

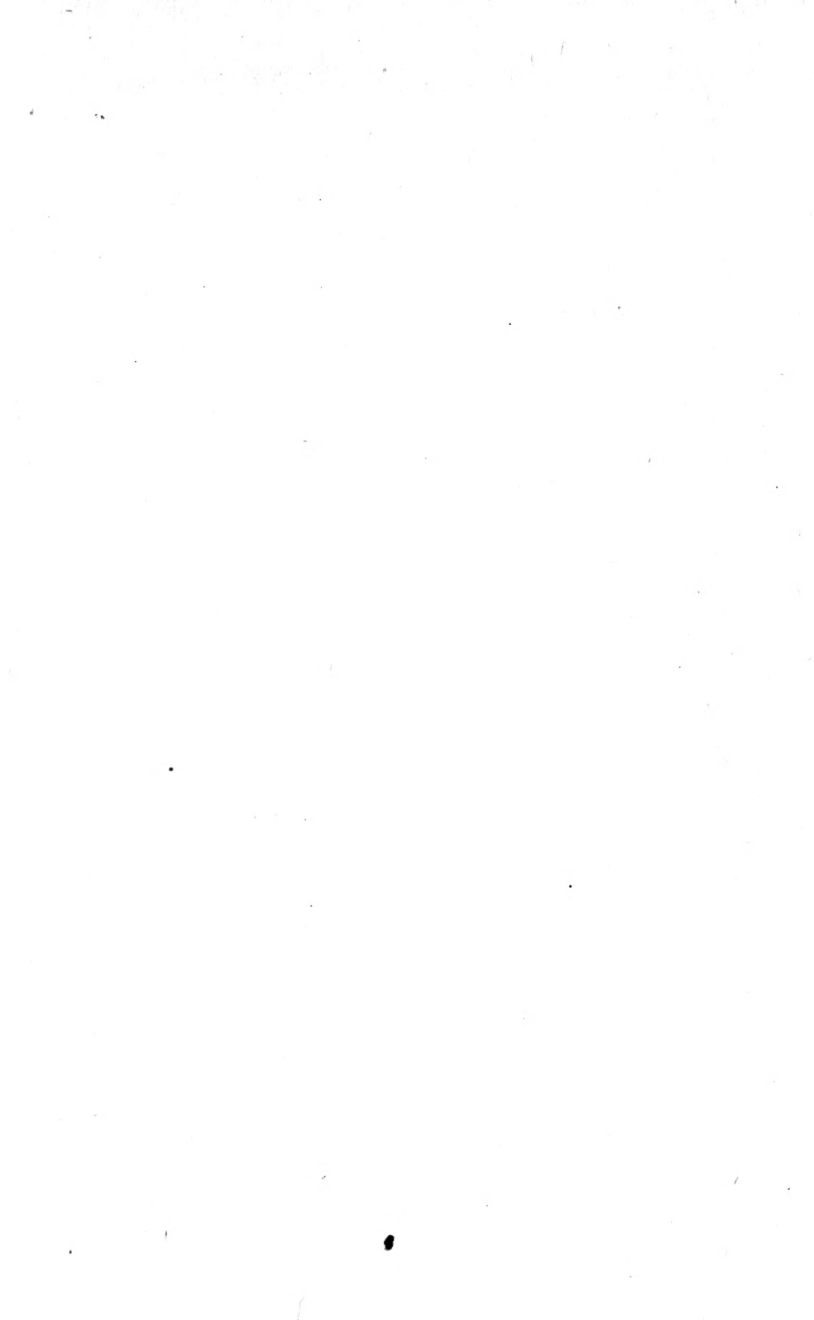


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South American Life

AN ACCOUNT OF PAST AND CONTEMPORARY
CONDITIONS AND PROGRESS IN
SOUTH AMERICA

Edited and Arranged by
ETHLYN T. CLOUGH

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BY
JOHN M. HALL

PREFACE

OUR apology for presenting this book is not that so little has been written about Latin America, but that so much literature on this wonderfully interesting country exists that it is practically impossible to get in concise form, and brief enough to be of use to a student, the important information necessary to an intelligent understanding of the subject.

