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Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Publication No. 9

FORMER SENATOR BURTON'S TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA 1915

BY
OTTO SCHOENRICH

PUBLISHED BY THE ENDOWMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1915

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PREFACE

It is a satisfaction to be able to make public the following outline of the visit made to South American countries by the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, lately United States Senator from Ohio, during the spring and early summer of 1915. Mr. Burton's trip, following so closely upon that of Mr. Robert Bacon, has plainly done much to extend and develop that sympathy between the various American Republics as well as that more complete understanding between them which is so marked a feature of the history of the past few years. The people of the two American continents are being made increasingly conscious of the fact that they share a common obligation and a common opportunity toward the maintenance and perfection of democratic institutions. Despite great variance in population, in natural resources, in area, and in climate, the South American Republics have a large common fund of principles and of ideals. It is becoming that no effort should be spared to emphasize this fact and to make it so plain that he who runs may read.

Toward the accomplishment of this end no agency is likely to be more effective than frequent international visits on the part of genuinely representative men. To promote and to develop this form of activity is one of the chief functions of the Division of Intercourse and Education.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
Acting Director.

November 10, 1915.



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FORMER SENATOR BURTON'S TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA

WASHINGTON, August 16, 1915.

DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *Acting Director,*
Division of Intercourse and Education.

SIR:

To my regret I find myself unable to comply with the suggestion to prepare a comprehensive report of the trip of Senator Theodore E. Burton to South America. Not anticipating that such a report would be desired, I made no notes with that end in view, and at the conclusion of the trip turned over to Senator Burton the documents, clippings, etc., which had been accumulated on the way. I am, therefore, obliged to confine myself to a brief and general narrative, which I take pleasure in submitting.

The trip embraced the capitals of every country of South America except Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador. The party consisted of Senator Theodore E. Burton, Mr. Robert F. Wilson, who is the Washington representative of *The Cleveland Leader*, and myself. We left New York March 20 and pursued the following itinerary:

Colon	Juliaca	Montevideo
Panama	Cuzco	Parana and
Paita	Lake Titicaca	Paraguay Rivers
Salaverry	La Paz	Asuncion
Trujillo	Arica	Uruguayana
Callao	Valparaiso	Sao Paulo
Lima	Santiago de Chile	Rio de Janeiro
Mollendo	Mendoza	Bahia
Arequipa	Buenos Aires	New York.

We arrived in New York June 25.

In every one of the countries visited Senator Burton met the President and principal men, as well as many Governors of States, and other local authorities of places where we stopped. He was everywhere shown special attention. A banquet given him by the Government of Peru was extraordinary in its appointments. The Governments of Bolivia and Paraguay were especially pleased by his visit; for few travelers brave the discomforts and dangers of a journey to the Bo-

livian plateau, while Paraguay is even further off the beaten track. Senator Burton made an address before the Paraguayan Senate, and the Government of that country gave him a luncheon on one of their gunboats.

In his conversations with public men and other distinguished citizens, Senator Burton advocated closer intellectual relations between the United States and the countries of South America, and better understanding, more intercourse and increased commerce, as well as friendly coöperation for the progress of the world. His sentiments were heartily reciprocated. I was assured by diplomatic and consular officers of the United States that his visit was invaluable in promoting better relations, for they immediately noticed an increase of cordiality on the part of the authorities. Senator Burton's pleasant manner and prudent words, indicating his kindly disposition and deep learning, could not fail to make a strong impression. Interviews given to the newspapers along the route, especially at Buenos Aires, undoubtedly exerted a good influence. The Senator delivered addresses before schools at several places, such as La Paz and Santiago, and before assemblies of our own citizens in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro, giving them encouragement and good advice. At the same time he made an exhaustive study of social, economic and political conditions in the various countries.

Among the matters specially recommended by Senator Burton were participation in the Pan American Medical Congress to be held in San Francisco, in June, 1915, participation in the Pan American Scientific Congress to be opened in Washington in December, 1915, and a more general and concerted development of international law. With reference to the Medical Congress, something was accomplished, but much less than the Senator had desired, as the time for its sessions was nearly at hand. Unfortunately, too short a notice seems to have been given of this Congress, and no attempt appears to have been made to circulate any kind of a program; the meagre extent to which the United States participated in the Sixth Pan American Medical Congress in Lima, in 1913, was also not calculated to inspire enthusiasm. The recommendations made with reference to the Pan American Scientific Congress met with a more general response. The pamphlets given me, with the preliminary program of the Scientific Congress, were distributed and proved very opportune. Too little is known about this Congress in South America, and it is advisable that every effort be made to bring it to the attention of the leading men and newspapers.

Senator Burton also strongly indorsed the organization of societies of international conciliation, and national societies of international law,

to be affiliated with the American Institute of International Law. With respect to the societies of international law, pamphlets on that subject were distributed in the various countries, and evidently much appreciated. The Peruvian Society of International Law was found to be leading a passive existence, owing to the impression that nothing was to be done until the end of the European war; but on learning of the plans for the first meeting of the Institute, the leaders promised to continue actively in the final organization of the society. In Bolivia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs showed great interest in such a society and promised to take up the matter. In Chile, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez was much pleased to receive the pamphlets, for they would assist him in perfecting the Chilean organization, in stimulating activity in Bolivia, and in obtaining the organization of a society in Ecuador. In Argentina, Dr. Luis M. Drago promised to take up the matter as soon as possible.* The Uruguayan Society has made much progress; it was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies, and an eloquent address was delivered by its President, Dr. Zorrilla de San Martin, on May 12, on the occasion of the visit to Montevideo of Dr. Lauro Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Paraguay also accepted with interest the suggestion to organize such a society. Several of the leaders of the Brazilian Society were absent at the time of our visit, but the pamphlets were delivered to other members.

With reference to local societies of international conciliation and of

*Since this report was written, a complete organization of a national branch of the American Institute of International Law has been effected in Argentina, with Dr. Luis M. Drago as its President and active spirit. The following is a list of the other National Institutes already effective in South America, with a list of their officers so far as reported:

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.—Luis M. Drago, President; Eduardo Sarmiento Laspiur, Sec'y Gen'l.

BOLIVIA.—Victor E. Sanjines, President; Alberto D. de Medina, Sec'y; Dario Gutierrez, Treas.

BRAZIL.—Amaro Cavalcanti, Chairman; Manoel Peregrino de Silva, Sec'y; Alfredo Pinto, Treas.

CHILE.—Luis Barros Borgoño, President; Ricardo Montaner Bello, Sec'y; Jorge Errazuriz Tagle, Treas.

COSTA RICA.—Luis Anderson, President; Claudio González Rucavado, Sec'y; Ezequiel Gutiérrez, Treas.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—No list of officers.

GUATEMALA.—No list of officers.

MEXICO.—No list of officers.

NICARAGUA.—Modesto Barrios, President; Francisco Paniagua Prado, Sec'y.

PANAMA.—Federico Boyd, Honorary President; Samuel Lewis, President; E. Hazera, Sec'y.

PERU.—Ramon Ribeyro, President; José Matias Manzanilla, Vice-President; Juan Bautista de Lavalle, Sec'y; Anibal Maúrtua, Treas.

URUGUAY.—No list of officers.

VENEZUELA.—No list of officers.

international law, Senator Burton's recommendations were a continuation of the work so well initiated by Hon. Robert Bacon during his journey through South America two years ago, when I had the honor to accompany him. The seeds sowed by Mr. Bacon have borne good fruit and their results will become more apparent as time goes on. As a consequence of his trip, societies for international conciliation were founded in several countries, and a national society of international law was founded in every country he visited except the Argentine Republic, that is to say, in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Peru. In the Argentine Republic, untoward circumstances have delayed the organization of such a society, but the ground is prepared and the seed is there. The influence of his suggestions has penetrated to other countries of South America. Wherever he went, his distinguished personality and courteous manner left an agreeable impression and he is pleasantly remembered by all who met him.

Another distinguished American who has accomplished invaluable results in bringing the North and South closer together is Hon. Elihu Root. It is safe to say that no citizen of our country is more widely admired, respected and beloved in Latin America. He, better than anyone else, has been able to lay before Latin America the true disposition of the United States with reference to the southern republics. The memory of his great trip in 1906, and of the words of encouragement and assurance which he uttered, is fresh in the minds of all.

We had abundant opportunity to observe the value of such international visits of distinguished men and their effect in promoting friendly relations. Mr. Root and Mr. Bacon were everywhere referred to with affection. In going down the west coast, we found the visit of the Hon. William J. Bryan well remembered, and on the east coast and in the interior the visit of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt was often mentioned.

A more detailed account of the trip is here given.

NEW YORK TO PERU

At noon, on March 20, 1915, we left New York on the United Fruit Steamer *Metapan*, and after a cold and rough voyage entered the harbor of Havana, March 24. Here the steamer remained for twenty-four hours; but owing to quarantine regulations on the Canal Zone, none of the passengers in transit were permitted to disembark, nor were visitors from the city allowed on board. After several days more on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, we arrived at Colon at daybreak on March 29.

Senator Burton was received by the captain of the port and an aide of Governor Goethals, as well as by the Governor of Colon, Mr. Ruben S. Arcia, who, by order of the Panamanian Government, came in person to welcome him. Unfortunately, our stay on the Isthmus was restricted to a few hours, as the steamer we were to take at Panama was ready to sail. We made the most of the time, motored to Gatun with Governor Arcia and saw vessels passing through the great locks; then continued by railroad automobile to Gamboa, where we took a gasoline launch through Culebra Cut; and then went on to Panama, meeting Governor Goethals on the way. In the City of Panama, Senator Burton called on President Belisario Porras, and had a cordial conversation with him. After lunch at the Tivoli Hotel, where we met the American Minister, William Jennings Price, General Clarence R. Edwards, and other American functionaries, we hastened to Balboa and boarded the Peruvian steam *Ucayali*, which sailed at 2 p.m.

The Pacific Ocean was true to its name. On March 31 we crossed the equator and on the following day entered the Gulf of Guayaquil. We sailed up the wide, muddy bay and river, through a forest region where the banks were covered with dense tropical vegetation, then through a flat grazing country with much cattle, and in the afternoon anchored before the city of Guayaquil. Quarantine regulations in Peru forbade our landing in the principal city of Ecuador, but we derived much information from conversations with officials and merchants who came aboard. The vessel loaded and unloaded all night and sailed the next morning. Before sailing, we saw, far to the northeast above the clouds, the summit of Chimborazo, a giant cone with a broken top. By evening we had emerged from Ecuadorean waters, and were abreast of Puerto Pizarro, where the conqueror of Peru made his first landing in the confines of that country; it is a small village at the edge of a large plain, near the city of Tumbez. From here the character of the coast changed, and treeless arid hills became its feature.

PERU.

