their pride in their Latin inheritance, of which there is no higher testimonial than the English language itself. Only when the future comes to each of them and they will be able to develop, as this nation has done with hers, the portion each received on her cradle, shall the world realize the greatness of the Columbus estate. May your happy auguries meet with your usual good fortune! Together with those generous greetings, your address breathes the soul of a people that never allows a difference in its treatment of powerful and of weak nations.

We were glad to acclaim the high praise you bestowed on the present Secretary of State, while conferring on him the *laurea insignis* in this, the day of his triumph. His visit to South and Central America was one of those inspirations that characterize the statesman who will live in the hearts of many peoples. By the loftiness of his ideals, his fairness, his broad sympathies, his ability to weigh the imponderables of international sensibility, he won the hearts of all our nations, and could send you one of the most brilliant *veni, vidi, vici*, of diplomacy. In their turn they captured him and will ever keep his image as a friendly hostage of peace and good-will from this great Republic.

You can well afford to be generous, Mr. President. No President of the United States will leave in the history of Pan Americanism a deeper mark than the one you are cutting from ocean to ocean, to change the sea routes of the world so as to bring nearer together the peoples and cities on the two fronts of our continent.

We give you our thanks, Mr. Carnegie, for your munificent donation. In selecting this city for the permanent seat of our union, the Latin Republics of America have shown in the most striking way their pride in the nation that has been the leader of our continent, and which made it one of the leaders of civilization. You recollected that your country, while our associate, was also our host, and that never had a higher tribute than ours been paid to that American democracy, which your book has so much endeared to our present generations. You may, also, have been moved by the thought, which caused already so many of your works, that of contributing throughout posterity to the cause of peace. You rightly believe that peace is universal charity. Ours, indeed, is a wholly peaceful alliance, and it shines outside the American orbit only to show that this continent can already be called the hemisphere of peace.

Gentlemen, there has never been a parallel for the sight which this ceremony presents--that of twenty-one nations of different languages building together a house for their common deliberations. The more impressive is the scene as these countries, with all possible differences between them in size and population, have established their union on the basis of the most absolute equality. Here the vote of the smallest balances the vote of the greatest. So many sovereign States would not have been drawn so spontaneously and so strongly together, as if by an irresistible force, if there did not exist throughout them, at the bottom or at the top of each national conscience, the feeling of a destiny common to all America. It seems, indeed, that a decree of Providence made the western shore of the Atlantic appear late in history as the chosen land for a great renewal of mankind. From the early days of its colonization the sentiment sprung in the hearts of all its children that this is really a new world. That is the sentiment which unites us together on this auspicious day. We feel we are all sons of Columbus. And if we meet here, it is because we feel also that we all are sons of Washington. Rising on the plain of the Potomac, in the sight of the Capitol, the new house of the American Republics shall be another monument to the founder of modern liberty. That one is his national, this his continental, memorial.

Gentlemen, hearing still the voice of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons invoking upon this union the blessings of Heaven, our one prayer is that our mutual pledges will grow ever and ever stronger so that we all come to feel the full inspiration of the indissolvable partnership of the two Americas.

Mr Carnegie Delivering Address at Corner-stone Laying

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie said :

To-day my thoughts revert to the first Pan American conference, of which I was a member, called by my friend Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, worthy pioneer in the great work in which we are now engaged, which is, I believe, to culminate in the banishment of war from the American continents and the dedication of the Western Hemisphere to internal peace.

The ceremony which the President has just performed is cheering proof that the great work goes forward, knowing neither pause nor obstacle. He embraces every opportunity to hasten to completion, by word and deed, the work begun by Mr. Blaine under President Harrison and so ably conducted by Secretary Root under the present Administration. It is during his tenure of office the greatest progress has been made. Both hearts and heads of President, Secretary, and Cabinet, and, I may add, of the whole people of the United States, are in this beneficent work. The Western Hemisphere has already achieved these unequaled triumphs of peace.

First, the simple agreement made between Britain and the United States that upon the inland seas in the North only two tiny vessels, each with one 18-pounder gun, should patrol these waters, which they have done for nearly a century, the one craft flying the Union Jack and the other the Stars and Stripes. The only shots ever fired have been salutes expressive of amity and friendship. These have proved the most powerful vessels of war, the true *Dreadnoughts*, since they have kept the peace by discharging salvos of good-will.

Distinguished Guests Watching the Raising of Flags of Twenty-one American Nations at Corner-stone Laying

A nation has everything to dread from gigantic armed *Dreadnoughts*, nothing to dread from these true agents of peace.

That is the first lesson this continent gives to the world, and especially to Europe, which is the vortex of militarism, armed not against outside enemies, for the enemies of Europe are they of its own household.

The second lesson comes from the South, our friends of Argentina and Chile. Following the pernicious example of nations hitherto, these Republics struggled with each other until the better way was revealed. They then met and both conquered—by making peace, by offering the olive branch, not the sword. On the highest peak of the Andes upon the new boundary line agreed upon, these once warring powers have erected a statue of Christ, the Prince of Peace, cast out of molten bronze cannon, its pedestal bearing this inscription:

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer, they have sworn to maintain."

The third great lesson which this continent has just given to the world, coming from the center, is that of the five small Central American nations whose representatives met in Washington recently and agreed upon the establishment of a supreme court, to which all differences which may arise between them shall be referred. All of these nations have promptly ratified the action of their representatives.

Perhaps this is the most encouraging step forward that has yet been taken, for it promises to lead to the union of these five nations, following the example of our

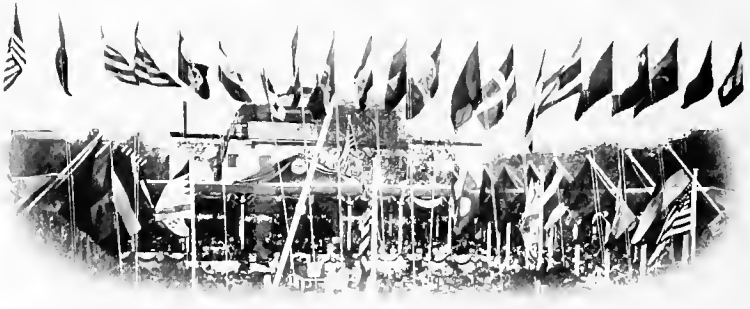
own Republic, converting a number of separate States into one nation with internal peace secured, and perhaps pointing the way to the larger merger of all South American States into the counterpart of our own Union.

These instances furnish the answer to the contention that nations, differing from individuals, cannot settle all differences without resorting to war.

It remains for this hemisphere to maintain its lead in the adoption of arbitration as the only Christian means of settling international disputes. We hope that all of the Republics in the South American continent will soon follow the example of Argentina and Chile and of the five Central American Republics with their one supreme tribunal.

Judging from the progress made in this direction during the lives of those of us who have been in this work from the begininng, we can look with hope to the early realization of our dream, which is to secure to the American continents the reign of internal peace by substituting peaceful arbitration for war. We are justified in indulging the fond hope that the good work is to go on, and that before long a conference of all the Republics will be held which shall provide that all disputes arising between them are to be thus peacefully settled. At such conference we might even expect to see a representative from Canada, which I have no doubt her motherland would warmly approve. In our first American conference I remember we began with sixteen Republics and one Monarchy—Brazil. There is a precedent therefore for Canada being represented in the next.

We failed to obtain a judicial world court at The Hague, but we should not fail in creating one for this Western Hemisphere. I may not live to see that day, but



The Raising of the American Flags

I shall die convinced that it is to come and thanking the kind fates that at least I was privileged to be one who sat at the first conference at which the effort was made. The reasons for its failure have passed away and there are those to-day who hear my voice who will live to see this Western Hemisphere, following the illustrious example of Argentina and Chile, dedicated to internal peace.

There is no work going forward in the world to-day which good men everywhere should regard with deeper interest and warmer approval than that in which the American Republics are now engaged. Hold fast to your great ideal—the American continents dedicated to internal peace. In this sublime labor it thrills me to feel and to repeat that there is no people whose heads and hearts are more fully enlisted than the people of the United States; no ruler who will labor more zealously than the President; no Secretary of State who will study more deeply or advise more wisely than he who holds that office to-day. This work accomplished, to every one who has contributed to it in the smallest degree there will come the assurance he has not lived his life in vain.

Guests Arriving for Dedication Ceremonies, April 26, 1910

DEDICATION EXERCISES IN HALL OF REPUBLICS BEING OPENED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

Guests Standing on Platform, From Left to Right: Senator Root, Cardinal Gibbons, Secretary Knox, President Taft, Ambassador de la Barra of Mexico, Mr. Carnegie, Bishop Harding, Director General Barrett, Mr. Albert Kelsey

THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW BUILDING.

The Dedication of the new building of the Pan American Union, April 26, 1910, was a celebration even more important and significant than that of the Laying of the Corner Stone. The speeches made by President Taft, Secretary Knox, Ambassador de la Barra of Mexico, Senator Elihu Root, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and the invocation of Cardinal Gibbons, as well as the benediction of Bishop Harding, all breathed the suggestion of the great good which this friendly organization of the American Republics, the Pan American Union, could accomplish for the peace and prosperity, not only of the peoples of the New World, but of all mankind.

CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Director General Barrett first introduced His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, who delivered the following invocation:

We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, through whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and may be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides, by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion, by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy, and by restraining vice and immorality. Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress and shine forth in all their proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge, and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

We recommend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law, that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world cannot give, and after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal. Grant, O Lord, that this temple, consecrated to international peace, may be an enduring monument of the concord and friendship that will subsist between our own beloved country and the sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere. And grant that the Gospel of

the Prince of Peace may so far sway the minds and hearts of Rulers and Cabinets that henceforth all international disputes may be adjusted, not on the field of battle, but in the halls of conciliation, not by standing armies, but by boards of arbitrators, not by the sword, but by the pen and voice of wisdom which are mightier than the sword.

SECRETARY KNOX.

Hon. Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State of the United States and Chairman ex officio of the Governing Board, said:

I feel that I am especially privileged in taking part in the auspicious ceremony of the dedication of the building to be devoted to the cause of peace and good-will between the Republics of America. It is more than a privilege, it is a duty incumbent on me to voice the sympathy of the United States in the great work which it is the mission of the International Bureau of the American Republics to accomplish, and to give renewed assurance, if such be needed, of the earnest and unselfish purpose of the Government and people of the United States to do all that lies within their power toward the fulfillment of the high task set before you.

The great movements of the people of the earth looking to closer association and truer kinship are often slow of realization. Such movements spring from within. They are not arbitrarily imposed by outward forces. Their primary impulse is the growing conviction of neighboring communities that the development and prosperity of each is in harmony with the advancement of the rest and that between peoples of the same ideals, living under the same political conditions and sharing in a common environment, there is a certain sentiment of unity which moves them to closer intimacy. The growth and fruition of that sentiment is the work of time, of centuries, perhaps. Rarely has the seed been sown and the tree matured within the lifetime of a single generation.

The movement in whose confirmation we take part to-day has been exceptionally favored. The reason of its marvelous fertility of development is not far to seek. The soil was prepared a century ago when the colonists of Spanish America established free communities from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, following their northern brethren of the United States, and the peoples of that vast domain, from being dependents of a common motherland, became fellow-workers in the building up of a scheme of kindred sovereignties. As historical eras are computed those sovereignties are yet young. It is a happy coincidence that at this very time they are commemorating the independence they won a hundred years ago.

Many of those among us were witnesses of the birth of the Pan American idea

in the First International Conference of American Republics held in this capital twenty years ago. We have watched its growth year by year with ardent solicitude. From the first the people of the United States, through their Government and Congress, have lent hearty and effective aid to the great enterprise. The representatives of all the Republics of the West have met, in cordial harmony, under the International Pan American banner, as the honored guests of the American Union; and this nation, in turn, never unmindful of the sacred duties of a host, has taken part as a simple co-laborer in the tasks of the great body politic which has been created by the concurrent efforts of all. It is a logical consequence of that dual relationship that the home of the International Bureau, in which we are to-day assembled, is the gift in a large part of a citizen of the United States to all the peoples of the Western Republics, and that we of the United States, in common with our Pan American brethren, accept that noble gift, firm in the conviction that it will be a worthy instrument toward the attainment of the high aims of the International Bureau, and, with devout hearts, we supplicate the Giver of all Good that the efforts of our association may be thrice blessed and through its influence the nations of Pan America may, year by year, be brought into closer accord and more benevolent community of interests.

DIRECTOR GENERAL BARRETT.

Director General Barrett said:

About three years ago the architects of the United States were invited to submit competitive plans for this structure. Seventy-seven individuals and firms responded. The Committee of Award, aside from Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, and hence chairman *ex officio* of the Governing Board of the International Bureau, and myself as the Director, was elected by the competing architects, and consisted of Charles F. McKim, Henry Hornbostle, and Austin W. Lord, three of the most eminent men in the profession. Mr. Robert Bacon, then Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. F. D. Millet, also assisted in the discussion of plans. After three days of most painstaking study the jury unanimously selected the set of drawings of which the present building is the evolution. They found, on opening the accompanying sealed envelope, that the successful competitors were Albert Kelsey and Paul P. Crét, of Philadelphia. The contract with them was signed in June, 1907. They devoted the following six or seven months to revision and improvement of their plans. In March, 1908, the contract for construction was awarded to Norcross Brothers, of Worcester, Massachusetts. The corner stone was laid just two years ago on the 11th of next May by President Roosevelt, while the other participants in the programme included Secretary of State Elihu Root, Ambassador Nabuco of Brazil, Cardinal Gibbons, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and Bishop Cranston.

Looking at the Corner of the Patio Where the Peace Tree Was Planted

Since then the work has proceeded without a day's cessation until now we ask your presence to assist in the dedication of the completed structure twenty-three months and fifteen days after the laying of the corner stone.

You are all aware of the generosity of Mr. Carnegie, who contributed $750,000 for its erection and so made such an elaborate but practical structure possible, but as a matter of record I would state that the United States Government appropriated $200,000 with which this beautiful and commanding site, covering five acres at the junction of the White Lot and Potomac Park, was purchased. The other twenty American Republics contributed a little over $50,000, which has been used in general expenses. The entire property therefore represents an investment of $1,000,000 in the cause of Pan American peace, friendship and commerce.

With the responsibility resting directly upon me as the executive officer of the Bureau to push forward the construction of the building, I wish to emphasize that my own efforts would have failed if I had not always been aided by the wise advice, warm support, and sincere co-operation of Mr. Root. This building is in a sense his child and I have acted as nurse. The members of the Governing Board, consisting of the Latin-American diplomats in Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States, have also shown an interest which has been encouraging and helpful. The architects, Mr. Kelsey and Mr. Crét, have given far more time and attention to the building than their contract demanded, and have always manifested a personal concern for its success as a temple of Pan Americanism. The contractors, Norcross Brothers, of Worcester, Massachusetts, have shown a marked desire to comply with our wishes and to respond to our suggestions for changes. They should have joint pride with us in its successful completion. The Superintendent of Construction, Mr. James Berrall, has given faithful and undivided attention to his duties. Wm. Copeland Furber looked carefully after the engineering features. The sculptors, including Gutzon Borglum, Isidore Konti, Sally James Farnham, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Solon Borglum, Herbert Adams, Chester Beach, Rudulph Evans, and Robert Aitken, have all given us the best of their skill, while we feel grateful to the principal sub-contractors for always doing their best to make this a unique edifice of a great capital. Nor do I forget Mr. William R. Smith, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, who has generously provided for our patio an abundance of rare varieties of tropical flora.

While this building is admittedly beautiful and striking in architecture, the impression must not be carried away that it has not abundant and practical office space. It possesses large, well-lighted, and sanitary rooms for double the staff or working force which it now employs, and it is arranged and equipped with every modern convenience for the efficiency and health of its occupants and the dispatch of public business. It has all the facilities of a modern office building, set, how-

ever, in an unconventional and attractive environment. In short, it comprises, possibly more than all the public buildings in Washington, the useful and the pleasing—a most appropriate condition for housing an institution which has about it so much that is alike practical and sentimental.

I will now mention a few facts not generally appreciated in regard to the actual scope and work of the institution.

The International Bureau of the American Republics is the only official international organization upon the Western Hemisphere. It is in no sense a subordinate bureau of the United States or of any other Government, except that it is equally subordinate to all. Its control rests in a Governing Board composed of the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the American Republics, and having as its chairman *ex officio* the Secretary of State of the United States. Its chief administrative officer is the Director, who is elected by the vote of this Governing Board and not appointed by the President of the United States. He is, therefore, in every respect, an international officer. The funds for the maintenance of the Bureau come from all the Governments, with each country appropriating or contributing a sum in the proportion that its population holds to the entire population of the American Republics.

The chief object and purpose of the International Bureau, expressed most briefly, is, on the moral and sentimental side, to develop mutual acquaintance, better understanding, lasting friendship, peace and good-will, and, on the material side, to develop the largest possible exchange of commerce and trade, industrial prosperity, and economic progress among all the American Republics. In both respects it is accomplishing practical and far-reaching results, even though at times there may be some clouds upon the horizon of the vast field which it includes.

It was established twenty years ago, at the first International Conference of American Nations, called upon the initiative of James G. Blaine, and held in this city. It was reorganized, enlarged and given new life by the Third Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro and attended by Elihu Root in 1906. In the following January the present Director took charge and has therefore administered the affairs of the Bureau for a little more than three years.

As illustrating the practical growth and useful work of the Bureau, a survey of these three years shows that its correspondence with all of the world has in that period increased nearly 600 per cent, while it distributed in 1909 some 450,000 pieces of printed matter, all in response to specific requests, in contrast to only 60,000 in 1906. Three years ago, only 10 per cent of the membership of both Houses of Congress utilized the Bureau in any form; last year 97 per cent made some use of it. In 1906 the United States Congress appropriated $36,000 as the United States quota for its support; this year it appropriated $75,000, and the other

twenty Republics have made corresponding increases in their quotas; and yet every dollar is needed to care for the Bureau's growing tasks and broadening responsibilities.