Many books have been written about South America—some of them by enthusiastic tourists who may have stayed but a night in each of its fascinating old cities, and have filled in their impressions thus formed with information gathered second-hand from other books and marvelous tales. Other volumes have been written by conscientious investigators like the late William Elroy Curtis, who prepared for his newspaper and magazine articles so much informing and interesting material about the countries of Latin America, more purely descriptive, however, than the student cares for. And still other volumes have been written by authoritative and long-time residents, which, while they are all that can be desired in the information they afford, are usually on a single Republic, in which the writer happens to have spent his life; and to get a comprehensive knowledge of all the Latin American Republics, one would have to read many books.

It is the object, therefore, in compiling this little volume to gather together from this bewildering mass

of literature all that is best of the past and present of South America, and to give some idea of its importance in the history and progress of the Western Hemisphere.

We have thought of no better method in the arrangement of these chapters that we have gathered together, than to supplement, if this were possible, the excellent book furnished the students of this course by the Honorable Mr. Bryce; and to go with him down the Pacific Coast, around the Cape and up the Atlantic Coast, pushing somewhat into the interior and dwelling more in detail, than has the author of *South America*, on the history, geography, government, and manners and customs of the people, leaving the education, art, music, and literature of the country to be developed in the magazine articles that will portray on a broader canvas the Latin life of our sister continent.

Some of these chapters have been especially prepared for the book, while others have been gathered from reliable sources, and a key-letter at the end of each refers the reader to the last page of the book where due credit is given. Liberty has been taken to revise and correct the material to date, to eliminate unimportant matter, and to edit the whole in the interest of a smooth and harmonious fabric.

ETHLYN T. CLOUGH.

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South American Life

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

IT is a significant fact in the world's civilization that the entire Western Hemisphere consists of a group of republics, twenty-one in number, the most important, of course, being our own United States of North America, the remaining twenty forming what is generally known as Latin America. Eleven of these twenty are South American republics, and it is with them that we shall directly deal in this volume, *South American Life*.

Discovered almost at the same time as its southern sister, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the northern continent has progressed in many ways divergent with the progress of the southern continent. In all that has been written of the two continents, only one reason has been given for the great development of the one, and the retardation, in many ways, of the other, and it is this: "North America was settled by men who came to the New World seeking liberty; South America was exploited by adventurers hunting for gold. Our colonists cleared land, planted fields, and established homes; when the time came to sepa-

rate from the Old Country, they had a stable society, an adequate political system spontaneously developed, and a familiarity with self-government that had been preparing from the time of the Magna Charta.

“South America was discovered and conquered by an unbridled lust for gold. Whether it was the aggressions of the English on the Spanish Main, or the Dutch and French near the Amazon, or of the Portuguese in Brazil, or of the Spanish on the Rio de la Plata, in Chile, Peru, or Panama, practically the only motive actuating the colonists was the desire to exploit or to despoil the territories they discovered, and with their booty to hurry back to Europe, there to enroll themselves among the rich and to become part of an idle aristocracy.

“The civilization of the Incas was destroyed, and this industrious, skilled people—adapted to their environment, capable of attaining a level we only can guess at, once acquainted with the civilization of Europe—annihilated. All that they had done perished with them, and the new owners of the land had to begin at the beginning. When Bolivar and San Martin followed the lead of Washington and Latin America threw off the yoke of Spain, its people had had no training in self-government, nor even in useful industry, and their ideal was still the antique and romantic one of the intrepid warrior and successful conqueror. This was the seed. The harvest has been reaped all these years in revolutions and more wonderful wars for independence than we ever dreamed of. A conti-

ment can not be plowed and resown like a cornfield. Education, immigration, the gradual infusion of saner ideals and more stable blood—it is a long, discouraging task that earnest Latin Americans of today are wrestling with, one in which they ought to have our appreciation and sympathy, and to be able to bestow these we must first have a knowledge of the situation.”

In no way can we better come to an understanding of our relations and our duties to our sister country, and in no way can we have a better introduction to our study than by quoting the racial contrasts, the moral contrasts, the progress and the local differences that Mr. Albert Hale points out to us in the introduction to his recent book, *The South Americans*.