Soon after dawn on April 3, our vessel entered the semi-circular harbor of Paita, surrounded by arid bluffs. We went ashore with the American consular agent, Mr. Charles G. B. Wilson, and the representative of W. R. Grace & Company, and visited the custom house, the little plaza with its struggling plants and the two old churches, and walked through several of the narrow, dusty streets, bordered by small bright-colored houses, and glaring in the sunlight.

Further down the coast, the steamer anchored off Eten, half con-

cealed on a sandy shore next to a sandy mountain, where the sea was rough and the passengers who disembarked were lowered to lighters in a barrel cut out on one side. It also stopped at Pacasmayo, another small town on the edge of the sea in arid surroundings. The next stop was at Salaverry, a little port town sheltered by a rocky headland on the outskirts of the desert. Here we went ashore with the American consul, Mr. John B. Brophy, and had time to take the train to the city of Trujillo, lying not far from the coast, in an irrigated river valley. Though our stay was limited to a few hours, we were able to see the principal streets and churches, and have talks with several prominent merchants.

On the next day, April 6, we arrived in the harbor of Callao, and were met by the American Minister, Hon. Benton McMillin, our consul general, Hon. William W. Handley, and by the official representative of the Peruvian Foreign Office, Mr. German Cisneros y Raygada, who took us ashore in a navy barge and on to Lima in a special electric car.

The week spent at Lima was crowded with visits and trips for sight-seeing and study, interviews with prominent men, and social functions where Senator Burton was enabled to meet many of the most distinguished Peruvians and foreigners. There are few cities so rich in historical associations as the old capital from which the Spanish viceroys ruled their vast dominions. We visited the great cathedral and the ancient church and monastery of San Francisco with its secluded inner court; the old government palace which has been the home of viceroys and governors from the time of Pizarro; the old Inquisition building now occupied by the Peruvian Senate; the city hall, the house of Torre-Tagle, one of the most interesting specimens of the home of a noble Spanish family in America; and the valuable collection of antiquities belonging to Senator Javier Prado y Ugarteche. It is most unfortunate that not more effort has been made to preserve the priceless relics of Peruvian history. Ignorance, indifference and cupidity have been responsible for the destruction and scattering of antiquities since the Spanish conquest; and even now the National Museum containing the great collection of the Peruvian Government is located on the second floor of a building which is not fire proof, and is closed for lack of funds.

The buildings and institutions which indicate the trend of the present are also of interest. We visited the National Library, the archive room, the home of the Geographical Society, the University of San Marcos, the School of Medicine, and the Engineering School. Everywhere Senator Burton was courteously received and shown around. At the University, the rector, Dr. José Pardo, then presidential candidate and now

president-elect of Peru, and members of all the faculties, accompanied Senator Burton through the building.

A trip to Rio Blanco, on the Central Railroad of Peru, arranged by Mr. W. L. Morkill, President of the Peruvian Corporation, gave an idea of the difficulty of railroad construction in the Peruvian mountains and afforded views of magnificent mountain scenery.

Among the many gentlemen with whom Senator Burton enjoyed interviews were the President of Peru, Gen. Oscar Benavides; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Solón Polo; Dr. José Pardo, rector of the University and now president-elect of Peru; his brother, Mr. Felipe Pardo, formerly Minister to the United States; Dr. J. M. Manzanilla, Dr. Aníbal Maúrtua, Dr. Juan Bautista de Lavallo, Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche and Dr. Eleodoro Romero, professors at the University, and several of them prominent in political life; Mr. Augusto Durand, a political leader; Messrs. Victor and Federico Pezet; Dr. Ernesto Odriozola, dean of the School of Medicine; Dr. Fernando Fuchs, of the Engineering School; Mr. Emilio Ortiz de Zevallos; and Mr. Isaías Pierola. Messrs. Manzanilla, Maúrtua and Lavallo showed especial interest in the Scientific Congress to be held in Washington, and in the Peruvian Society of International Law, and gave valuable suggestions. With many others Senator Burton became acquainted during his visits to the various public institutions and at social gatherings, especially at a reception given in his honor by Consul General and Mrs. Handley, at lunches given by Mr. and Mrs. Felipe Pardo and the British Minister, Mr. Ernest A. Rennie, and at dinners given by the American Minister and Mrs. McMillin, and by President Benavides.

Too much can not be said of the generous hospitality of the Peruvian Government. President Benavides, Minister of Foreign Affairs Polo, and every official with whom we came in contact did their utmost to make our stay agreeable and instructive. Mr. German Cisneros, the introducer of diplomats, was our constant and indefatigable companion and guide. The attentions shown us by the Government culminated in a sumptuous banquet given to Senator Burton by His Excellency, President Benavides, at which the floral decorations were remarkable in their oddity and beauty. The banquet was attended by the members of the Cabinet and their wives, and many other distinguished persons. Among those present were President Benavides; Col. Abrill, President of the Council of Ministers; Mr. Polo, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Benavides, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Jibenez, Minister of Justice; Mr. Oyanguren, Minister of Finance; Mr. Alayza, Minister of Public Works; and Mr. Carmona, Mayor of Lima. On this occasion, and everywhere in Peru, it was gratifying to hear from all

sides the kindest expressions of affection and admiration of the Peruvians for the United States.

It was with regret that we left Lima and embarked at Callao. On the second day after our departure, the vessel arrived at Mollendo, where we disembarked in a rough surf and took the train for Arequipa. This trip was one of the most beautiful features of the whole journey. The train passed first over bare, stony hills, then in zigzag curves climbed mountains with magnificent views of the distant ocean, then crossed a barren plain with strange crescent-shaped sand dunes, then climbed above another mountain ridge from which an imposing view was obtained of an arid rugged plateau, like a frozen yellow sea, and finally followed a ravine which gradually widened into the plain of Arequipa.

We were fortunate in making connections at Mollendo with the tri-weekly train. One of the difficulties of travel in South America is the uncertainty of railway connections. From the coast to Arequipa there were three trains a week, from Arequipa to Cuzco and La Paz there was but one weekly train making through connections. Also from La Paz to Arica and Antofagasta there was only a single train a week. The train service between La Paz and Antofagasta illustrates the impossibility of laying out a definite itinerary. At one time there were three through trains a week, then the service was reduced to two, and after the outbreak of the European War to only one train every two weeks, every other Saturday. Several months ago it was made one train a week. Not only is there this great lack of facilities, but in addition it is practically impossible to obtain accurate information until one arrives at the very railroad station from which the train is to depart.

Before leaving the United States the only way in which I was able to obtain even a general idea of the time tables of the Bolivian railway was by visiting the Bolivian consulate in New York and looking over files of newspapers. The various steamship agencies in New York either had no information or their information was incorrect. The time tables are frequently changed without notice, and even at Lima it was impossible to obtain accurate data about the trains in southern Peru without sending telegrams of inquiry, although the Southern Railway of Peru belongs to the same company which manages the Central Railway. At Arequipa it was necessary to send a telegram to La Paz in order to ascertain on what dates trains left that city for Arica and Antofagasta. We had similar difficulties with reference to the railroad from Santiago across the Andes, the railroad and steamship connections between Buenos Aires and Paraguay, and the railroads

of Brazil. It would be a great assistance to persons intending to travel in South America, and would doubtless foster intercourse, if some office in the United States, the Pan American Union for instance, made it a point to gather and have ready at all times the latest South American steamship schedules and railroad time tables.

Another difficulty about South American travel, of which our party was most keenly made aware in Arequipa, is the lack of adequate hotel accommodations. While most of the capitals have fairly comfortable hotels, Buenos Aires is the only city where there is a hotel of the kind which the American traveling public generally demands. Even in so important a capital as Rio de Janeiro, the hotel accommodations were poor, and in some of the interior towns they are of the most primitive kind. Conditions are gradually growing better, but there would seem to be an opportunity for profit in the establishment of adequate hotels. During our trip from Arequipa to Cuzco and on to Lake Titicaca, we found it most convenient to sleep and take our meals on the train.

After an early excursion through the city of Arequipa, and a visit to the old Jesuit church with its elaborate façade, and to the spacious cathedral, we left for the town of Juliaca. For a long time Mt. Misti, which towers over the city, remained in sight, as well as Mt. Chachani. The train passed through a rocky and arid country, but higher up reached grazing land where there were views of distant snowy peaks and where the Indians who appeared at the railroad stations were attired in picturesque native costumes. In the afternoon we passed the highest point reached on our journey, 14,731 feet high, where the rarified atmosphere made breathing difficult. We stayed over night at Juliaca and left the following morning for Cuzco. The train first traversed a plain bounded by mountains and used for grazing, formerly a part of the bed of Lake Titicaca. The valley gradually became narrower and the ground higher, affording pasture to large flocks of llamas and alpacas. At La Raya, the highest point of the pass is reached, at an altitude of 14,153 feet. The train then follows the course of the Vilcanota River, one of the most remote of the headwaters of the Amazon. It flows through a fertile valley full of Indian villages, where the natives who gather at the stations in their peculiar ponchos and hats, still speak the Quechua language. Late in the evening we arrived at the old Inca capital, Cuzco.

The courtesy of the Peruvian Government extended to the point of instructing the prefects and principal officials of the towns where we stopped, to show us every attention. In this way we had the pleasure of meeting the prefect of Arequipa; and at Cuzco, also, the prefect of the Department, Mr. Felix Costa Laurent, came to greet us. He was

accompanied by Dr. Albert A. Giesecke, the American rector of the University of Cuzco. Dr. Giesecke's work is an example of Yankee influence bringing new life into old surroundings. He is a young graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, who was in Cuzco as an agent of the Department of Commerce at a time when trouble occurred between the students of the decadent University of Cuzco and the rector of the institution. Dr. Giesecke was tendered the office of rector and though he has been seriously hampered by a lack of funds, the institution under him has made substantial progress and its reputation has greatly increased. In addition he has been elected a member of the city council of Cuzco, and has done valuable work in preserving the ancient monuments, in obtaining better and cleaner streets—in which direction there is still a great deal to be accomplished—and in awakening the citizens to the resources and requirements of their city. He and his friends are now planning a "greater Cuzco" campaign of education within and advertisement abroad. His great handicap is the difficulty of securing funds and at the present moment he is especially anxious to obtain a suitable library of Spanish books for the University. The University may be said to possess no library at all, and any donations of Spanish books would be of the greatest value in promoting the instruction of aspiring young Peruvians and in assisting the praiseworthy efforts of Dr. Giesecke.

We spent a busy day at Cuzco. With the prefect and Dr. Giesecke, we rode up to the stupendous megalithic Inca fortification of Sacahuaman, which commands the city and surrounding valley; viewed other mysterious Inca remains; visited the walls of the palace of Manco Capac, the first Inca; the cathedral with its collection of pictures of bishops of Cuzco, beginning with Pizarro's companion, Valverde; the Jesuit church on the plaza; the University which occupies the building formerly inhabited by the Jesuits; the Merced church and monastery with ornately carved pillars, surrounding the court yard; and the Santo Domingo church and monastery, built upon the site of the Inca Temple of the Sun, some of the walls of which are still visible. Throughout the city, forming part of many houses, we saw massive Inca walls, from which the whitewashing that formerly obscured them has been removed largely through the efforts of Dr. Giesecke.