Its Monthly Bulletin, devoted to receiving and spreading information about the progress, resources, possibilities, and characteristics of the American Nations, which had little bona fide actual circulation in 1906, is now experiencing such popularity that the demand for it can only be met in small part. The Bureau also issues from time to time special reports, handbooks, circulars, and maps, for which there is a large and increasing call. Its library, numbering some 18,000 volumes and known as the Columbus Memorial Library, contains an excellent collection of books, pamphlets, official documents, newspapers, etc., descriptive and representative of the American peoples and nations.

The staff of the Bureau is made up of expert translators, statisticians, compilers, clerks, and stenographers, all of whom are loyally interested in its broad international work; and the Director desires to take advantage of this opportunity to express his gratitude to all persons employed in the Bureau from the highest to the lowest position for the co-operation they have given him in his administration and in the extra work demanded by the rapid growth of the institution and the building of this new structure. Especially does he wish to thank Mr. Francisco J. Yánes, his scholarly and sympathetic first assistant, who is the efficient Secretary of the International Bureau and of the Governing Board, and Mr. Franklin Adams, the Acting Chief Clerk, who has labored effectively for the improvement of the Monthly Bulletin.

MR. ALBERT KELSEY.

Mr. Kelsey, of the firm of Albert Kelsey and Paul P. Crét, Associate Architects, said:

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of my partner, Mr. Crét, and for myself, I wish first of all to acknowledge our deep sense of obligation to Director Barrett and Senator Root for their uniform courtesy and generous co-operation, since it is largely because of their generous co-operation and patient courtesy that we can truthfully say that this building has been designed and executed under absolutely ideal conditions.

They appreciated the advisability of giving us plenty of time in which to develop our design. They did not insist upon the employment of the lowest bidder, but accepted our recommendation, whereby Messrs. Norcross Brothers,

of Worcester, Massachusetts, were employed as the contractors (whose honest work we take much pleasure in now testifying has since fully justified our faith in them); and lastly, Mr. Barrett and Mr. Root have been patient and sympathetic clients.

In support of this assertion, I wish to repeat one of Senator Root's comments, and it cannot be too often repeated, far and wide, for the advancement of architecture. I went to Director Barrett and Senator Root apologetically for that abomination of abominations, an extra; but before I had completely clinched my argument Senator Root interrupted me and said: "Mr. Kelsey, an architect who does not change and improve his work as it progresses, and who does not ask for extras for such changes and improvements, must be dead." It has been in this spirit that we have been encouraged and helped from start to finish.

Now, just a few words about the building itself. After the general disposition of parts had been settled, and the proportions of the exterior and the interior had been determined, we set about to try and give expression to the building;—to make it significant and interesting.

The front elevation was to interpret the two grand geographical divisions of the Pan American Union, and in the carrying out of this thought we have been ably seconded by Mr. Gutzon Borglum and Mr. Isidore Konti, who have depicted in their colossal groups the spirit of modern progress now animating North and South America, respectively; then, wherever we could find a chance we have tried to recall the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English origins of the people constituting this Union, while in the patio, pavement, and fountain we have attempted to recall something of the mystery of that strange twilight time in American history which still baffles the savants of the world. I refer of course to the advanced civilizations of the early Peruvians, Mayas, Zapotecas, Toltecas, Aztecs and others:—while even here, above your heads, we have reproduced the feathered serpent of Uxmal—a symbol as familiar to archæologists as the scarab of Egypt.

But over and above all significant sculpture, ornament and detail, we have placed two birds—not the spread-eagle and the hungry condor—but the birds of peace and freedom of North and South America, each regarding the other with an expression of unalloyed admiration, confidence and respect.

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Mr. Carnegie, I accept the keys of the building from the Contractors, and deliver them with much pleasure to Secretary Knox, Chairman of the Governing Board.

A Corner of the Patio, New Building

SENATOR ROOT.

Senator Elihu Root said:

I am sure that this beautiful building must produce a lively sense of grateful appreciation from all who care for the growth of friendship among Americans; to Mr. Carnegie, not merely for his generous gift, but for the large sympathy and far vision that prompted it; and to the associate architects, Mr. Albert Kelsey and Mr. Paul Crét, who, not content with making this structure express their sense of artistic form and proportion, have entered with the devotion and self-absorption of true art into the spirit of the design for which their bricks and marble are to stand. They have brought into happy companionship architectural suggestions of the North and of the South; and have wrought into construction and ornament in a hundred ways the art, the symbolism, the traditions, and the history of all the American Republics; and they have made the building a true expression of the Pan Americanism of open mind and open heart for all that is true and noble and worthy of respect from whatever race or religion or language or custom in the western continents.

Nor should we forget the fine enthusiasm and understanding with which Mr. Borglum and Mr. Konti and Mrs. Farnham and Mrs. Whitney have brought sculpture to aid the architects' expression; nor the honest and faithful work of Mr. Norcross, the builder; nor the kind help of Mr. William Smith, of the Botanical Garden, who has filled the patio with tropical plants rare and strange to northern eyes, but familiar friends to the Latin American; nor the energy and unwearying labors of Mr. Barrett, the Director of the Bureau.

The active interest of President Taft and Secretary Knox is evidence that the policy of Pan American friendship inaugurated by the sympathetic genius of Secretary Blaine is continuous and permanent in the United States; and the harmony in which the members of the Governing Board have worked to this end is a good omen for the future.

This building is to be, in its most manifest utilitarian service, a convenient instrument for association and growth of mutual knowledge among the people of the different Republics. The library maintained here, the books and journals accessible here, the useful and interesting publications of the Bureau, the enormous correspondence carried on with seekers for knowledge about American countries, the opportunities now afforded for further growth in all these activities, justify the pains and the expense.

The building is more important, however, as the symbol, the ever present reminder, the perpetual assertion, of unity of common interest and purpose and hope among all the Republics. This building is a confession of faith, a covenant of

fraternal duty, a declaration of allegiance to an ideal. The members of The Hague Conference of 1907 described the Conference in the preamble of its great Arbitration Convention as:

"Animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of general peace.

"Resolved to promote by all the efforts in their power the friendly settlement of international disputes.

"Recognizing the solidarity uniting the members of the society of civilized nations.

"Desirous of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice."

That is the meaning of this building for the Republics of America. That sentiment which all the best in modern civilization is trying to live up to, we have written here in marble for the people of the American continents.

The process of civilization is by association. In isolation, men, communities, nations, tend back towards savagery. Repellant differences and dislikes separate them from mankind. In association, similarities and attractions are felt and differences are forgotten. There is so much more good than evil in men that liking comes by knowing. We have here the product of mutual knowledge, co-operation, harmony, friendship. Here is an evidence of what these can accomplish. Here is an earnest of what may be done in the future. From these windows the Governing Board of the International Union will look down upon the noble river that flows by the home of Washington. They will sit beneath the shadow of the simple and majestic monument, which illustrates our conception of his character, the character that, beyond all others in human history, rises above jealousy and envy and ignoble strife. All the nations acknowledge his pre-eminent influence. He belongs to them all. No man lives in freedom anywhere on earth who is not his debtor and his follower. We dedicate this place to the service of the political faith in which he lived and wrought. Long may this structure stand, while within its walls and under the influence of the benign purpose from which it sprang, the habit and the power of self-control, of mutual consideration and kindly judgment, more and more exclude the narrowness and selfishness and prejudice of ignorance and the hasty impulses of supersensitive *amour-propre*. May men hereafter come to see that here is set a milestone in the path of American civilization towards the reign of that universal public opinion which shall condemn all who through contentious spirit or greed or selfish ambition or lust for power disturb the public peace, as enemies of the general good of the American Republics.

One voice that should have spoken here to-day is silent, but many of us cannot forget or cease to mourn and to honor our dear and noble friend, Joaquim Nabuco, Ambassador from Brazil, Dean of the American Diplomatic Corps, respected, ad-

mired, trusted, loved, and followed by all of us, he was a commanding figure in the international movement of which the erection of this building is a part. The breadth of his political philosophy, the nobility of his idealism, the prophetic vision of his poetic imagination, were joined to wisdom, to the practical sagacity of statesmanship, to a sympathetic knowledge of men, and to a heart as sensitive and tender as a woman's. He followed the design and construction of this building with the deepest interest. His benificent influence impressed itself upon all of our actions. No benison can be pronounced upon this great institution so rich in promise for its future as the wish that his ennobling memory may endure and his civilizing spirit may control, in the councils of the International Union of American Republics.

THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR.

The Mexican Ambassador, Señor Don Francisco L. de la Barra, speaking on behalf of Latin America, said:

This is a great day for our America, when the might of right, gathering its scattered forces, gives a tangible form to a noble ideal, strengthens a useful institution, and tenders a new token of hope and encouragement to those who struggle for the mastery of peace, justice, and love.

The presence on this solemn occasion of the illustrious President of the United States, who has had the kindness to accept the invitation that the Governing Board of the International Bureau of American Republics had the honor to send him, is significant of the importance which the American Government and people attach to the victory won this day, a victory whose high moral meaning makes us forget for a moment the disappointments in our daily strife and gives us courage to go on working, believing, and hoping, as though we lived in the midst of an ideal humanity, far above all destructive passions.