Mr. Hale says that “we should not allow ourselves to think that we are altogether virtuous, nor that the Latin races are altogether vicious. If we are practical and progressive, if we recognize the gain to the human race by modern industry and commerce, if we have the skill and energy and knowledge to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, they have a poetry, a sprightliness of imagination which we lack; if we are solid and rationally hospitable, they are cordial and spontaneously hospitable, and they have preserved a kindness in their social intercourse which we might well emulate. If the Anglo-Saxon idea of the home is one that seems to come closest to the ideal, we should not forget that certain phases of the home life in southern Europe and South America are very sweet, commendable, and worthy of admiration and emula-

tion. If our restlessness of spirit leads us to the assumption of new duties and to an expansion of interests which exhaust our energies and foster discontent with present conditions, their lack of it, which we are apt to call laziness or indolence, helps to preserve the poetry of life, and often tends to a peace and happiness for which we sigh.

“We have not much to boast of in the way of superiority, either morally or commercially. Although the average North American business man is faithful to his obligations, so also is the average South American, as the credit system of English and German exporters bears steady witness. In the main, our moral standards are higher, even if we do not live up to them, but their business dealings are honorable and fair. In the domestic virtues they are equal to us, and their sacredness of family ties is unsurpassed. The women of the upper classes are as good wives and mothers, according to their light, as women in other parts of the world; they have a horror of divorce, partly because it is anti-Catholic, and partly because it is contrary to their conception of the marriage sacrament. Among the lower classes illegitimacy is common; but if we give credence to the disclosures of the working-people in our large industrial centers, the lack of illegitimate children does not by any means imply purity. There is a vital distinction between morality and virtue, and the problem with us is the same as it is with them, except that the Latin American man has no conception of chastity.

“They are superior to us in one respect. Undoubtedly the sense of beauty, the appreciation of what is artistic, is far more highly developed with South Americans than with us. It is hard to find in their countries ugliness in extended form. Utilitarianism, such as characterizes our activities, is but a flickering factor in their life; admiration for northern ways and customs is spreading, but as a race or nation they can not sacrifice their artistic tastes to such an extent as to tolerate ugliness, even if thereby a material gain is effected. Growing out of this is another condition in which we must acknowledge our inferiority. I mean the admirable condition of their municipal affairs. Their cities, as instances of urban life, are much better than ours. The Spaniards and Portuguese, following their innate love of beauty, always selected for settlements sites that can not be surpassed for their natural attractions. The City of Mexico, Panama, Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, even Montevideo, bear witness to this; but when their cities became more than mere temporary stations for shipment or commerce, when, within the last generation, a growing population demanded a municipal expansion, this popular love for harmony and beauty was never violated. Today the cities of South America are pleasing and inviting to the eye. The contrast between them and our own cities, both as to location, use of natural advantages and financial organization, shows against us very unfavorably.

“Their two great points of inferiority are material

development and public education. Where they have vast unexplored tracts of land, fertile and fat, waiting only for human activity to produce food for millions, they have neglected their duty to mankind and left the soil untouched; whereas we, with restless energy and even extravagance, have eagerly utilized our open spaces, and have so yielded to this impulse that we have pushed ourselves into the position of one of the foremost nations of the earth, and occupied, within little more than a century, an area equal to that of Brazil. The development of our educational system is the result of our intellectual and moral ambitions, and while it may not be perfect, it arouses the admiration of the world and is undoubtedly the foundation-stone of our democracy. Education in South America means almost entirely culture for the upper, the aristocratic class, and superficially imparted elements for the lower laboring class.

“And lastly, where we often come together is on the plane of political corruption comprised in the shameful but expressive term of graft. That we are better than our ancestors is possibly true, but that we are better than our neighbors will be a difficult task to prove. Corruption has been the birth-mark of Latin politics since the Christian era; it is nearly as prevalent today as it was when Ferdinand drove out the Moor, but it is not worse today than it is with us. The saving factor in our government is our natural morality—the simple honesty among the people, and our genuine, deep-rooted, but sometimes forgotten

respect for the law. Crimes we commit with startling frequency, but we are glad when the law is enforced and we hope to see it obeyed. In South America there is the redeeming fact that political graft satisfies itself by a charge of two or twenty times the cost of the work done, but they usually insist that the work be done honestly and according to the best obtainable specifications. The codified laws are, however, far above the heads of the common people; they may be afraid of the law, but they do not understand it; it is artificial and often transgresses their instincts. And, moreover, they have not what I have called a moral sense. Yet any accusations of corruption which may be laid at their doors can, with equal justice, in the light of our recent investigations, be laid at ours. A few offices in our own national government—president, cabinet members, and supreme court judges—are surely impeccable, but the same can not be said of every country in South America.