The city council of Cuzco declared Senator Burton "an illustrious guest of the city," and the Mayor, and a committee of the city council notified him of this designation at a reception given at the home of a distinguished citizen, Mr. Bonachea. The Mayor and Dr. Giesecke made addresses, and Senator Burton responded, expressing his thanks for the honor, and his good wishes for the future of the city. At this

reception pieces of weirdly attractive Inca music, collected by a Peruvian musician, were rendered.

On the return from Cuzco to Juliaca, we stopped for a short time at Sicuani and saw an Indian market. Several thousand Indians were assembled in their native costumes, the women selling, and the men standing by, among them a number of Indian *alcaldes*, or local chiefs, with enormous staffs of office. From Juliaca we continued to Puno on the edge of Lake Titicaca, and here embarked on a small steamer, which left on the following morning.

BOLIVIA

The daylight trip across Lake Titicaca was very interesting. The lake is two miles above sea level and while the nights were very cold, the day was warm and pleasant. We sailed over the green waters to Copacabana on the Bolivian shore and visited an old shrine which attracts pilgrims, then passed the Island of the Sun, the sacred Island of the Incas, as well as the Island of the Moon, both of them covered with terraces, on some of which ruins were to be seen, and finally arrived at the Bolivian port of Guaqui. At sunset there was a magnificent view of two hundred miles of snowy Andes from Illampu to Illimani.

On the following day we continued our journey to La Paz, stopping on the way at Tiahuanaco, where we went out to view the ancient pre-Inca mounds and monoliths with their mysterious carvings. After traveling through a grazing country, the train crossed a monotonous plateau to a station called Alto, where a change was made to an electric car; an immediate descent followed into a deep valley, where the city of La Paz lies picturesquely on the steep banks of a small stream. The American Minister, Hon. John D. O'Rear, awaited us at Alto, and the Bolivian Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rafael Torrico Lemoine, at the station in La Paz.

During our stay at La Paz, Senator Burton had interesting conferences with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Victor E. Sangines; Mr. Rafael Torrico Lemoine, Sub-Secretary; Mr. Aníbal Capriles, the Minister of Public Instruction; Mr. Jorge E. Zalles, President of the Bank of the Nation; Mr. Jose Gutierrez Guerra, a banker and deputy in Congress, and other distinguished persons. He was received by President Ismael Montes, who expressed a strong desire for closer intellectual and commercial relations with the United States. At a dinner given to Senator Burton by Minister O'Rear, and at a lunch given by Mr. and Mrs. Zalles, Senator Burton met many

persons prominent in political and financial affairs, including Messrs. Micael Saracho and José Carrasco, Vice-Presidents of the Republic; Mr. Victor E. Sangines, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Julio Zamora, Minister of Finance; Mr. Plácido Sánchez, Minister of Justice; Mr. Aníbal Capriles, Minister of Public Instruction; Mr. Nestor Gutierrez, Minister of War; Mr. Nestor Cueto V., Prefect of the City of La Paz; Mr. Ezequiel Zuazo, President of the Municipal Council; Mr. Jorge Saenz, President of the Bolivian National Bank; and Mr. Ismael Montes, Jr.

The Bolivian Government was very cordial, and with its assistance Senator Burton made a special study of educational conditions in La Paz, visiting, in company with the Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. Capriles, and the Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Torrico Lemoine, the High School, the National Museum, and the School of Medicine, where valuable results have been obtained in serum work and important experiments are being made. At an American Methodist educational institution, the "Colegio Ingles," Senator Burton and Mr. O'Rear made addresses. Though the climate at the time of our stay was quite trying, the afternoons being warm and the nights and mornings uncomfortably cold, the sight-seeing features of the trip were not neglected, and in company with Minister O'Rear, who was very attentive, we visited the chief points of interest in the quaint old city and its wild and rocky surroundings.

It was decided that Senator Burton and I return to the coast by railroad to Arica, while Mr. Wilson was to take a train to Antofagasta and join the vessel there. We accordingly left La Paz on the evening of April 23. On the following morning the train reached Púquios station, where a rack engine was attached and a steep downward grade through an utterly barren country began. The railroad followed a deep gully and at times views were obtained of the barren lowland and the distant ocean. Further on the country became sandier and the train descended to the sea shore which it followed to Arica. Here we embarked on the Chilean steamer *Palena*, which sailed at six p.m.

CHILE

Stops were made by the steamer at Iquique, Antofagasta and Coquimbo. On the morning of April 28 we sighted Mt. Aconcagua far in the distance, and in the afternoon of the same day arrived at Valparaiso. Mr. Verne L. Havens, the American Commercial Attaché; Mr. Leo J. Keena, the American Consul, and Mr. Frederic Wightman, the local manager of W. R. Grace & Company, came

aboard to meet us, as well as Mr. Aníbal Las Casas, the Secretary of the Intendente of Valparaiso.

On the following day, after viewing the city with Consul Keena and holding interviews with prominent merchants, we left Valparaiso at noon on a special car, kindly placed at Senator Burton's disposal by the Chilean Government and attached to the regular train, Mr. Havens, the Commercial Attaché, accompanying us. We followed the rocky bed of the Aconcagua River to Llaillai, and thence traveled through a rocky ridge of treeless mountains to the plain of Santiago. It was autumn in Chile and delicious grapes, pears and apples were on sale at the railroad stations along the way. We reached Santiago in the evening and were met at the station by Hon. George T. Summerlin, American Chargé d'Affaires; Hon. Perry Beldon, Secretary of the Embassy, and Mr. Carlos Morla Lynch, introducer of diplomats, representing the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs was absent from Chile at the time of our visit, but the Minister of War and Marine, Mr. Cox Mendez, temporarily in charge of foreign affairs, presented Senator Burton to the President of Chile, Honorable Ramón Barros Luco, who, though advanced in years, spoke with enthusiasm of a trip he hoped to make to the United States. At a dinner given by Mr. Summerlin, American Chargé d'Affaires, Senator Burton met three Ex-Ministers of Foreign Affairs; Dr. Enrique Villegas, Dr. Antonio Huneeus, and Senator Manuel Salinas, as well as Mr. Luis Barros Borgoño, Director of the Mortgage Bank, Mr. Carlos Castro Ruiz, Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, and other distinguished gentlemen.

Of especial interest were extensive conferences which Senator Burton had with Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, the distinguished Secretary of the American Institute of International Law and counsellor of the Department of Foreign Affairs of Chile; Dr. Julio Philippi, Professor of Finance at the University of Chile; Dr. Moises Vargas, Professor of Administrative Law at the University and Sub-Secretary of Railways; Dr. Carlos Silva Cruz, Director of the National Library; and Dr. Enrique Foster Recabarren, a Justice of the Supreme Court and son of an old American resident.

Messrs. Philippi and Vargas had been appointed a committee by the University faculty to show Senator Burton around and give him any desired information, and they did so in an admirable manner. With one or both of them we visited the capitol, the University, the School of Medicine, and adjoining hospital, and a school of physical culture, meeting a number of the professors. One of our most inter-

esting visits was to the Palace of Justice, where we met the justices of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, attended a hearing in the Court of Appeals, and were honored by being invited to sit with the Supreme Court during the admission of an attorney, Senator Burton sitting next to the Chief Justice. Dr. Carlos Silva Cruz conducted Senator Burton through the National Library of Chile and showed him the valuable archives there kept, which include the old Jesuit records pertaining to the activities of that Order in Paraguay and in the Philippines. Senator Burton also visited the attractive parks of Santiago, the Parque Cousiño, the Quinta Normal, and the pretty driveway called the Alameda, and ascended to the very top of the Cerro de Santa Lucia, the acropolis of Santiago. He also viewed the exhibition of paintings and historical relics at the Museo de Bellas Artes. At two educational institutions where English is taught, the "Instituto Ingles," a boys' school, and the "Colegio de Senoritas," a Methodist institution for girls, Senator Burton made addresses to the pupils.

It had been Senator Burton's desire to remain in Santiago a considerably longer time, and to make excursions to the southern part of Chile, but the uncertainty of railroad communications interfered with his plans. The railroad across the Andes had been blocked by snow slides for several weeks. It was now open, but as winter was approaching it might be closed indefinitely at any moment by snow storms. In such event we should have been obliged to make the journey to the Argentine by way of the Straits of Magellan, a much longer trip, made more undesirable by the circumstance that no steamer was to leave Valparaiso on that route for over three weeks. Prudence, therefore, made an early departure by train advisable. As a matter of fact the road remained open about two weeks longer and was then closed by winter storms. The uncertainty caused by the weather demonstrated that the problem of transportation between Chile and the Argentine Republic has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

We left Santiago in the evening of May 3, proceeding as far as Los Andes, a small town in the foot-hills, on a special car offered by the Chilean Government and attached to the regular train. It was nearly midnight when we arrived at Los Andes, and here we remained in the railroad hotel until the following morning. The day required for the trip on the narrow gauge railroad across the mountains was perhaps the most interesting single day of the whole journey. The road has many cog-wheel sections and very steep grades. It first followed the valley of the Aconcagua River, then made a great detour at Juncal, climbing ever higher with magnificent views of snowy

SENATOR BURTON'S TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA

mountain peaks, then passed the beautiful lake, Laguna del Inca, in the midst of huge boulders, and finally reached snow level and traversed the trans-Andean tunnel to the Argentine side.

ARGENTINA

A few minutes after reaching Argentine territory, a stop was made at Puente del Inca, a natural rocky bridge spanning a mountain torrent where there were mineral springs. On the Argentine side the valley was wider than on the Chilean side, and gradually became a plain, but again narrowed to a gorge where the railroad is cut into the mountain on the edge of the river. The descent was rapid, with much diversity of imposing scenery, in which the bare rugged mountain sides were tinged in many different shades of color. Both on the Chilean and on the Argentine section, the railroad managers were very attentive and courteous.

Shortly after nightfall we arrived at the prosperous Argentine city of Mendoza, and had time to drive about the town. Here we changed to a broader gauge railroad and at 9 p.m. continued our journey. All the next day we traveled over flat green pampas stocked with cattle and sheep, where thousands of wild ducks were swimming on ponds formed by heavy rains. At 7 p.m. we arrived at Buenos Aires, where Ambassador Frederic Jesup Stimson, Secretary of the Embassy Hugh R. Wilson, Mr. Barilari of the Argentine Foreign Office, and Mr. R. O. Bailey of the National City Bank, waited to receive Senator Burton. A whole brigade of newspaper photographers took flashlight pictures of the Senator.