The Latin Republics of this hemisphere who so cordially accepted the idea of erecting the building we dedicate to-day share—as shown by this act—in the fraternal sentiment of the American people who, while still giving ample proof of their splendid vigor and intensity of material life, proclaim at the same time their love for the lofty ideals of the higher standards of life.

History, carrying on every page the imprint of the fierce struggle for life among individuals and among races—by many considered a fatal law—will record this ceremony, exemplifying as it does the common tendencies of the two principal races which people our hemisphere, destined to achieve great deeds in the life of mankind.

Owing to the political and economical scope generally attributed to Pan Americanism, its fundamental idea has been earnestly discussed; some have censured it, others have praised it, and the rest have considered it as an impossible Utopia.

But when we mean by Pan Americanism that community of sentiment, of ideas and aspirations among the American Republics tending to foster cordiality in their friendly relations, tending to strengthen the ties of interests for mutual advantage, thus increasing the respect for the rights of others; when these aspirations, in materializing, in no wise impair the essential right of self-preservation, liberty, independence, and equality before the law of the States—then, indeed, we should joyfully celebrate the completion of the home devoted to such principles.

This is the sound Pan Americanism which has inspired our International Conferences in their work of harmony and has caused this magnificent palace to rise up, white as the flag of peace, beautiful, and filled with light like the minds of those who conceived the idea thus made a reality. It rests on its solid foundation, as firm as the love of the motherland and of justice existing in each of our countries.

This Pan Americanism which should be interpreted as a doctrine of love, can not be expounded in an aggressive form or with exasperating exclusiveness. The brotherly feeling which brings us together to-day is not antagonistic to our affections toward those nations who have contributed with their high standards of civilization, by their good example and with their live elements of progress to our material advancement and to the improvement of our intellectual faculties. Their blood is mixed with ours; their capital, their industries, and their artistic culture have been and are elements of our own progress.

One of the most practical forms of this idea has been the creation of the International Bureau of American Republics, a most useful institution devoted to promoting better mutual knowledge among the nations in our hemisphere. Its success is due in a large measure to the rare qualifications of its distinguished Director, who has won the respect and affection of the representatives of the several Governments forming the Governing Board of the Bureau.

This mutual understanding, ever increasing among the Republics of America, will contribute to reciprocal esteem and, at the same time, serve to overcome certain prejudices which still exist in some of our countries.

You—Anglo-Saxons, who with your wonderful powers of assimilation have maintained and strengthened your national unity, not only through currents of immigration, which have brought from northern and western Europe elements like those brought to your shores by the first colonists of New England, but also with other elements of entirely different races who come from other lands to your

own rich, free country in search of a sure and happy future—you, Anglo-Saxons, and we, who have peopled the Latin-American Republics, have been separated, more than by geographical distances, by feelings that are bound completely to disappear, since they have been gradually doing so as commerce has brought the races nearer together. This has made it evident that, rising above certain inherent deficiencies of human nature, there exist solid qualities in individuals and nations which are well worthy of esteem and admiration.

In such pre-eminent and practical work the International Bureau of American Republics collaborates by means of a trustworthy, intelligent, and active propaganda.

In praising this work of concord and justice which draws nearer together two great races, not to antagonize and destroy each other but for their better mutual understanding and esteem, we can not forget the name of the great philanthropist who has so magnificently and practically contributed to its realization. It is needless to mention his name; it is in our hearts and minds, and we well know how to appreciate the generous impulse of a life devoted to the noblest of purposes.

It is said of Michael Angelo that, not finding Raphael in the Farnesina Palace where the mural decoration was being finished by the painter from Urbino, he took a piece of charcoal and drew on the wall a head, which showed his rival that the great artist had been there. This may be applied to the present case; the powerful personality devoted to doing good has left its seal upon the ground of international peace-making, as shown in Cartago, Costa Rica, and in The Hague, and future generations will acknowledge the stamp of a firmly directed and nobly inspired will.

The dedication of the Palace of the American Republics takes place in a year of special significance for Latin America. A century ago some of the Republics of this continent declared their independence, and to-day they hasten to celebrate the centennial of this glorious and transcendental event, showing with justifiable pride the moral and material progress they have attained.

Allow me, therefore, as one of the representatives of the nations which commemorate that glorious deed, to evoke the memory of the great heroes whose effigies the guiding mind of this monument has gathered together in the principal gallery of this building as in a grand and solemn assembly. May they be a perpetual example for the nations of America, whose rapid evolution in the sense of real progress clearly appears to the eye of those who study life from a lofty standpoint, permitting the great trail of their onward march to be followed, as it is said of the aeronaut, who on rising in the air views the great currents of the ocean.

Let us earnestly hope, ladies and gentlemen, that the dedication of the Palace of the American Republics may be the starting point of a new era of greater

View Across Patio, Showing Sliding Roof

mutual esteem, ever more and more hearty among the nations of this hemisphere, merging their differences into a common ideal of peace, justice, and progress in the same manner in which the architects have so beautifully succeeded in harmonizing in this building, with exquisite art, the severity and grandeur of the American people with the grace and elegance of the Latin-American soul.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie said:

As one of the remaining members of the First International Conference of the American Republics, whose interest in the cause has increased with the years, no duty could be assigned me more pleasing than that I am now called upon to perform by the favor of the Governing Board of the International Bureau of the American Republics—that of participating in the dedication of this beautiful structure to its noble mission of promoting the reign of peace and good-will, and of progress, moral and material, over the Republics of this vast continent. Nor would we exclude from friendly co-operation our growing neighbor of the North, who enjoys like ourselves government of, and for, and by the people, should she in the course of time decide, with the cordial approval of her illustrious parent-land, to enter the brotherhood, thus extending it over the entire continent, an area nearly four times as large as Europe. Surely such a spectacle would soon lead the whole civilized world to follow.

Upon such an occasion as this our thoughts naturally revert to the past services of Secretary Blaine, who stands forth pre-eminent, presiding as he did over the First Conference of the Republics held in Washington, which conference he had called into being. We rejoice that upon these walls a permanent tribute to his memory is soon to appear. His successor, Senator Root (then Secretary of State, and to whom we chiefly owe this beautiful structure), was an honorary president of the recent and Third Conference and was the pioneer among high officials in visiting our southern brethren in their own countries. Much has he done for the cause, and in due time a similar tribute to him will no doubt be erected. His successor, our chairman, Mr. Knox, is already to be credited with a notable success in suggesting that the International Prize Court, agreed to by the delegates of the eight leading naval powers, be converted into an arbitral court composed of the most eminent jurists of the respective countries, authorized to decide any international disputes brought before it. Should this pregnant suggestion be approved, of which there is strong hope, the world will have at last its greatest need supplied and the young Secretary of State's everlasting monument be thus provided by one stroke of his pen.

My neighbor in the first conference was Señor Don Manuel Quintana, of Argentina, afterwards elevated to the presidency of his country. He also, like Mr. Blaine, has passed away. We have to mourn also the untimely death of our chairman of the Pan-American Committee, William I. Buchanan, whose devotion to the work and the ability displayed had given him high place among those who rank as internationalists and whose fame is secure not only in his own country, but in all the Republics. It was feared Mr. Buchanan's loss would be irremediable, but a great, noble cause such as that of Pan Americanism, in which we are engaged, inspires and develops unusual talents and earnest souls, whose hearts are in the work. I venture to speak of Director Barrett in this connection, whose ability to meet all emergencies has been truly surprising. Three or four times what has been offered in other lines of opportunity has failed—as I happen to know—to shake his devotion to his mission. His heart and brain are in the cause. His reward lies in beholding its progress.

The last of our grievous losses still lingers in our hearts, that of the able, devoted, beloved Pan American, Señor Nabuco, Brazil's notable Ambassador. When shall we look upon his like again?

Would that all these leaders who have passed beyond were cognizant of the wonderful progress the Pan American idea has made and is making in recent times. It occurs to me that this edifice may be destined to become the Pantheon of departed heroes in the cause of continental peace and brotherhood.

I wish to congratulate the twenty Latin nations south of us upon their educational and intellectual progress, their vast resources, and growing prominence and international influence. Their expanding trade and commerce are remarkable. The International Bureau of the American Republics is performing a great work in keeping the peoples of the world advised of these matters. I confess that the figures surprise me. These twenty Republics have already 70,000,000 of people, and their foreign trade, which has doubled in the last ten years, amounts to $2,000,000,000 (not millions, but billions). Trade between our own country and these has also doubled in that time and reaches $600,000,000. If the Bureau continues keeping the world advised of the progress of Pan American commerce and Pan American railways and continues to report such amazing progress and resources, it may soon be questioned whether this twentieth century is after all to be Canada's century. It may be captured, not by the northern but by the southern part of our continent. My recent visit to the West and the Pacific convinced me that the center nation, winner of the nineteenth century, is still in the race and is not to be regarded as a negligible quantity in the struggle for record progress in the twentieth. In any case, we of the middle portion will heartily congratulate our advancing sister nations, north or south.