“Are there, then, any factors which are tending to modify these evident differences? I am sure there are. The adoption of steam and electricity is generalizing ideas and habits, so that an improvement in one part of the world is soon appreciated, understood and adopted in another part. We accept European advances in physical and mental comforts and luxuries, and the South American, with increasing momentum, is accepting those which come both from Europe and from us. Even the lower classes are no longer isolated. But beyond that is the newer fact that they are

absorbing some of the same blood that we have, and that onto their Latin stock is engrafting a vigorous branch of Northernism. They are no longer purely Iberian or Lusitanian. The invasion of outsiders is not going on so rapidly as it did with us, but it is undeniably evident, and not many generations will be needed before a vigorous mixed race will push into the background the pure-blooded Latin who can not stand the pace. This migration and intermingling has two great causes: the desire to escape into a republican form of government, and the age-old impulse to make use of virgin land.

“There are three principles of government polity: The completely republican, such as we represent and such as is, constitutionally at least, represented by the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere; the limited monarchy, of which Great Britain is the constitutional type and Germany the military and bureaucratic type; and the autocratic monarchy, of which Russia is the chief example. And the genius of each of these principles is at work constructing South America, as we shall see before we have finished this volume.

“Of equal importance is that phase of modern expansion in which the land question plays an all-powerful part. With the areas of China, Japan, and India overcrowded; with the mutterings of what we call the Eastern peril, it is easy to observe that, besides Africa, uncertain areas of Australia, and the newer fields of western Canada, there is no other continent capable of

offering virgin soils to the exuberant and rapidly growing discontented dwellers of the Old World, except South America."

On the western slope of the Andes are Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia, which may be called the mountain republics. Their chief industries will be those, such as mining, in which is demanded a minimum of human and a maximum of machine labor. They have untilled fertile land, but not enough to draw great immigration, and it is to a noticeable extent already occupied by native races who were impressed by the stamp of the Spanish conqueror, although there is so much original blood that they can by no means be compared to an Old World peasantry. These countries on the Pacific Ocean offer no attraction for the European statesman who dreams of an American sphere of influence; they are isolated by the lofty Andes, by thousands of miles of water; but they will soon be made easily approachable to us by the completion of the Panama Canal, so that they will develop along American lines with eagerness if we treat them fairly.

For three-quarters of a century we have led this victorious army of republics, and for even a longer time than that our influence has been felt. But it is evident that there are to be new and closer relations between the two continents of the Western Hemisphere, and in order to make the most of these relations we must learn more about our southern neighbors; we must study their ambitions and their pros-

pects and put much of the leaven of brotherhood into our dealings with them. We must give a more vital interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, that we may be enabled to stand more firmly between the South American Republics and the unscrupulous aggressions of Europe.⁹

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH AMERICA

PERHAPS a fact not generally known is that South America is greater in area than North America, and is situated to the east of the Northern Hemisphere. If you are on Fifth Avenue in New York City, the line which your eye takes looking down the hill towards Madison Square, were it continued far enough south, would hit South America near the west coast of Peru. Practically all of the continent is east of such an imaginary line, and from this point to Cape St. Roque is as far as from New York to San Francisco; from Cartagena in the Caribbean to Punta Arenas in Patagonia is as far as from Key West to the North Pole. There are nearly half a million more square miles within these extremes than in all of North America.

Between the "twin continents," as the northern and southern sections of the Western Hemisphere have been called, the transitions are everywhere so gradual that it is not at first sight easy to say where one ends and the other begins. But when the question is studied on a large-scale map, we see at once that the true natural limits are laid down, at the northwest extremity of the southern section, by the Gulf of Darien, which formerly penetrated much farther in-

land than at present, if it did not even present a free waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.