In the great city of Buenos Aires there was so much to do and to study that the week we spent there was all too short. Highly interesting conferences were had by Senator Burton with Dr. Luís M. Drago, the Argentine statesman of international repute, with Dr. Estanislao S. Zeballos, Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the strongest personalities of South America, with Dr. Ezequiel P. Paz, owner of *La Prensa*, with Dr. Manuel Lainez, editor of *El Diario*, with Dr. Emilio Frers, the Director of the Argentine Social Museum, and with Mr. Pillado, of the Argentine Statistical Service. Valuable information as to American interests in South America was obtained through conferences with Messrs. J. H. Allen and M. Drew Carrel of the National City Bank, Mr. Pemberton Smith, representing the United States Steel Products Company, Dr. Albert Hale, the American Commercial Attaché, and many American business men established in Buenos Aires. Senator Burton was a guest at one of the weekly

lunches of the American Commercial Club, at which some seventy business men were present, and made an address. At the request of Rev. William P. McLaughlin of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Senator Burton also made a Sunday evening address at the church before an audience of some four hundred persons. He spoke of the tendencies for the better in modern life, counseling his hearers to observe the highest standards, and strongly recommended absolute neutrality for our country in the dreadful struggle which is now devastating Europe. His eloquent address was listened to with earnest attention by the audience.

Senator Burton made an official call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Hon. José Luís Murature, and was presented to Dr. Victorino de la Plaza, President of the Republic, enjoying lengthy interviews with both of these gentlemen. At a dinner given by American Ambassador Stimson and Mrs. Stimson in honor of Senator Burton, he met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Luís Murature and wife; the Minister of Finance, Dr. Enrique Carbo; the Minister of Public Works, Dr. Manuel Moyano and wife; the Vice-President of the Republic, Mr. Benito Villaneuva; the Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. José Maria Cantilo and wife; the Private Secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Jorgé Cabral; the introducer of diplomats, Mr. Atilio D. Barilari; the Second Secretary of the American Embassy, Mr. Hugh R. Wilson and wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt.

One of the most interesting events of our stay at Buenos Aires was the solemn opening of Congress by President Victorino de la Plaza. There was an imposing military display in and about the capitol building, and the galleries were crowded as President de la Plaza appeared before the Houses of Congress, jointly assembled, and read his message. Senator Burton was given a place in the gallery reserved for diplomats and high officials and was seated next to Dr. Antonio Bermejo, the President of the Supreme Court. The Senator was much interested by a visit to the office of *La Prensa*, where we were shown about by the Director, Dr. Ezequiel P. Paz, and his brother. What most attracted attention during this visit, aside from the enormous size and power of the presses and the variety and extent of the social welfare work which this great newspaper has undertaken, was the scrupulous cleanliness of every room and corner in the building. Among other visits which were very pleasant was one to the Museo Social Argentino, where the Director, Dr. Frers, showed us around, another to the Young Men's Christian Association, and another to the palatial quarters of the Jockey Club. Daily excursions were made

also to different points of interest in and about Buenos Aires, to beautiful parks and suburbs, the Avenida 25 de Mayo, which so much recalls the boulevards of Paris, the Avenida Albear, with its fine residences, Florida Street, lined with fine stores, the business center, and many others.

During his stay in Buenos Aires, Senator Burton was constantly in receipt of requests for interviews by various newspapers and a considerable part of his time was taken up by reporters. Lengthy interviews were printed by *La Prensa*, *El Diario*, *La Nacion*, and others, and pursuant to a promise made to Dr. Paz, Senator Burton sent a letter to *La Prensa* from Barbados when on his way back to New York.*

URUGUAY

On the evening of May 12, we left Buenos Aires by boat and on the following morning arrived in Montevideo. With Rev. Dr. Craver, a boyhood friend of Senator Burton, we took an excursion about town and visited the main plaza on which is situated the Cathedral and the building in which Congress sits, the Plaza Independencia where the Government building is located, 18 de Julio Street and Artigas Avenue, Pocitos, a seashore resort, and other parts of the city. In the afternoon in company with the British Minister, Mr. Mitchell Innes, who is affectionately remembered in the United States because of his long service in Washington, we went to the Jockey Club, where there was a celebration in honor of Dr. Lauro Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, then visiting the city. Here Senator Burton was introduced to the President of the Republic, Dr. Feliciano Viera; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Manuel Otero; the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Baltasar Brum; the Mayor of the City, and several other Uruguyan officials and diplomats. In the evening a meeting of American residents in Montevideo had been arranged in the social room of the Methodist Church. Brief addresses were delivered by the pastor, Rev. Mr. Kiser, the American Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Schoenfeld, the Vice-President of the American Club, Mr. Davy and by Dr. Craver. Senator Burton responded with an interesting address of about twenty minutes.

Although it rained during two days of our stay at Montevideo, and although another day was a holiday, a great deal was accomplished in seeing persons and places. One of the most interesting and extensive interviews that Senator Burton had in South America was with Hon. José Batlle y Ordoñez, who only a few months ago finished his second

*See Appendix, page 36.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

as President of Uruguay. He may be regarded as one of the most forceful men we met in South America; he is a giant physically and gives the impression of great mental force with which is associated a pleasant manner. A most advanced liberal, he has made strong efforts to benefit the working men and those of the poorer class, and has accomplished many other reforms. Due to his efforts capital punishment has been abolished, much attention has been given to education, and a general eight-hour labor act has made progress in Congress. One of the most radical modifications made in the law during his presidency related to the subject of divorce, for in Uruguay divorces may now be obtained by mutual agreement of the spouses and even at the mere request of the wife. In such cases, however, it is the duty of the judge to try twice to effect a reconciliation, and there are two intervals of six months before a divorce can be granted. At the present time Ex-President Batlle is urging the plan of abolishing the office of President of the Republic, and substituting therefor an executive commission of nine members, each member holding office for a term of nine years and one member being elected by the voters of Uruguay every year. The cabinet and Congress are to continue as heretofore. It is probable that the plan will be adopted by the Constitutional Convention, which is about to be called. In his conversation with Senator Burton, Sr. Batlle spoke strongly of his friendliness for the United States, and advocated greater coöperation between the republics of the western hemisphere.

Senator Burton also had interesting conversations with President Feliciano Viera at the Government building, and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Manuel Otero; also with Dr. Baltasar Brum, who, though a young man not much over thirty years of age, has occupied several Cabinet positions, and is now Minister of the Interior and President of the Council of Ministers. He is evidently a most progressive man and spoke with enthusiasm of an arbitration treaty with Italy, which, largely through his efforts, has recently been ratified by Uruguay, and is now awaiting ratification by Italy; it provides for arbitration in all cases without exception. At a dinner given Senator Burton by Mr. Innes, the British Minister, he met several business men of the city and the Brazilian Minister.

A visit to the University of Montevideo under the direction of the rector, Dr. Williams, an Ex-President of the Republic, was interesting. Senator Burton saw most of the departments, the chemical laboratory, the library, the large hall, and several recitation rooms, and met members of the various faculties. As he left there was a demonstration by the students, and the Senator made a brief address. Another inter-

esting visit was to the building of Congress, where we were received by the President of the House of Deputies, Mr. Juan G. Saldaña. Senator Burton met several of the deputies and had interesting conversations with them. He also attended a session of the House, at which one of the deputies made a speech of some length in opposition to the A. B. C. mediation, being answered by another deputy.

Our trips in and around Montevideo included a visit to the beach of Carrasco, and under the guidance of Mr. Herbert Coates, a visit to Montevideo's principal park, the Prado, with its large rose garden, and to the neighborhood of the Cerro, the hill which gives Montevideo its name and from which a fine view of the city is obtained. Senator Burton also made an extended call at the Young Men's Christian Association.

PARAGUAY

The regular Mihanovich boat carried us back to Buenos Aires over night, where immediately upon our arrival we boarded another steamer of the same line, which at 10 a.m. started for Asuncion. Our party was joined for the trip to Paraguay by Dr. Albert Hale, the American Commercial Attaché, and by Mrs. Hale. The vessel was a comfortable river steamboat, a side-wheeler, and the trip of four days up the Parana and Paraguay Rivers proved very pleasant, though for two days the weather was quite cold. As we left Buenos Aires and steamed over the Rio de la Plata, the opposite shore could not be seen and only the calm surface and the muddiness of the water indicated that we were on a river. All the way up the Parana River the water continued muddy, but the channel varied greatly in width, from a few hundred yards to several miles. There were multitudes of low islands, some of which were flooded by the river. The country traversed by the steamer is flat and generally low, though at some points there are high bluffs. Most of it seems to be very fertile and is covered with vegetation. The greater part is evidently used for grazing, but there is some swamp land and some forest.

On the morning after our departure we stopped at Rosario, the second city of the Argentine Republic, which extends along the waterfront for several miles. A number of stops were made by the boat at smaller places and on the third morning after our departure we reached Corrientes, the capital of the Argentine province of the same name. The vessel stopped long enough to enable us to visit the city and see the principal streets and the plaza, surrounded by public buildings. The visit to Corrientes was the more interesting because on the steamer Senator Burton had met Mr. Valentin Virasoro, one of the Federal

senators from Corrientes province, who was making the trip from Buenos Aires, and in a lengthy conversation gave valuable and interesting information as to the province and as to affairs in general in the Argentine Republic.

At noon on the third day we arrived at the junction of the Paraguay and Parana Rivers, and continued up the Paraguay with the Argentine Republic on the west bank of the river, and the Republic of Paraguay on our right. The width of the Paraguay River is less than that of the Parana, the color of the water is more like that of coffee, and there are not the numerous islands. The banks show some grazing land, dotted with palm trees, but for the most part are covered with a thick tropical jungle. In the afternoon we stopped at Humaita, a village with striking ruins of a church destroyed in the war of Paraguay with Brazil and the Argentine.

On the fourth morning after our departure from Buenos Aires we reached the mouth of the Pilcomayo River, which is the Argentine boundary, then rounded a promontory on the east bank of the Paraguay, and docked at Asuncion at 9.30 a.m. We had traveled exactly a thousand miles from Buenos Aires. The importance of this river system become the more apparent when it is considered that the Paraguay River is navigable for more than five hundred miles beyond Asuncion, far up into the interior of Brazil.

We were met at Asuncion by Hon. Daniel F. Mooney, the American Minister; Mr. Oscar Longfellow Milmore, the Secretary of the Legation; Mr. Samuel H. Wiley, the American Consul; and Mr. Carlos Sosa, the Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Of the little inclement weather we had on the trip we experienced two days of rain in Asuncion. Nevertheless, we took rides through the wet streets and visited points of interest. Paraguay is quite different from the countries which surround it and Asuncion was altogether unlike any of the other capitals we saw. A romantic interest attaches to this city and republic, in view of its extraordinary history, comprising the mysterious dictatorship of Dr. Francia, the military governments of the two Lopez, and the terrible war which the little country sustained against the combined power of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, during which practically its entire male population was exterminated and the whole population reduced to a small percentage of the former figure. Important advances have been made since the war terminated in 1870, but a great deal still remains to be done, and the authorities all expressed a wise appreciation of the importance of inviting foreign capital, and a special preference for American enterprise.