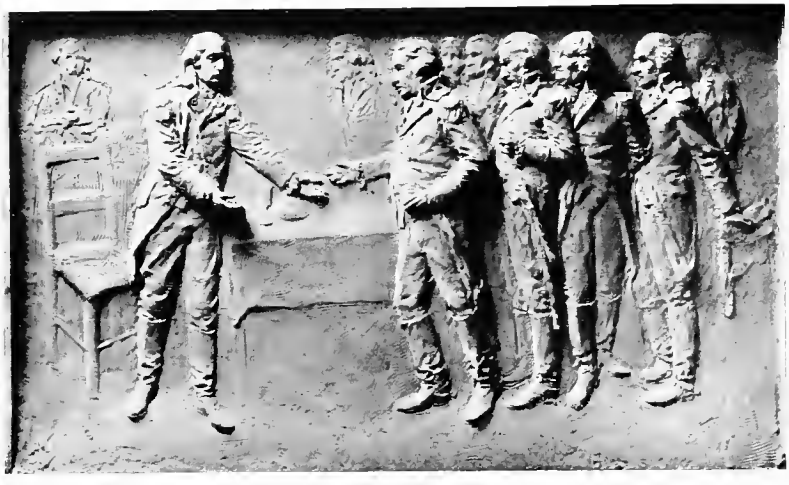
Grand foyer to the Hall of the Americas, embellished with the flags of the American nations and busts of their illustrious men

Mr. Chairman, fully am I persuaded that the rulers and statesmen of the earth, all of whom are to-day constantly proclaiming their earnest desire for peace, are sincere in their protestations. Why, then, is this universally desired peace not promptly secured? Equally am I persuaded that the true root of the failure lies in the fact that these rulers and statesmen know not each other well. They are strangers, and therefore naturally and mutually suspicious. When a difference arises, they meet as strangers, knowing not the sincerity, the truthfulness, the keen sense of honor, and the earnest desire for peace of their fellow-statesmen. The French have a proverb "We only hate those we do not know." The reverse is also self-evidently true—"We only love those we do know."

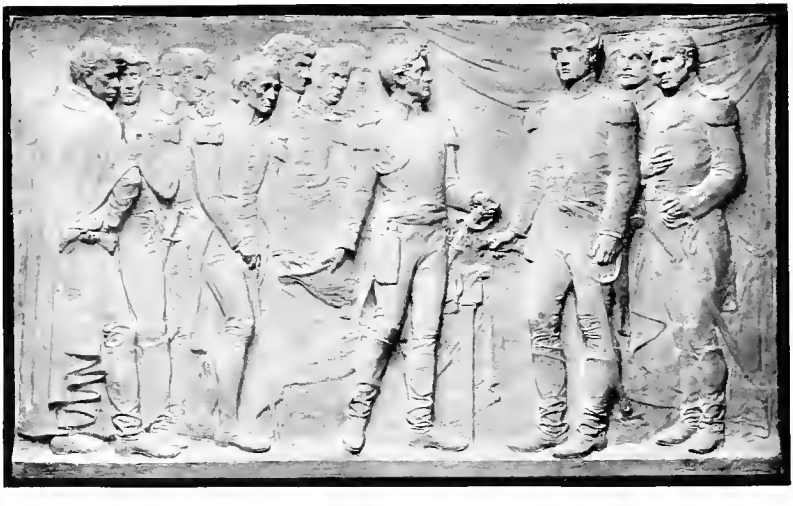
Two men differ; if strangers, the probable result is strife. Two friends differ; the probable result is peaceful settlement either by themselves, or, failing that, by arbitration of friends, and the two friends become dearer to each other than before. Why? Because neither has assumed to sit as judge in his own cause, which violates the first principles of natural justice. The greatest crime that either man or nation can commit is to insist upon doing that which would consign the judge upon the bench to infamy if he ever dared to sit in judgment upon a cause in which he was an interested party. In nations which still tolerate the duel, its practice is rapidly falling into disrepute, and a court of honor is coming into general use, first to determine whether the two foes are justified in breaking the peace.

One of the chief missions of this palace should be, as their natural home, to draw together the diplomats and representative men of all our Republics and enable them to know each other and learn of the sterling virtues of their colleagues, and especially their earnest desire for the prosperity of all their neighbors and their anxious hope that peace shall ever reign between them. Thus these statesmen will become lifelong friends to whom may safely be intrusted the settlement of any international difference that may arise. Above all, we may expect that between such friends no one would insist upon sitting as judge upon his own cause, were the other to propose leaving the difference to a mutual friend. This, then, is one of the greatest missions of this international meeting ground in which we are assembled. Nor will its mission be fulfilled until every Republic, and, I fondly hope, Canada also included, shall have agreed to lay aside the sword.

The most momentous declaration ever made upon this subject by the chief of a nation is that of our President recently in New York. He proclaimed that all international disputes should be settled by arbitration; no exceptions. A court of honor should decide whether any dispute involved that phantom of nations called honor. The independence and existing territorial limits of nations would, of course, be sacred and recognized as beyond dispute. He has given us the true solution



WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO HIS GENERALS
Bas-relief on Front of New Building, by Gutzon Borglum



MEETING OF SAN MARTIN AND BOLIVAR AT GUAYAQUIL
Bas-relief on Front of New Building, by Isidore Konti

of the problem of peace against war and placed our Republic in the van, and he is to rank in history with the greatest benefactors of his race.

The crime of war is inherent—it gives victory not to the nation that is right but to that which is strong.

As I speak there comes to me a new poem, The New Age. I quote two verses:

When navies are forgotten
  And fleets are useless things,
When the dove shall warm her bosom
  Beneath the eagle's wings,
When memory of battles
  At last is strange and old,

When nations have one banner
  And creeds have found one fold,
Then hate's last note of discord
  In all God's worlds shall cease
In the conquest which is service,
  In the victory which is peace.

With the words of Washington, the father of our country, in my heart: "My first wish is to see the plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth," I now join in dedicating this home of the Bureau of the American Republics to the highest of all its missions, the abolition of the crime of killing man by man as a means of settling international disputes.

PRESIDENT TAFT.

The President of the United States, William H. Taft, said:

It is now nearly two years since my predecessor, Mr. Roosevelt, laid the cornerstone of this building and there testified to his interest, and the interest of the people whom he represented, in its construction and in its meaning. He added something to the enjoyment and interest of the occasion by differing somewhat from him who had made the occasion possible, Mr. Carnegie, as to the method by which peace should be obtained. But that they both were earnest and strenuous and determined to have peace, there was no doubt.

I esteem it a great honor to the United States of America that the twenty other American Republics have consented that the home of the Bureau of American Republics should be here and upon this soil. As the elder sister of our twenty sisters, we take pride in the primogeniture. We are anxious to have each member of the family know that we believe in absolute equality in the family, and that there is nothing of preference which we insist upon because we are older, and, for the time being, can count more noses.

The Bureau of American Republics was established, or suggested at least and carried into being, by that great Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. It has been made most effective by another great Secretary of State, Elihu Root. I am entirely relieved from embarrassment in this presence and at this function by being innocent of any direct official association with the Bureau of American Republics or the magnificent organization that we are here to commemorate, and, therefore, I can be impartial and comment on the fitting things that this occasion suggests. Elihu Root believes in architecture and the preservation of all forms of beauty, and, as a lover of that, he went in with enthusiasm to persuade Mr. Carnegie that this was the method of promoting peace, and at the same time to erect here a beautiful monument to art. His speech to-day was as perfect in its way as the architecture of this building.

It is further fitting that this building should have been made possible by that man who is the most conspicuous man out of official life in the bringing about of universal peace.

I wish to congratulate our sister republics upon the marvelous progress that they have made in the last two decades—in material advancement, and in that without which either spiritual or material advancement is impossible, in peace, in the stability of their government, in the consciousness that it is the annals of a peaceful, happy country that are tiresome. The few instances of disturbed countries that remain are being made less in number by the wonderful progress and

prosperity of those who preserve the stability of their government by the peaceful rule of the majority.

It goes without saying that in the foreign policy of the United States its greatest object is the preservation of peace among the American Republics. And it goes also without saying that the organization of the Bureau of American Republics, and the making of this family of American Republics, are events that tend more than anything else to the preservation of that peace, for we twenty-one republics can not afford to have any two or any three of us quarrel. We must stop. And Mr. Carnegie and I will not be satisfied until all nineteen of us can intervene by proper measures to suppress a quarrel between any other two.

Of course, we are not all philanthropists, as Mr. Carnegie is, and we have an additional interest in the Bureau of American Republics and in the cultivation of good-will between the twenty-one republics in that we hope each of us may profit by the trade which will be promoted by our closer relations.

This is the centennial year of many of the twenty-one republics, and it is very fitting that the building which represents their closer union should be dedicated in this year.

There is only one other happy feature of the occasion to which I wish to refer, and that is the absolute fitness for the making of this Bureau a success, of Mr. John Barrett. He was born for it, and I hope he will continue to make it more and more useful as the years go on.

For the present Secretary of State, I want to say—and I speak with modesty, because he and I are in the same administration—there is nothing that this Government can do to promote the solidity of the union between the twenty-one republics that meet here in this building in joint ownership, that he is not willing and anxious to do. And, if I have any influence with the administration, I propose to back him to the full in carrying this policy out.

BISHOP HARDING.

Right Reverend Bishop Alfred Harding, of Washington, delivered the following benediction:

O Lord, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the Universe, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, we invoke Thy blessing upon this temple of peace and upon the great purposes for which it has been builded, and upon those into whose hearts Thou didst put the thought, and to whom Thou hast given grace and power, faithfully to fulfill the same. We ask Thy blessing upon Thy servant, the President of the United States, and all others in authority in this land, and upon the Presidents and Rulers of our Sister

Republics in this New World, that all their deliberations and actions may be guided to the promotion of unity, peace, and concord among the nations, and that the work of the Bureau of the American Republics may promote among the people of this continent and all nations "peace on earth, good will towards men."

And may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight. Through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

National Monument, Lima, Peru

GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

(March, 1911)

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC	Señor Don Rómulo S. Naón, Minister Plenipotentiary (Appointed).
	Señor Don Jacinto L. Villegas, Chargé d'Affaires.
BOLIVIA	Señor Don Ignacio Calderón, Minister Plenipotentiary.
BRAZIL	Mr. R. de Lima e Silva, Chargé d'Affaires.
CHILE	Señor Don Alberto Yoacham, Chargé d'Affaires.
COLOMBIA	Señor Don Francisco de P. Borda, Minister Plenipotentiary.
COSTA RICA	Señor Don Joaquín Bernardo Calvo, Minister Plenipotentiary.
CUBA	Señor Don Arturo Padró y Almeida, Chargé d'Affaires.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	Señor Don Emilio C. Joubert, Minister Plenipotentiary.
ECUADOR	Señor Doctor Rafael María Arízaga, Minister Plenipotentiary.
GUATEMALA	Señor Doctor Ramón Bengoechea, Chargé d'Affaires.
HAITI	Mr. H. Pauléus Sannon, Minister Plenipotentiary.
HONDURAS	Señor Doctor Luis Lazo Arriaga, Minister Plenipotentiary.
MEXICO	Señor Don Francisco L. de la Barra, Ambassador.
NICARAGUA	Señor Doctor Salvador Castrillo, Minister Plenipotentiary.
PANAMA	Señor Doctor Belisario Porras, Minister Plenipotentiary.
PARAGUAY	Not represented at present.
PERU	Señor Don Felipe Pardo, Minister Plenipotentiary.
SALVADOR	Señor Don Federico Mejía, Minister Plenipotentiary.
UNITED STATES	Hon. Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State, *Chairman ex officio of the Board.*
URUGUAY	Señor Doctor Alfredo de Castro, Chargé d'Affaires.
VENEZUELA	Señor Don P. Ezequiel Rojas, Minister Plenipotentiary.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

JOHN BARRETT, Director General of the Pan American Union.
FRANCISCO J. YÁNES, Assistant Director and Secretary of the Governing Board.

PAN AMERICAN COMMERCE

Principal Latin-American Exports to the United States During the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1910

Articles	Value Dollars
Sugar and Molasses	95,005,415
Coffee	66,757,721
India rubber, gutta-percha, and substitutes therefor, and manufactures of	61,510,776
Hides and skins other than fur skins	32,772,181
Copper, and manufactures of	20,132,733
Tobacco, and manufactures of	17,958,686
Fruits and nuts	12,230,177
Fibers, vegetable, and textile grasses, and manufactures of	11,539,986
Wool, hair of camel, goat, alpaca, and other like animals, and manufactures of	8,335,127
Cocoa and cacao	4,523,038
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	3,997,497
Lead, and manufactures of	3,557,283
Wood, and manufactures of	1,419,903
Cotton, and manufactures of	1,098,428
Furs, and manufactures of	146,889
Miscellaneous	50,454,671
Total exports	391,440,511

Principal Latin-American Imports from the United States during the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1910

Articles	Value Dollars
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	27,498,819
Breadstuffs	19,681,240
Wood, manufactures of	16,957,862
Oils	14,663,252
Meat and dairy products	13,684,005
Cotton, and manufactures of	8,873,813
Leather, and manufactures of	7,332,938
Agricultural implements and parts of	8,078,958
Instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes	5,535,713
Coal and coke	4,102,570
Cars, carriages, other vehicles, and parts of	3,638,693
Naval stores	2,232,331

Paper, and manufactures of	1,949,613
Fibers, vegetable, and textile grasses, manufactures of	1,326,676
Fruits and nuts	880,518
Copper, and manufactures of	768,948
Tobacco, and manufactures of	628,729
Animals	613,863
Paraffin, and paraffin wax	559,110
Clocks and watches, and parts of	298,713
Fish	226,197
Glucose	125,685
Miscellaneous	99,593,621
Total imports	239,251,867
Total value of trade exchange between the United States and the 20 other Republics of the Pan American Union, for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1910	630,692,378
Total value of trade exchange between the United States and the 20 other Republics of the Pan American Union, for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1906	498,737,814
Increase in last four years under present administration of the Pan American Union	131,954,564

Bas-relief from Patio Fountain

WAR AS THE MOTHER OF VALOR AND CIVILIZATION

By Andrew Carnegie

WE still hear war extolled at times as the mother of valor and the prime agency in the world's advancement. By it, we are told, civilization has spread and nations been created, slavery abolished, the American Union preserved. It is even held that without war human progress would have been impossible.

The Answer: Men were first savages who preyed upon each other like wild beasts, and so they developed a physical courage which they shared with the brutes. Moral courage was unknown. War was almost their sole occupation. Peace existed only for short periods that tribes might regain strength to resume the sacred duty of killing each other.

Advance in civilization was impossible while war reigned. Only as wars became less frequent and long intervals of peace intervened, could civilization, the mother of true heroism, take root. Civilization has advanced just as war has receded, until in our day peace has become the rule and war the exception. Arbitration of international disputes grows more and more in favor. Successive generations of men now live and die without seeing war; and instead of the army and navy furnishing the only careers worthy of gentlemen, it is with difficulty that civilized nations can to-day obtain a sufficient supply of either officers or men.

In the past man's only method for removing obstacles and attaining desired ends was to use brute courage. The advance of civilization has developed moral courage. We use more beneficent means than men did of old. Britain in the eighteenth century used force to prevent American independence. In more recent times she graciously grants Canada the rights denied America; and, instead of coercing the Dutch in South Africa, wins them by granting self-government. The United States also receives an award of the powers against China, and, finding it in excess of her expenditures, in the spirit of the newer time, returns ten millions of dollars. Won by this act of justice, China devotes the sum to the education of Chinese students in the Republic's universities. The greatest force is no longer that of brutal war, which sows the seeds of future wars, but the supreme force of gentleness and generosity—the golden rule.

The pen is rapidly superseding the sword. Arbitration is banishing war. More than five hundred international disputes have already been peacefully settled. Civilization, not barbarism, is the mother of true heroism.

Our lately departed poet and disciple of peace, Richard Watson Gilder, has left us the answer to the false idea that brute force employed against our fellows ranks with heroic moral courage exerted to save or serve them:—

'T was said: "When roll of drum and battle's roar
Shall cease upon the earth, O, then no more
The deed, the race of heroes in the land."
But scarce that word was breathed when one small hand
Lifted victorious o'er a giant wrong
That had its victims crushed through ages long;
Some woman set her pale and quivering face,
Firm as a rock, against a man's disgrace;
A little child suffered in silence lest
His savage pain should wound a mother's breast;
Some quiet scholar flung his gauntlet down
And risked, in Truth's great name, the synod's frown;
A civic hero, in the calm realm of laws,
Did that which suddenly drew a world's applause;
And one to the pest his lithe young body gave
That he a thousand thousand lives might save.

On the field of carnage men lose all human instincts in the struggle to protect themselves. The true heroism inspired by moral courage prompts firemen, policemen, sailors, miners, and others to volunteer and risk their lives to save the lives of their fellowmen. Such heroism is now of everyday occurrence.

In our age there is no more reason for permitting war between civilized nations than for relaxing the reign of law within nations, which compels men to submit their personal disputes to peaceful courts, and never dreams that by so doing they will be made less heroic.

A peace league of the foremost nations should put an end to the possibility of war among themselves and compel other nations to submit their disputes to peaceful tribunals. Since war decides not which is wrong, but only which is strong, it is difficult to understand how a truly heroic or conscientious man can ever favor appeal to it, unless, after proffering peaceful arbitration, his country is attacked.

Should ever our country have a dispute with another, the demand should come from an irresistible number of the most enlightened and heroic of our people that our government should "In its right hand carry gentle peace," and offer its adversary arbitration.

When war ceases, the sense of human brotherhood will be strengthened and "Heroism" will no longer mean to kill, but only to serve or save our fellows.