So little is known about Paraguay and so many misleading statements have been circulated about the country, that the government officials were all the more pleased at the visit of a man of Senator Burton's standing. They did everything in their power to show their appreciation, and Mr. Carlos Sosa, the Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was in constant attendance. Senator Burton made formal calls—which developed into instructive informal conversations—on Dr. Manuel Gondra, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on Hon. Eduardo Schaerer, the President of Paraguay, whose pleasant features show both his German and Spanish ancestry. At a dinner given to Senator Burton by Minister Mooney, the guests included Dr. Manuel Gondra, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr. Cecilio Baez, Ex-President of the Republic, and Justice of the Supreme Court; Dr. Eusebio Ayala, Minister of Finance; Mr. Mujia, Bolivian Minister, and other distinguished persons. Most of those present made brief talks, to which Senator Burton responded in an address.

In company with Dr. Ayala, the Minister of Finance; Mr. Sosa, Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Minister Mooney, and Secretary Milmore, Senator Burton attended the opening of a session of the Paraguayan Senate. Senator Antonio Sosa made an address eulogizing Senator Burton, and on motion the privileges of the floor of the Senate were formally extended to Senator Burton and Minister Mooney. Senator Burton made an address expressing his thanks for the honor conferred upon him, and his hopes for more intimate relations between Paraguay and the United States. Upon leaving the Senate we proceeded to the port and embarked on the Paraguayan gunboat *Adolfo Riquelme*, with a large party of the higher government officials. The gunboat first ascended the narrow Rio Negro opposite Asuncion for a short distance, and then steamed up the Paraguay, returning in the afternoon. A banquet was served, at which Dr. Gondra, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Senator Burton made addresses. Among those who composed the party were: Dr. Manuel Gondra, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr. José P. Montero, Minister of the Interior; Dr. Eusebio Ayala, Minister of Finance; Mr. Belisario Rivarola, Minister of Worship and Public Instruction; Mr. Ernesto Valázquez, Minister of War and the Navy; Dr. Fulgencio R. Moreno, Minister Plenipotentiary, attached to the foreign office; Mr. Carlos Sosa, Sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Doctors Cecilio Baez, Manuel Burgos and Felix Parva, Justices of the Supreme Court; Mr. Emiliano Gonzales Navero, First Vice-President of the Senate; Senators Antonio Sosa, Luis A. Riart and Ramón Lara Castro, and Dr. Victor Abente Haedo, Speaker of the House of

Deputies. During the excursion Senator Burton became more closely acquainted with these gentlemen, and had pleasant conversations with almost all of them.

Visits were also made to the National College, to the University of Asuncion, and to the Museo Godoy, a small private museum of paintings and historical relics with an excellent library. As guests of Mr. John Hessenmuller, the Manager of the Paraguay Central Railroad, we also made a trip to San Bernardino, a winter resort about thirty miles from Asuncion, beautifully located on a lake about eight miles long by three miles wide in the midst of a fine tropical country.

On May 24, we left Asuncion on the Paraguay Central Railroad, accompanied by Minister Mooney, Mr. Hessenmuller, the manager of the railroad, and Mr. Oliver, the British Chargé d'Affaires, who went with us as far as Encarnacion, also by Dr. and Mrs. Hale, who continued on the train to Buenos Aires. During the whole day we traveled through southeastern Paraguay, first crossing an undulating country green with tropical vegetation, an attractive feature of which was the sight of many orange trees in full fruit, then large plains with herds of cattle, and then more level land covered with prairie, but with occasional patches of thick woods. At 7.30 p. m. we reached Encarnacion, situated on the Alto Parana River. Our car, with three others, was slowly lowered down an inclined plane to the car ferry, which in thirty minutes took us across the river to the Argentine city of Posades, when the journey continued during the night through the Argentine Territory of Misiones.

BRAZIL

On the morning of May 25, we were still on Argentine soil, and the train was passing over a flat pampa country. At 9 a.m. it arrived at Paso de los Libros, a little straggling town, where we alighted and were met by an employee of the Brazilian railroad. A little special car took us to the bank of the Uruguay River, two miles away, and we crossed on a launch to Uruguayana in Brazil, the buildings and wide streets of which contrasted with those seen in the Spanish countries.

A most interesting trip of four days through southern Brazil ensued. We traveled on a special train, without which, in view of the confused condition of the time tables, such a trip as ours would have been practically impossible. For almost two days we rode though the State of Rio Grande de Sul, a rolling grazing country with cattle and sheep. We stopped at Alegrete, where Senator Burton met the

municipal authorities and took a trip through town. At Santa Maria a long stop was made which enabled us to take a lengthy ride about town and visit the barracks and one of the newspaper offices, becoming acquainted with the editor. Another stop was made at the attractive little city of Cruz Alta. For another day we crossed the State of Santa Catharina. Early in the morning the train arrived at the little hamlet of Marcellino Ramos, perched on a hillside, then crossed the Uruguay River, here resembling the upper Potomac, on a long bridge to the State of Santa Catharina, and until nightfall followed the Rio de Peixe, along which there was beautiful mountain and forest scenery. While generally typically tropical, it sometimes recalled the Delaware watershed country, or the mountains of North Carolina. Pine trees predominated in the forests, which frequently showed dense jungles. Towards evening we stopped at the waterfall locally called "Salto do Bom Successo," which, though some fifty feet high and one hundred and fifty feet wide, seems to be unknown outside of Brazil. Our train was one of the first to pass through this region in many weeks, as a band of political-religious-bandit insurgents, known as "fanaticos," had committed depredations, burned station buildings and caused the settlers to flee. At several stations on the road there were camps of government soldiers. During another whole day we traveled through the State of Parana, visiting on the way the town of Ponta Grossa, which is visible for many miles from the country around. That this region had received German immigration was made evident here by the German names on the stores and the blond children. The country was mostly hilly prairie with some farms, much grazing land and occasional woods. Late in the afternoon we crossed into the State of São Paulo and stopped for a few minutes at Itarare, and early in the morning of May 29, we arrived at São Paulo. Our journey had been made possible by the courtesy of the Brazil Railroad, and was rendered all the more instructive by the circumstance that officials or employees of the railroad company accompanied us during most of the trip and gave valuable information about the country traversed.

At São Paulo we were met at the station by an aide of the President of the State, by Mr. Maddin Summers, the American Consul, and Mr. F. W. Barrow of the Brazil Railroad. Our stay in the city was a pleasant one. Senator Burton called on Hon. Francisco de Paulo Rodrigues Alves, President of the State and Ex-President of the Republic, and on Hon. Paulo Moraes de Barros, the Secretary of Agriculture and Public Works of the State of São Paulo, and had pleasant and profitable interviews with both of these gentlemen. With

Mr. Walter A. Walmsley, Manager of the Electric Power Company, Consul Maddin Summers and Mr. Robert L. Keiser, Clerk of the Consulate, we visited points of interest in the city and surroundings, such as the park called Jardin de Luz, Ypiranga Museum, a fine building erected on the spot where independence was declared September 7, 1822, and the principal business and residence streets of the city. The town is evidently progressing rapidly, in a few years it has grown from a small population to almost 400,000, of whom nearly half are Italians.

Through the kindness of the State officials we were enabled to make an interesting excursion into the interior of the State, accompanied by Mr. Krichbaum, a representative of the Secretary of Agriculture, and by Consul Summers. After a journey of three hours we arrived at a small town called Villa Americana, which Senator Burton had been very desirous of visiting, as it was here that some eighty Southern families settled after our Civil War. Many of their children have forgotten the English language and have moved to other parts of Brazil, but some half a dozen old Confederate veterans are left and they and some of the English-speaking descendants were at the station. Senator Burton was deeply moved by the meeting and made an affectionate address to these people in the public hall of the town. The visit of Mr. Root to this settlement in 1906 is well remembered. After a trip through the large sugar cane and cotton plantation of Rawlinson and Muller, we took the train to Campinas situated in the midst of the coffee country. Here we motored out to the fazenda of Mr. José Paulino Nogueira, passing along hillsides which were covered with rows of green coffee trees dotted with red berries. We also stopped at the State Agricultural Station located in this vicinity.

Another day's journey on the railroad took us to Rio de Janeiro. The railroad passed through smiling agricultural country, then followed the Parahyba River through hills and valleys, and finally turned off to Rio through other mountains. The country has evidently been settled for a long time as there were well built towns and old fazendas with stately palms. Many landscapes were typically Brazilian with palm trees, tilled fields, negro laborers, bright colored houses, and blue hills in the distance. At Rio, American Ambassador Edwin V. Morgan, Commander Philip Williams, American Naval Attaché, and Mr. Alfredo C. Alcoforado, Brazilian Minister to Ecuador, in representation of the foreign office, met us at the station.

The week in the beautiful city of Rio was fully taken up by important conferences with persons of prominence and by sightseeing. There is probably no other city in the world that can offer such a com-

ination of fine streets and avenues and of magnificent mountain, forest, and ocean scenery right within the city limits. We had many drives on the broad Avenida Central and on the beautiful avenues along the shore and leading into the interior. We also visited the older part of the city, the famous Candelaria church, and the new docks, and took a trip across the bay to Nictheroy, the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro. By a bold suspension railway we ascended the Pão de Assucar, a strange granite monolith 1,100 feet high, which guards the entrance to the bay of Rio. With Ambassador Morgan, Secretary of Embassy Louis Albert Sussdorff, Jr., and Mr. C. Lyon Chandler, connected with the Southern Railway Company, we went up on a rack railroad to the peak of Corcovado, 2,200 feet high, from the top of which there is a glorious view of the city, bay, and surrounding country. Mr. M. de Barros Moreira, local representative of the United States Steel Products Company, gave Senator Burton a lunch at Tijuca, one of the highest and most picturesque points in Rio, 3,300 feet high, at which a number of ladies and gentlemen prominent in Rio society were present. After the lunch an attractive motor trip was taken through tropical woods to the view points known as "Mesa do Emperador" and "Vista Chinesa," and thence encircling Mt. Gavea, through hills and along the seashore, back to the center of the city. The visit to the beautiful Botanical Gardens was also interesting. We further had a pleasant trip to Petropolis, lying in the mountains on the other side of the bay of Rio, where the air is cooler and most of the foreign legations are situated. Here we were guests of Ambassador Morgan and were invited to lunch at the house of Madame Nabuco, the widow of the former Brazilian Minister to Washington, whose memory is so warmly cherished in the United States.