Country Scene in Tropical Mexico

Bas-Relief of Patio Fountain

ARBITRATION CASES

LIST OF CASES SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION

BY FORMAL AGREEMENTS

TO WHICH AMERICAN NATIONS WERE PARTIES FROM

1794 TO 1910

United States—Great Britain	1794	Boundary—St. Croix River.
United States—Great Britain	1794	Claims—Debts due British subjects.
United States—Great Britain	1794	Claims—Maritime seizures.
United States—Spain	1795	Claims—Maritime seizures.
United States—Spain	1802	Mutual Claims—war.
United States—Great Britain	1814	Territory.
United States—Great Britain	1814	N. E. Boundary.
United States—Great Britain	1814	North Boundary.
United States—Great Britain	1818	Obligations as to slaves.
United States—Spain	1819	Florida Claims.
United States—Great Britain	1822	Amount of Award.
Brazil—Portugal	1825	Reciprocal War Claims.
United States—Great Britain	1827	Boundaries N. W.
Brazil—Great Britian	1829	Claims—Maritime seizures.
Buenos Aires—Great Britain (Argentina)	1830	War Claims.
Mexico—France	1839	War Claims.
Mexico—United States	1839	Claims Personal Indemnities.

Argentina—France	1840	Claims—Personal Indemnities.
Brazil—United States	1842	Claims—Maritime Captures.
United States—Portugal	1851	Claim—Destruction of vessel "General Armstrong."
United States—Great Britain	1853	Reciprocal Claims.
Ecuador—Peru	1853	Claims—Maritime Seizures.
United States—Great Britain	1854	Fisheries.
Uruguay—France and Great Britain	1857	Acts of War.
Venezuela—The Netherlands	1857	Territory.
United States—New Grenada	1857	Personal Claims.
Brazil—Great Britain	1858	Personal Claims.
Argentina—France, Great Britain and Sardinia	1858	Civil War Claims.
Chile—United States	1858	Claim—Maritime Seizure "Macedonian."
Paraguay—United States	1859	Claims—Commercial, United States and Paraguay Navigation Co.
Guatemala—Great Britain	1859	Boundary.
Honduras—Great Britain	1859	Claims—Concessions.
Nicaragua—Great Britain	1860	Claims—Concessions.
Costa Rica—United States	1860	Pecuniary Claims.
Ecuador—United States	1862	Mutual Claims.
Peru—United States	1862	Claims—Maritime Seizures, "Lizzie Thompson" and "Georgiana."
Brazil—Great Britain	1863	Claim—Arbitrary Arrest.
Peru—United States	1863	Mutual Claims.
United States—Great Britain	1863	Claims—Hudson Bay Co.
Peru—Great Britain	1863	Claim—Arbitrary Arrest.
Colombia—United States	1864	Extension of Convention of 1857
Salvador—United States	1864	Claim—Henry Savage.
Argentina—Great Britain	1864	Personal Claims.
Venezuela—France	1864	Personal Claims.
United States—Venezuela	1866	Personal Claims.
Mexico—Great Britain	1866	Mutual Claims.
Argentina—Bolivia	1868–69	Boundary.
Mexico—United States	1868	Mutual Claims.
Venezuela—Great Britain	1868	Personal Claims.
Peru—United States	1868	Mutual Claims.
Brazil—United States	1870	Claim—Loss of Ship "Canada."
United States—Spain	1870	Claim—Detention of Ship "Lloyd Aspinwall."
United States—Spain	1871	Claims—Cuban insurrection.
United States—Great Britain	1871	Alabama Claims.
United States—Great Britain	1871	Civil War Claims, personal.
United States—Great Britain	1871	Fisheries—Nova Scotia.
United States—Great Britain	1871	Boundary—San Juan.
Brazil—Norway and Sweden	1871	Claim—Damages to Ship.
Chile—Peru	1871	Common Expenses of War.
Brazil—Paraguay	1872	Mutual War Claims.

Bolivia—Chile	1872	Claims—Mining Operations.
Colombia—Great Britain	1872	Personal Claims — Cotesworth & Powell.
Brazil—Great Britain	1873	Personal Claim—Naval Services.
Peru—Japan	1873	Claim—Detention of Ship.
Chile—United States	1873	Claim—Detention of Ship.
Colombia—United States	1874	Claim—Detention of Ship.
Chile—Peru	1874	Mutual War Claims.
Chile—Great Britain	1875	Claim—Loss of Ship.
Argentina—Paraguay	1876	Boundary—El Chaco.
Nicaragua—Great Britain	1879	Sovereignty of Mosquito Island.
Nicaragua—France	1879	Claim—Seizure of Arms.
United States—France	1880	Mutual Claims.
Honduras—Salvador	1880	Boundary.
Colombia—Costa Rica	1880	Boundary.
Santo Domingo—The Netherlands	1881	Claim—Confiscation of Ship.
Colombia—Venezuela	1881	Boundary.
Chile—Argentina	1881	Boundary.
Chile—France	1882	Claims—War of Pacific.
Chile—Italy	1882	Claims—War of Pacific.
Chile—Great Britain	1883	Claims—War of Pacific.
Chile—Peru	1883	Mutual Claims—War.
United States—China	1884	Personal Claim—Ashmore.
Bolivia—Chile	1884	Claim—Confiscation of Property.
Haiti—United States	1884	Personal Claim—Pelletier and Lazare.
Colombia—Ecuador	1884	Personal Claims.
Chile—Germany	1884	Claims—War of Pacific.
Chile—Belgium	1884	Claims—War of Pacific.
United States—Spain	1885	Claim—Maritime Capture.
Chile—Austria-Hungary	1885	Claims—War of Pacific.
Chile—Switzerland	1886	Claims—War of Pacific.
Colombia—Italy	1886	Personal Claims—Cerruti, *et al.*
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1886	Boundary.
Honduras—Salvador	1886	Boundary.
Ecuador—Peru	1887	Boundary.
Colombia—Ecuador and Peru	1887-94	Territory.
Argentina—Chile	1888	Boundary.
Guatemala—Mexico	1888	Mutual Claims.
United States—Haiti	1888	Claim — Arbitrary Arrest, "Van Bokelen."
United States—Morocco	1888	Claim—Illegal Arrest.
United States—Denmark	1888	Butterfield Claim—Seizure Ships.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1889	Claim—Interoceanic Canal.
Argentina—Brazil	1889	Boundary—"Misiones."
United States—Mexico	1889	Boundaries.
Haiti—Great Britain	1890	Personal Claim.
Haiti—France	1890	Personal Claim.
United States—Great Britain Portugal	1891	Railway Concessions—Delagoa Bay.

Venezuela—France	1891	Claim—Denial of Justice.
United States—Venezuela	1892	Claim—Venezuela Steam. Tran. Co.
United States—Great Britain	1892	Seal Fisheries.
Chile—France and Peru	1892	Claims—Guano.
Chile—United States	1892	Mutual Claims.
Mexico—Guatemala	1892	Boundary.
Argentina—Chile	1893	Boundary.
Ecuador—United States	1893	Illegal Arrest—J. R. Santos.
Chile—Great Britain	1893	Claims—Civil War.
Colombia—Italy	1894	Personal Claim — Cerruti, Second Treaty.
Honduras—Nicaragua	1894	Boundary.
Chile France	1895	Claims—Civil War.
Guatemala—Honduras	1895	Boundary.
Guatemala—Mexico	1895	Military Occupations.
Haiti—Santo Domingo	1895	Boundary.
Chile—Sweden and Norway	1895	Claims—Civil War.
Bolivia—Peru	1895	Military Occupation.
Nicaragua—Great Britain	1895	Claims—Damages to Property.
Honduras—Salvador	1895	Boundary.
Haiti—Germany	1895	Personal Claims.
Brazil—Italy	1895	Personal Claims.
Brazil—Great Britain	1896	Territory.
United States—Great Britain	1896	Canadian Fur Seal Claims.
Brazil—Italy	1896	Military Requisitions.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1896	Boundary.
Argentina—Chile	1896	Boundary.
Colombia—Great Britain	1896	Personal Claim.
Venezuela—Great Britain	1897	Territory.
Mexico—United States	1897	Claims—Personal injuries.
Brazil—France	1897	Boundary—Fr. Guiana.
Chile—France	1897	Claims—Personal injuiries.
Chile—France	1897	Claim—Breach of Contract.
United States—Siam	1897	Military assault, E. V. Kellett.
United States—Siam	1897	"Cheek" claim.
Guatemala—Italy	1898	Pers. Claim—Breach of Contract.
Ecuador—Italy	1898	Damages—arbitrary expulsion.
Costa Rica—Rep. Central America	1898	Mutual claims.
Peru—United States	1898	Claim—Personal Injury.
United States—Great Britain	1898	Seal fisheries—Alaska boundary, etc.
Chile—Peru	1898	Form of plebiscite.
Argentina—Bolivia—Chile	1898	Boundary.
Honduras—Great Britain	1899	Claim—Detention of Ship.
United States—Great Britain—Germany	1899	Samoan differences.
United States—Haiti	1899	Claim—Metzger & Co.
United States—Great Britain—Germany	1899	Military operations—Samoa.
Peru—Italy	1899	Civil War claims.