Senator Burton was received by the President of Brazil, Hon. Wenceslao Bras, who expressed his strong desire to see closer intellectual relations between Brazil and the United States. The Senator also had a cordial interview with the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Frederico Alfonso de Carvalho. He twice visited the Senate and on the occasion of the second visit made an informal address in the reception room, which gave general satisfaction. He became acquainted with the Vice President of the Republic, Dr. Urbano Santos da Costa Araujo and with most of the prominent senators, including Senator Ellis, who is the son of an American and speaks English well; Senator José Bulhões, Senator Guanabara, Senator Indio do Brazil and Senator J. G. Pinheiro Machado. The last named, who is one of the senators from the State of Rio Grande do Sul, is a political power in Brazil and one of the most interesting men of the Republic. Senator Burton paid

Senator Pinheiro Machado a special visit at his house, on the occasion of which the latter expressed his highest admiration for the United States and his desire for a better mutual understanding. At a visit which Senator Burton made to the House of Deputies, he became acquainted with the Speaker of the House, and several of the most prominent Deputies.

We became greatly indebted to Ambassador Edwin V. Morgan for his kind and untiring interest in Senator Burton's trip. His attention and courtesy knew no bounds. At a dinner which he gave to Senator Burton at the Hotel dos Estrangeiros, the Senator met the representative Americans settled in Rio, and at a lunch, which he gave several days later, some of the principal Brazilian diplomats and men of note were present, including Dr. Lauro Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had just returned from the Argentine Republic; Dr. José Carlos Rodrigues, former editor of the *Jornal do Commercio*; Senator C. Alcoforado, Brazilian Minister to Ecuador; Mr. Sraça Aranha, retired Brazilian Minister to Holland; Mr. D. L. Chermont, Brazilian Minister to Japan; Dr. Carlos Sampaio, a well-known capitalist; Mr. Odovaldo Pacheco e Silva, Secretary of the Brazilian Legation in Paris; Admiral J. C. de Carvalho, a renowned explorer; Count Candido Mendes de Almeida, lawyer and editor of the *Jornal do Brazil*; and Commander Nobreza Moreira, late Brazilian naval attaché in Washington. Two other gentlemen, who were especially attentive were Mr. Percival Parquhar, the leading mind in the vast projects of the Brazil Railroad and Mr. M. de Barros Moreira. With many of the gentlemen mentioned Senator Burton had cordial and mutually instructive interviews.

The incipient American Chamber of Commerce of Rio took advantage of the Senator's visit to offer him a banquet at the Club Central. It proved a complete success and a very pleasant occasion. Over 150 persons were present, including most Americans of prominence in Rio. Addresses were made by Mr. T. B. McGovern of the Caloric Oil Company, who presided at the banquet; by American Ambassador Edwin V. Morgan, and by Consul General Alfred L. M. Gottschalk, whereupon Senator Burton delivered an eloquent address replete with interesting suggestions and good advice, which was listened to with marked attention and evoked warm applause.

Among the most pleasant incidents of our stay in Rio were meetings with Dr. José Carlos Rodrigues, until recently the editor of the *Jornal do Commercio*, the most prominent and important newspaper in Brazil. Dr. Rodrigues has lived in the United States for many years and speaks the English language perfectly. Senator Burton en-

joyed two extensive interviews with him, one during a call which he made on Dr. Rodrigues and another in the course of a lunch which Dr. Rodrigues gave in honor of Senator Burton. Another pleasing incident was a visit to the newspaper *Jornal do Brazil*, and an interview with its editor, Count Candido Mendes de Almeida. So many were the persons whom Senator Burton met in Rio, and so numerous the interviews and conferences that it is not possible to make reference to more than a small portion of them.

Senator Burton had intended to remain in South America for several weeks longer, but again the lack of proper transportation facilities interfered with his plans. There is but one steamship line between Brazil and the United States which can be considered at all, and of this line some of the best vessels had been taken over by the British Government and of those remaining several had a very poor reputation. No assurance could be given as to sailing dates. It therefore became necessary to take advantage of the sailing of the steamer *Verdi*, one of the better vessels of the Lamport and Holt line, which left Rio de Janeiro on June 8. Many persons came on board to bid Senator Burton good-bye. We sailed late in the afternoon, and soon the phantastic mountains which surround the city had faded away in the distance.

Early in the morning of June 11, our steamer entered the harbor of Bahia. American Consul Robert Fraser, Jr., came aboard to greet Senator Burton, and took us ashore and through the city. We visited the principal business streets and then motored to the outskirts of the city and to the entrance of the bay, the "Barra," where there are several old forts dating from the Dutch occupation, one of which is now surmounted by a lighthouse, and thence on a beautiful partly finished road along the ocean shore. Returning to the city, Senator Burton called on the Governor of the State, Hon. J. J. Seabra. After a visit to São Francisco church, one of the oldest of the many churches of Bahia, we returned to the vessel. It left the harbor early in the afternoon, and the palm-fringed coast of Brazil remained in sight until sunset.

Our voyage to New York was unusually calm and pleasant. On the evening of June 14, we crossed the equator, and on the afternoon of June 18, anchored in the harbor of Bridgetown, Barbados. Here we had time to go ashore and take a trip through the town and surroundings. On the following morning the vessel sailed, and, after an uneventful journey, reached New York June 25.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Though Senator Burton's trip promoted, in a most important degree, the objects pursued by the Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace, he nevertheless steadfastly declined to accept for himself any portion of the amount allotted by the Endowment for the expenses of the trip. When I made advances on account of Senator Burton's expenses, he always insisted upon repaying them to the penny. The sum delivered to me was, therefore, applied exclusively to my proportionate share of the traveling expenses and to other expenses properly chargeable to the Endowment.

In view of the information gained, and suggestions received in South America in conference with some of the leading men, I take the liberty of making the following recommendations:

I. With reference to the Second Scientific Congress.

(a) That the program of the Congress in Spanish and Portuguese be distributed broadcast through Latin America and brought to the attention of all the leading men and newspapers.

(b) That local committees of propaganda be appointed, either by the general committee in the United States, or by the governing council of the Pan American Union, or by the diplomatic representatives of the respective states in Washington, or by the foreign offices of the respective states. These committees are to promote interest in the matter in such ways as they deem best and especially (1) by designating persons to make studies and investigations, and to draft papers upon the various subjects comprised in the program, (2) by publishing the program and inviting contributions, (3) by stimulating discussions in universities and in the newspapers with reference to the various points of the program.

(c) That both directly and through the local committees discussions of the various points of the program, in the newspapers and elsewhere, be promoted.

A campaign of publicity, such as that outlined, was of great assistance in arousing interest in the First Scientific Congress held in Chile. It was initiated a full year before the opening of the Congress.

II. With reference to the formation of local societies of international law.

(a) That a formal invitation be issued by the American Institute of International Law, signed by Hon. Elihu Root, the Honorary President of the Institute, and Dr. James Brown Scott, the President of the Institute, and, if possible, also by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, the Secretary of the Institute, (1) setting forth briefly the objects of the Institute, (2) calling attention to the national societies of international law, which have already been founded, and (3) inviting countries where no such societies have been formed to proceed to their organization at the earliest possible moment. This invitation should

be delivered to the minister of foreign affairs of each one of the countries where no such society has yet been formed, with a request (1) that he take the lead in calling a meeting of the principal jurists and other persons interested in the development of international law, in order that an organization may be effected, and also, (2) that he designate a committee to prepare the work of organization in anticipation of the meeting of the jurists. A copy of such invitation should also be handed to the charter members of the American Institute of International Law who represent the respective countries where a local society is still lacking, and they should be requested to make every effort to see that such a society is organized. If the respective local diplomatic representatives of the United States could lend their good offices in making explanations and in urging the matter, this assistance would be invaluable. It would also be helpful if publicity were given to the formal invitation in the local newspapers.

(b) That until the organization of all these societies is well under way interest be kept alive in the matter by frequent distribution of literature pertaining thereto, among persons known to be interested in the development of international law, as well in the countries where societies have already been formed as in the other countries.

III. With reference to other objects pursued by the Endowment.

(a) That the various specific plans announced by Mr. Bacon in his trip two years ago be kept alive, or if for any reason any of them must temporarily remain in abeyance, that explanation thereof be given. Mr. Bacon announced that Professor Kinley would shortly visit South America to make researches on behalf of the Endowment and bespoke for him the coöperation of South American historians and scientists, but Professor Kinley has not made his trip, nor has any explanation been published as to whether there is any change of plans. Mr. Bacon also recommended an interchange of professors, and disappointment has been manifested because no further steps seem to have been taken in this direction. I understand that considerable literature with reference to societies of international law and of international conciliation, has been distributed, but a part of it appears to have gone to persons who were not sufficiently appreciative and a number of influential men have not been reached at all. This will also have to be remedied.

While it is natural that in a work so gigantic as that which has been undertaken by the Endowment in South America there should be unusual difficulties in the beginning, the progress made has been of exceeding importance and justifies high hopes for the future.

One of the noble aims which the Endowment has in view, that of

fostering a better mutual understanding, has been greatly promoted by the extensive trips taken through the Southern continent by some of our foremost men, and among these trips the comprehensive journey made by Senator Burton will be found to occupy a prominent place with respect to the amount of territory covered, the number of persons met, the impression made in South America, and the quantity of valuable information gathered by the eminent traveler for his own instruction and for diffusion among his fellow citizens upon his return.

Very respectfully,

OTTO SCHOENRICH.

APPENDIX

[FROM LA PRENSA, BUENOS AIRES, AUGUST 8, 1915]

LA VISITA DEL SENADOR BURTON

Impresiones de su Viaje por América

La Prensa tuvo oportunidad de ocuparse de la visita que realizó, hace poco tiempo, a los países de la América del Sur, el senador norteamericano por el Estado de Ohío, señor Teodoro E. Buron, a quien acompañaban el juez doctor Otto Schoenrich y el periodista Sr. Roberto J. Wilson. Cuando el senador Burton se dispuso a partir de Buenos Aires, *La Prensa* le solicitó una exposición de sus impresiones. Muy amablemente, el distinguido buésped nos prometió satisfacer nuestro pedido en el momento en que le fuera posible ordenar sus anotaciones y disponer del tiempo necesario para formular sus pensamientos.

Al salir el 11 de mayo último de Buenos Aires para Montevideo el señor Burton manifestó lamentar que su permanencia en esta ciudad se hubiera visto limitada a una sola semana. Declaró, sin embargo, que las exigencias de su viaje le obligaban a irse antes de lo que esperaba. Tanto él como sus compañeros, el juez Schoenrich y el señor Wilson, se mostraron entusiasmadísimos con la ciudad de Buenos Aires, habiendo dicho el señor Burton que pocas personas se dan cuenta de la magnitud o tendencias progresistas de esta gran capital. Añadió que su viaje por Sud América confirmaba la opinión, que él frecuentemente había voceado en los Estados Unidos, de que en años venideros el desarrollo de las Repúblicas sudamericanas en su producción, riqueza material y tal vez en población será muy rápido.