Guatemala—United States	1900	Personal claim—R. H. May.
United States—Nicaragua	1900	Claim—Maritime seizures.
Bolivia—Chile	1900	Claims—Civil War.
United States—Russia	1900	Seizure of ships.
Peru—Italy	1900	Interpretation of Treaty.
Brazil—Great Britian	1901	Boundary—Guiana.
Nicaragua—Great Britain	1901	Claims—Concessions.
Salvador—United States	1901	Claims—Concessions.
United States—Mexico	1902	"Pious fund" claim.
Guatemala—France	1902	Personal injury.
Guatemala—Italy	1902	Claim—Personal injury.
Venezuela—France	1902	Claim—Personal injury.
Bolivia—Peru	1903	Boundary.
United States—Dominican Republic	1903	Personal claim—J. Sala & Co.
United States—Dominican Republic	1903	San Domingo Importing Co., *et al.*
Venezuela—United States—Great Britain—Germany, *et al.*	1903	Preferential claims.
Ecuador—Peru	1904	Boundary.
Colombia—Ecuador	1904	Boundary.
Colombia—Peru	1904	Boundary.
Nicaragua—Honduras	1904	Boundary.
Haiti—France	1904	Personal claim.
Brazil—The Netherlands	1906	Delimitation.
United States—Great Britain	1909	Fisheries.
United States—Venezuela	1909	Orinoco Steamship Co., claim.
Mexico—France	1909	Sovereignty of Island.
Costa Rica—Panama	1910	Boundary.

A LIST OF TREATIES CONTAINING ARBITRATION CLAUSES TO WHICH THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS HAVE BEEN PARTIES

NOTE—This list has been arranged alphabetically, solely as a matter of convenience.

TREATY OF		
Argentine—Chile	1855	Peace and amity.
Argentine—Bolivia	1858	
Argentine—Peru	1874	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Argentine—Chile	1896	
Argentine—Italy	1898	
Argentine—Paraguay	1899	
Argentine—Uruguay	1899	
Argentine—Spain	1902	
Bolivia—Peru	1831	
Bolivia—Peru	1840	Peace and amity.
Bolivia—Peru	1848	Peace and amity.
Bolivia—Peru	1863	Peace and amity.
Bolivia—Chile—Ecuador	1867	
Bolivia—Chile	1873	Delimitation.
Bolivia—Peru	1873	Secret Alliance.
Bolivia—Chile	1874	Delimitation.
Bolivia—Chile	1874-5	
Bolivia—Peru	1876	
Bolivia—Chile	1884	
Bolivia—Peru	1886	
Bolivia—Chile	1890	
Bolivia—Brazil	1896	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Bolivia—Brazil	1903	
Bolivia—Chile	1904	
Bolivia—Panama	1907	
Brazil—Peru	1905	
Chile—Peru	1823	
Chile—France	1852	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Chile—Great Britain	1854	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Chile—Peru	1866	
Chile—Peru	1883	
Chile—Sweden and Norway	1883	
Colombia—Peru	1829	
Colombia—Venezuela	1842	
Colombia—Peru	1848	
Colombia—Salvador	1855	
Colombia—Ecuador	1856	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Colombia—Portugal	1857	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Colombia—Peru	1858	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Colombia—Costa Rica	1865	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Colombia—Peru	1870	Amity, commerce and navigation.

Colombia – Salvador	1870	
Colombia—Chile	1880	
Colombia—Venezuela	1881	
Colombia—Italy	1892	Commerce.
Colombia—Ecuador	1894	
Colombia—Spain	1894	
Colombia—Venezuela	1896	Peace, amity and alliance.
Costa Rica—Salvador	1845	
Costa Rica—Honduras	1850	Peace, amity and commerce.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1858	Peace, amity and commerce.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1861	Alliance.
Costa Rica—Italy	1863	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1868	Peace and amity.
Costa Rica—Honduras—Salvador Nicaragua—Guatemala	1872	Union.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1884	Peace, amity and commerce.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1886	
Costa Rica—Central Amer. Rep.	1887	Peace and Amity.
Costa Rica – Ecuador	1890	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Costa Rica—Nicaragua	1891	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Costa Rica—Salvador	1891	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Costa Rica—Honduras	1891	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Costa Rica—Guatemala	1895	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Cuba—Italy	1903	
Dominican Republic—Salvador	1882	
Dominican Republic—Italy	1886	Commerce.
Dominican Republic—France	1897	
Dominican Republic—Haiti	1897	
Ecuador—Peru	1832	
Ecuador—Peru—Bolivia	1836	
Ecuador – Peru	1860	Peace, amity and commerce.
Ecuador—United States	1862	
Ecuador—Belgium	1887	Amity, etc.
Ecuador—France	1888	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Ecuador—Mexico	1888	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Ecuador—Spain	1888	Amity.
Ecuador—Switzerland	1888	Amity.
Guatemala—Nicaragua	1839	Peace, amity and commerce.
Guatemala—Honduras	1845	
Guatemala—Honduras	1856	Peace and amity.
Guatemala – Honduras	1859	
Guatemala—Nicaragua	1862	Peace, amity and commerce.
Guatemala – Honduras	1872	
Guatemala—Salvador	1872	
Guatemala—Costa Rica—Nicaragua—Salvador—Honduras	1876	Union.
Guatemala—Nicaragua	1883	
Guatemala—Salvador	1885	

Guatemala—Salvador—Honduras	1885	Peace, amity and commerce.
Guatemala—Salvador	1890	
Guatemala—Honduras	1895	
Guatemala—Salvador—Honduras	1906	
Guatemala—Honduras—Costa Rica	1906	
Guatemala—Salvador—Nicaragua	1907	
Honduras—Salvador	1878	Peace and amity.
Honduras—Nicaragua	1894	
Honduras—Spain	1894	
Honduras—Salvador	1895	
Honduras—Spain	1907	
Mexico—United States	1828	
Mexico—Central America	1832	
Mexico—Belgium	1839	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Mexico—United States	1848	Peace.
Mexico—United States	1853	
Mexico—Spain	1859	
Mexico—Sweden—Norway	1885	
Mexico—Great Britain	1888	Commerce.
Mexico—Italy	1890	Commerce.
Mexico—Salvador	1893	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Mexico—Italy	1899	
Mexico—Persia	1903	
Nicaragua—Salvador	1883	
Nicaragua—Italy	1906	
Nicaragua—Salvador	1907	
Paraguay—Uruguay	1883	Peace, amity and commerce.
Paraguay—Italy	1893	Commerce.
Paraguay—Peru	1906	
Peru—Belgium	1850	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Peru—Spain	1853	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Peru—Belgium	1860	
Peru—Belgium	1874	
Peru—Spain	1879	
Peru—Spain	1897-8	Amity.
Peru—Italy	1899	
Salvador—Switzerland	1883	Amity and commerce.
Salvador—Venezuela	1883	Amity and commerce.
Salvador—Guatemala—Costa Rica—Honduras—Nicaragua	1889	
Salvador—Guatemala—Honduras—Nicaragua	1892	
Salvador—Honduras—Nicaragua	1895	
Salvador—Italy	1906	
United States—Tripoli	1796	Peace and friendship.
Uruguay—Italy	1876	
Uruguay—Italy	1879	
Uruguay—Italy	1885	Commerce.

Uruguay—Great Britain	1885	Commerce.
Uruguay—Persia	1903	
Venezuela—Denmark	1862	Commerce and navigation.
Venezuela—Spain	1882	Commerce and navigation.
Venezuela—Belgium	1884	Amity, commerce and navigation.
Venezuela—United States	1885	

LIST OF GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATIES CONCLUDED SINCE THE FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE TO WHICH THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS ARE PARTIES

Argentine—Paraguay	1899	Salvador—Spain	1902
Argentine—Chile	1902	United States—Austria Hungary	1908
Argentine—Bolivia	1902	United States—Denmark	1908
Argentine—Spain	1902	United States—France	1908
Argentine—Brazil	1905	United States—Great Britain	1908
Argentine—Italy	1907	United States—China	1908
Bolivia—Peru	1901	United States—Italy	1908
Bolivia—Spain	1902	United States—Japan	1908
Brazil—Venezuela	1909	United States—The Netherlands	1908
Brazil—China	1909	United States—Norway	1908
Colombia—Spain	1902	United States—Peru	1908
Colombia—Peru	1905	United States—Portugal	1908
Colombia—Great Britain	1909	United States—Salvador	1908
Dominican Republic—Spain	1902	United States—Spain	1908
Guatemala—Spain	1902	United States—Sweden	1908
Honduras—Spain	1905	United States—Switzerland	1908
Mexico—Spain	1902	United States—Costa Rica	1909
Mexico—Italy	1907	United States—Ecuador	1909
Mexico—United States	1908	United States—Haiti	1909
Peru—Italy	1905	Uruguay—Spain	1902

E twenty-one republics cannot afford to have any two or any three of us quarrel. We must stop. And Mr. Carnegie and I will not be satisfied until all nineteen of us can intervene by proper measures to suppress a quarrel between any other two.

—*PRESIDENT TAFT.*

HE crime of war is inherent. It decides not in favor of the nation which is right, but always in favor of that which is strong. Hence if one nation offers a peaceful settlement of a dispute by arbitration, that which refuses is criminal in driving its adversary to a tribunal which knows nothing of righteous judgment.—*ANDREW CARNEGIE.*