En vista de la creciente demanda de cereales, de carnes y de varios minerales y otras materias primas, cualquier parte del mundo que posea mayor producibilidad en el suministro de estos artículos de necesidad ha de experimentar un marcado desarrollo. Las posibilidades agrícolas casi ilimitadas de la Argentina han de colocarla a la misma cabeza del progreso futuro.

El señor Burton prometió al repórter de "La Prensa" que antes de abandonar Sud América nos haría una exposición más detallada de sus observaciones en los países que visita.

Lo que él especialmente esperaba al visitar este continente era familiarizarse más con el pueblo del mismo a fin de confirmar sus impresiones y fomentar las buenas relaciones entre el pueblo de los Estados Unidos y todas las Repúblicas sudamericanas.

"Lo que se necesita," dijo, "no es meramente mayor comercio, sino una comprensión más perfecta y mayor conocimiento. Entre los principales obstáculos con que se ha tropezado hasta ahora se encuentran las diferencias de idioma y la inferioridad de medios de comunicación. El tiempo es seguro que destruirá estos obstáculos. Hay ciertas grandes tendencias en la vida política y comercial de los pueblos, que necesariamente resultan de las condiciones existentes. Una de éstas es el desa-

rollo y creciente prosperidad y prominencia de los países de Sud América. La otra es la existencia de vínculos más estrechos y de una comprensión más perfecta entre estos países y los Estados Unidos. Todo lo que se realice en este sentido será en el más alto grado de mutuo beneficio para los pueblos de ambos continentes."

El ilustre viajero ha cumplido su promesa y nos ha enviado sus impresiones que publicamos a continuación, acompañadas por la siguiente conceptuosa carta dirigida al director de *La Prensa*, señor Ezequiel P. Paz:

"A bordo del *Verdi*—Junio 17 de 1915.—Señor Ezequiel P. Paz, director de *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires.—Mi estimado señor Paz: Le adjunto la "entreviú" que prometí al doctor Veronelli. Recuerdo nuestra visita a *La Prensa*, en compañía de usted, como uno de los más agradables episodios de mi viaje por Sud América. Sinceramente le deseo a usted y a su diario el más grande éxito, acompañándome en este deseo el juez Schoenrich y Mr. Wilson. Abandono Sud América con interés creciente en su pueblo y mayor confianza en su porvenir. Soy de usted muy atentamente.—(Firmado): Theodore E. Burton."

La visita a Panamá y siete países de Sud América ha confirmado más aún la convicción que he expresado frecuentemente en mi país de que las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y todos los países de este continente Sur están llamadas a ser mucho más amistosas, como también que el comercio entre ellas asumirá proporciones considerablemente mayores.

Se llevan a cabo actualmente poderosos movimientos en este sentido y es seguro que producirán en el futuro grandes resultados benéficos.

Sería vano no tomar en cuenta los obstáculos para la amistad, que en el pasado han sido causa de cierta resistencia y desconfianza, obstáculos que en cierta medida deben existir en la misma naturaleza de las cosas. Hay diferencias de raza, tradiciones e ideales. Al mismo tiempo debo reconocer que hay dos errores predominantes entre mis compatriotas; uno que atribuye una influencia demasiado grande a los originales colonizadores europeos de la América latina. Estas repúblicas se caracterizan cada vez más por una civilización propia, resultado de su medio ambiente, de su desenvolvimiento político y de las diversas ramas de la raza humana que forman su población.

El otro error es el que clasifica a todos los pueblos situados al Sur de nosotros en un solo conjunto, como si todos ellos fueran de igual tipo, sin tomar en cuenta sus diversas cualidades y el grado diferente de adelanto.

En segundo lugar, la diferencia de idioma y literatura se interpone en el camino de una comprensión más perfecta. Además, existe el peligro de la desconfianza, sentimiento que a menudo se despierta entre los países más pequeños en relación a uno más grande. Es probable que se produzcan desfavorables conjeturas y pronósticos respecto a las intenciones de la nación más importante, un temor basado en la creencia de que extenderá sus límites y su influencia a expensas de las más pequeñas. Y por último, hay el obstáculo de la distancia que es uno de los más serios, al cual debe añadirse los medios de comunicación inferiores. Los viajeros de uno a otro país conocen bien esta

desventaja. La comunicación por correo y telégrafo no está a la altura que sería de desear. Las líneas de comunicación más utilizadas en los Estados Unidos han sido las de Este a Oeste, y el desarrollo de las de Norte a Sur han recibido escasa atención.

En contra de estos obstáculos debemos enumerar la herencia común que poseemos de gobierno popular, constituciones y formas de administración que en su origen fueron distintas de las de otras partes del mundo.

Tiene que existir seguramente un sentimiento común entre aquellas que están animadas por los mismos sentimientos respecto a la libertad individual y fiscalización popular de las acciones del gobierno.

Las Repúblicas de Sud América pueden unirse con la de los Estados Unidos para declarar que durante un siglo ha habido una activa simpatía entre ellas en la promoción de ideas políticas que el mundo entero va aceptando cada día más. Debe también tenerse presente que, aun cuando no haya magia en el nombre de América y todas las naciones que la forman deseen mantener relaciones amistosas con los países europeos, existe una creciente convicción de que no sólo es el nuevo mundo geográficamente distinto, sino que todos sus habitantes tienen un destino común, similares intereses y deben estar unidos por lazos de excepcional amistad.

En cuanto a las diferencias del idioma, literatura y tradiciones, el mundo está rápidamente convirtiéndose en más cosmopolita, y aun las naciones más avanzadas deben sentir que el progreso se fomenta mejor no obligando a la adopción de los mismos modelos, sino evitando todo sentimiento de superioridad y con una completa realización de que ni los pueblos del mundo ni sus formas de gobierno pueden ser fundidos en el mismo molde.

El contacto con otros pueblos de diferentes ideales y métodos estimula el crecimiento y ensancha el horizonte mental, y así, en vez de mirar con desdén a los de diferentes tradiciones y civilización, el mundo moderno obtiene gran ventaja por el estudio de las diversas condiciones y sentimientos de las otras nacionalidades.

Se ven signos de mayor cooperación y relaciones más estrechas en el hecho de que tanto los países del Norte como los del Sur se miran mutuamente con mucho mayor interés que antes.

Esto sucede especialmente ahora que casi toda la Europa está envuelta en guerra. Es ya grande el número de personas que en los Estados Unidos están aprendiendo español y portugués. Aquellos dedicados a empresas comerciales y financieras vuelven sus miradas más que antes hacia Sud América, reconociendo que el comercio extranjero no puede ser un mero incidente o una empresa secundaria, sino que debe ser llevado adelante como una línea definida de esfuerzos.

El pueblo de los Estados Unidos ha estado durante generaciones especialmente ocupado con su desenvolvimiento interno. Se nota ahora una tendencia a prestar cada vez más atención a los negocios relacionados con otros países. En ninguna parte hay un campo tan prometedor como en Sud América. Las relaciones diplomáticas y todas las asociaciones entre las naciones son en gran parte formadas

por las consideraciones comerciales, y el movimiento pendiente para el aumento del comercio debe crear nuevas condiciones que afecten los lazos entre los Estados Unidos y Sud América.

Es casi innecesario dar seguridades de que el pueblo de los Estados Unidos no tiene ambiciones de expansión territorial en Sud América. De vez en cuando algunos de nuestros ciudadanos ambiciosos de expansión pronuncia un discurso inspirado en opuesta dirección; pero ese no es el sentimiento general ni dominante del pueblo de los Estados Unidos. El Presidente Roosevelt dijo en uno de sus mensajes que "había llegado a prevalecer la idea de que nuestra afirmación de la doctrina Monroe implicaba o llevaba en sí una arrogación de superioridad y de derecho a ejercer alguna clase de protectorado sobre los países a cuyo territorio se aplicaba esa doctrina. Nada podía estar más lejos de la verdad."

Lo que deseamos como pueblo es el progreso y prosperidad de las repúblicas situadas al Sur de nosotros; que ellas, con nosotros, puedan compartir un crecimiento común en la más amplia perspectiva y mayor riqueza y prosperidad que son la buena fortuna de todas las naciones progresistas en esta era.

El crecimiento de cada una de ellas ayudará a todas las demás. El peligro norteamericano es un mito.

Ya se ha realizado un sólido progreso. En varias ciudades de Sud América se han establecido instituciones bancarias con capital americano. Las visitas de ciudadanos de ambos continentes, oficiales y particulares, han propendido a fomentar una mejor inteligencia.

Comerciantes y manufactureros están explorando el terreno para empresas.

Grandes delegaciones de ciudadanos se han trasladado, no sólo de los Estados Unidos al Sur, sino de diversos países meridionales al Norte. La Unión Panamericana, que tiene su sede en Washington, ha conseguido muy notables resultados bajo la enérgica y hábil dirección de Mr. John Barrett.

Una de las primeras condiciones esenciales requeridas es una comunicación regular y más rápida entre los puertos de los Estados Unidos y los de Sud América. Nunca se insistirá lo bastante en esto.

El transporte de la correspondencia se caracteriza por la demora e incertidumbre. La comunicación telegráfica es muy costosa. Los pasajeros que quieren emprender el viaje en esa dirección se ven a menudo obligados por la necesidad a contentarse con comodidades inferiores y por la inseguridad de las fechas en que puede hacerse el viaje. Aun cuando no me siento inclinado a abogar por un subsidio general para los buques de carga, sería un política muy provechosa para los Estados Unidos asociarse en la concesión de una generosa compensación a una línea o líneas de vapores correos y de pasajeros que acercarían los puertos del Norte y Sur.

Hay una lamentable ignorancia en los dos continentes de la historia y geografía respectivas. Esto es igualmente cierto respecto a las condiciones sociales y económicas. No creo que muchos de los estudiantes de nuestras escuelas o colegios superiores puedan nombrar dos o tal vez uno de los presidentes de las Repúblicas sudamericanas. Esto

puede remediarse en gran parte por medio de la preparación de libros en cada uno de los idiomas hablados, que den en forma popular y a precios razonables la información más esencial. Tendrían aplicación en muchas de nuestras instituciones educacionales. Estoy seguro que libros en idioma español y también con traducciones al inglés, dando extractos de las obras de los principales autores y oradores sudamericanos, con unos breves datos biográficos de cada uno de ellos, obtendrían un número muy grande de lectores. Obras similares en lengua francesa han alcanzado gran venta durante años.

Otra conclusión que es inevitable es que en los años venideros, Sud América verá un crecimiento más rápido que el pasado y probablemente más rápido que ningún otro continente. Para esto hay varias razones fundamentales. Primero: este continente posee una mayor variedad de recursos minerales y agrícolas que todos los otros. No se debe esto tanto a la gran diversidad de climas indicados por los paralelos de latitud cuanto a la existencia de vastas regiones de altiplanicies contrastando con anchas extensiones delante de la costa y grandes llanuras fértiles interiores. La diversidad de los recursos minerales en la región de los Andes es otra razón. Segundo: las tierras fértiles más ventajosas y las minas más productoras, dondequiera que se hayan encontrado, han sido rápidamente tomadas durante el último medio siglo. La presión que ejerce la población y el aumento del consumo sobre los medios de subsistencia se sienten fuertemente y se manifiestan de suyo en la escasez creciente y costo de muchos artículos de necesidad, especialmente en el renglón de los alimentos. En Sud América más que en ninguna otra parte quedan tierras y minas inexploradas.

La experiencia ha demostrado que las empresas para el aumento de producción se manifiestan más bien en el establecimiento de nuevas áreas que en los métodos o cultivos intensivos.

Las estadísticas recientes de exportación e importación denotan un aumento mayor del por ciento en Sud América que en ninguna otra gran división del globo. Esta es una segura indicación de que existen las tendencias que he descrito.

Las necesidades especiales de Sud América son capital, medios de transporte, inmigración y saneamiento. El conservatismo, la falta de correcta comprensión, los defectos en el cumplimiento de las funciones de gobierno, pueden demorar, pero no posponer las adecuadas disposiciones para la provisión de todas estas necesidades.

Las más fructíferas compensaciones en aumento de riqueza, población y mejora de la condición material, pertenecerán a los países que desplieguen el mayor grado de iniciativa y energía y mantengan la más perfecta administración. Puede creerse con confianza que al aforismo "el más apto sobrevive" será aplicado no tanto al más fuerte en poder militar, sino a aquellos cuya política conceda mayor importancia al fomento de las relaciones pacíficas entre las naciones y al progreso social y económico.

[Translation.]

Mr. Burton, on leaving Buenos Aires on May 11 for Montevideo, expressed regret that his stay in the city had been limited to one week. He stated, however, that the exigencies of his trip required him to leave earlier than he had intended. He, as well as his companions, Judge Schoenrich and Mr. Wilson, talked very enthusiastically about the city of Buenos Aires, and Mr. Burton said few realize the magnitude or progressive tendencies of this great capital. He added that his journey through South America had confirmed the opinion to which he had frequently given voice in the United States, that in the coming years the development of the South American republics in production, material wealth and very likely in population, will be very rapid. In view of the increasing demand for cereals, for meat and various minerals and other raw materials, any portion of the whole world which has superior productiveness in furnishing these requisites will experience a very marked growth. The almost unlimited agricultural possibilities of Argentina must place it in the very forefront in future progress.

He promised the *La Prensa* reporter before leaving South America to give a more detailed statement of his observations in the countries which he is visiting. What he had especially hoped in visiting this continent was to become more familiar with its people, to confirm his impressions, and to promote the best of relations between the people of the United States and all the South American republics. "It is not merely larger trade," he said, "which is needed, but a more perfect understanding and a better acquaintance. Among the chief obstacles in the way have been differences of language and inferior means of communication. Time is sure to remove these obstacles. There are certain great tendencies in the political and commercial life of peoples, which must result from existing conditions. One of these is the growth and increased prosperity and prominence of the countries of South America. The other is closer bonds and a more perfect understanding between these countries and the United States. Whatever may be accomplished in these directions will in the highest degree be mutually beneficial to the people of both continents."

Subsequently Mr. Burton transmitted to *La Prensa* the following statement under date of June 11:

A visit to Panama and seven countries of South America strongly confirms a conviction which I have frequently expressed at home that much more friendly relations are destined to exist between the United States and all the countries of this Southern continent; also that trade between them will assume greatly increased proportions. Potent movements in these directions are now in operation and are sure to bring larger and more beneficent results in the future.

It would be futile to overlook the obstacles to friendship, which have caused a certain amount of repulsion and distrust in the past,

obstacles which must in some measure exist in the very nature of things. There are differences in race, traditions and ideals. At the same time I must admit that there are two errors which are prevalent among my countrymen; one ascribes too great an influence to the original European settlers of Latin America. These republics are more and more characterized by a civilization of their own, resulting from their environment, their political development, and the various branches of the human race which make up their population.

The other error would classify all the peoples to the South of us in the aggregate, as if they were all of the same type, without taking into account their diverse qualities and unequal degree of advancement.

In the second place dissimilarities in language and in literature stand in the way of a more perfect understanding. Again, there is danger from a sentiment of distrust which often arises among smaller countries in relation to a larger. It is likely that there will be unfavorable conjectures and forecasts of the intentions of the larger nation, a fear that it will extend its borders and its influence at the expense of smaller ones. Last of all, there is the handicap of distance, which is one of the most serious, to which must be added inferior means of communication. The visitors from one country to another are keenly aware of this disadvantage. Communication by mail and by telegraph is much below that which is desirable. The lines of communication most utilized in the United States have been those from east to west, and the development from north to south has received only scant attention.

Over against these obstacles must be enumerated the common heritage of popular government, of constitutions and forms of administration which in their origin were distinct from those of other portions of the world. There is sure to be a common feeling among those actuated by the same sentiments relating to the liberty of the individual and popular control of the agencies of government. The republics of South America may join with that of the United States in the claim that during a century there has been active sympathy between them in promoting political ideas which the whole world is more and more accepting. Then, too, while there may be no magic in the common name of America and all its nations desire amicable relations with European countries, there is an increasing conviction that not only is the new world geographically distinct, but that all its people have a common destiny and similar interests and should be bound together by ties of exceptional friendliness.

As regards differences of language, literature and of traditions, the world is rapidly becoming more cosmopolitan, and even the most advanced nations must feel that progress is best promoted not by compelling the adoption of the same standards, but by the absence of any feeling of superiority and a full realization that neither the peoples of the world nor their forms of government can all be cast in the same mould. Contact with other peoples of different ideals and methods stimulates growth and broadens the mental horizon, and thus, instead of looking askance upon those of different traditions and civilization,

the modern world gains great advantage by a study of the diverse conditions and sentiments of various nationalities.

Indications of increased coöperation and closer relations are to be found in that the countries of both the north and the south are looking to each other with much greater interest than ever before. This is especially true now that nearly all of Europe is engaged in warfare. There are very many in the United States who are learning the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Those engaged in financial and commercial enterprises more than ever before are looking to South America, recognizing that foreign trade can not be a mere incident or by-enterprise, but must be prosecuted as a distinct line of endeavor. The people of the United States have for generations been especially occupied with their domestic development. Now it is apparent that more and more attention must be paid to business connections with other countries. Nowhere is the field so promising as in South America. Diplomatic relations and all associations between nations are largely shaped by considerations of commerce, and the pending movement for increased trade must create new conditions affecting the ties between the United States and South America.

It is hardly necessary to give the assurance that the people of the United States have no ambitions for territorial expansion in South America. An occasional address is made by one of our citizens ambitious for expansion, which points in the opposite direction, but that is not the general, indeed the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the United States. President Roosevelt said in one of his messages that "an idea had become prevalent that our assertion of the Monroe doctrine implied or carried with it an assumption of superiority and of a right to exercise some kind of a protectorate over the countries to whose territory that doctrine applies. Nothing could be farther from the truth." What we desire as a people is the progress and prosperity of the republics to the south of us, that they, with us, may share a common growth in the broader outlook and greater wealth and prosperity which are the good fortune of all progressive nations in this era. The growth of each will help all the rest. The North American peril is a myth.

Substantial progress has already been made. Banking institutions with American capital have been established in several cities of South America. Visits by citizens of both continents, officials and others, have tended to promote a better understanding. Traders and manufacturers are exploring fields for enterprise. Large delegations of citizens have traveled not only from the United States to the south, but from various southern countries to the north. The Pan-American Union having headquarters at Washington has achieved most notable results under the able and energetic leadership of Mr. John Barrett.

One of the first essentials required is regular and faster communication between the ports of the United States and those of South America. This can not be too strongly emphasized. The transmission of mails is characterized by delay and uncertainty. Telegraphic com-

munication is very expensive. Passengers who seek to make the trip are often confronted by the necessity of contenting themselves with inferior accommodations and by uncertainty as to the dates on which the journey can be made. While I do not feel ready to advocate a general subsidy for cargo carrying ships, it would be a most helpful policy for the United States to join in granting generous compensation for a line or lines of mail and passenger steamers which will bring the ports of the north and south nearer together.

There is a regrettable ignorance in each continent of the history and geography of the other. This is also true of social and economic conditions. I do not believe many of the students in our schools or colleges could name two or perhaps one of the presidents of South American republics. This can be remedied in great part by the preparation of books in each of the languages spoken, giving briefly in popular form and at reasonable prices the most essential information. They would have use in many of our educational institutions. I am sure that books in the Spanish language and in English translations also, giving extracts from the works of leading South American authors and orators, with a brief biographical sketch of each, would have a very considerable number of readers. Similar works in the French language have for years enjoyed a large sale.

Another conclusion which is inevitable is that in coming years South America will witness a growth more rapid than in the past and probably more rapid than that of any other continent. For this there are several fundamental reasons. First, this continent possesses a greater variety of mineral and agricultural resources than any other. This is due not so much to the great variety of climate indicated by parallels of latitude as to the existence of wide plateau regions, contrasted with broad stretches fronting on the coast and large interior fertile plains. The diversity of mineral resources in the Andes region is another reason. Second, the most available fertile lands and productive mines, wherever found, have been rapidly taken up during the last half century. The pressure of population and increased consumption upon means of subsistence is keenly felt and is manifesting itself in the growing scarcity and cost of many commodities, especially those used for food. More of lands and of mines remain unexploited in South America than anywhere else.

It is a matter of past experience that undertakings for increased production manifest themselves more in the settlement of new areas than in intensive cultivation or methods.

Recent statistics of exports and imports show a larger increase of percentages in South America than in any other grand division of the globe. This is a safe indication of the existence of tendencies which I have outlined.

The special needs of South America are capital, transportation, immigration, and sanitation. Conservatism, lack of correct understanding, defects in the performance of the functions of government, may delay but can not long postpone adequate provision for all these needs.

The richest rewards of increase in wealth, population and improved

material condition, will belong to those countries which display the greatest degree of initiative and energy and maintain the most perfect administration. It may be confidently believed that the saying "the fittest survive" will apply not so much to the strongest in military force, as to those whose policies ascribe supreme importance to the promotion of peaceful relations among nations and to social and economic progress.

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*THE HAGUE CONVENTIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF 1899 AND 1907, Accompanied by Tables of Signatures, Ratifications and Adhesions of the Various Powers and Texts of Reservations. Edited by James Brown Scott, LL.D. Price \$1.00.

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