So obvious are the points of resemblance between these divisions that they strike the eye at first glance. Both present the same rough, triangular shape, with base inclined from northwest to southeast, and sides of nearly equal length converging to the apex southwards. In superficial extent there is little difference, the northern triangle scarcely exceeding the southern by one-eighth, while a surprising parallelism is presented by the general relief, the disposition of mountain ranges, tablelands, plains, and fluvial basins. To the Rocky Mountains and Central Sierras correspond the Andean Cordilleras, both running close to the west coast, and ramifying at intervals into two or even three branches, which enclose vast plateaux often of great elevation. Indeed, the resemblances are here so striking, and extend to so many secondary features, such as active and extinct volcanoes with extensive lava fields and other igneous matter overlying sedimentary formations, that a unity of the orographic system from Fuegia to Alaska is suggested.

On the Atlantic side the correspondence is maintained by the Alleghanies in the north and in the south by the Sierra de Merida, the Sierra de Mar, and the Brazilian highlands. In both continents, the western and eastern mountain systems enclose boundless central plains—prairies, savannahs, llanos, pampas, woodlands—which are traversed in much the same directions by a few fluvial arteries rivaling or surpassing

in volume, length, and drainage area the great rivers of the Eastern Hemisphere. With two important exceptions—Mackenzie and Yukon—the outfall is to the Atlantic, recipient also of so many running waters on its eastern seaboard. Thus Churchill, St. Lawrence, and Hudson trending east and the Missouri-Mississippi with a southerly course, find their exact counterparts in the Orinoco and Amazon on the one hand and the Parana-Paraguay on the other.

But these analogies, which lie somewhat on the surface, are perhaps more than balanced by the contrasts, which are in some respects of greater moment, and on the whole more favorable to the north than to the south. Foremost among these is the position in respect of the poles and the equator. Here the discrepancy is enormous, sufficient in fact to constitute the southern division mainly a tropical country, and the northern mainly temperate. To be sure, much of North America seems to lie within the Arctic Circle, or near enough to be called Arctic. But the absolute area of this section, consisting so largely of archipelagos with extensive intervening water-surfaces, is less than is commonly supposed, and is amply compensated by the bulging out and consequent great average breadth of the continent in more favorable latitudes.

But the very opposite is the case of South America, where the bulging takes place about the equator, with a consequent excess of heat and moisture, and where beyond the tropic of Capricorn, the land tapers so rapidly southwards that but a relatively small area

is extra-tropical. Here only a fraction of the southern continent would be suitable for European settlement were the tropical heat not tempered by the great elevation of the Brazilian and Andean uplands, and by the moderating influence of sea breezes from the Atlantic. Owing to these favorable conditions the general climate of South America is more equable and cooler by several degrees than that of the African continent. Thus the isothermal line of greatest heat, which runs from the isthmus of Panama mainly along the seaboard to Cape San Roque, intersecting the equator at the Amazon estuary, ranges from about 80° to 82° F., while the temperature of the corresponding heat zone on the east side of the Atlantic normally exceeds 86° F.

Other important consequences, also to the advantage of the north, follow from this general latitudinal position of the twin continents. During the glacial epochs, whether simultaneous or not on either side of the equator, a fairly warm temperature must have at all times prevailed in inter-tropical South America, with the result that the running waters suffered no serious arrest, but continued their natural process of development without interruption except in the sub-arctic lands of the extreme south.

Hence on the Chilian coast and in Fuegia alone are found those peculiar fjord-like formations which, as in Scandinavia and Greenland, are due to the grinding action of glaciers or frozen streams. Elsewhere the rivers have excavated their beds down to

their natural levels, and in so doing have drained nearly all the old lacustrine basins and effaced most of the falls and rapids which formerly abounded in many districts. Cataracts still survive in the Colombian and Peruvian Andes, on the Parana, the Madeira and elsewhere; but all the large lakes have disappeared except Titicaca and the still periodically flooded Mojos basin about the Amazon-Parana water-parting, at the northern extremity of the old Pampean Sea. Even Titicaca, though still an imposing sheet of water, is little more than a highland loch compared to its vast dimensions in Secondary and Tertiary times. Colonel G. E. Church tells us in his *Geographical Journeys* that "geological examinations show that Titicaca was once one of the large lakes of the world, and that it has slowly been drying up."

How different from all this the picture presented by the northern continent, where glacial action attained a greater development than in any other part of the world, where the ice-cap, thousands of feet thick, advanced and retreated more than once over vast areas millions of miles in extent, and where icebergs in great numbers are still annually discharged from the Greenland and Alaskan glaciers. Hence the mighty streams held in their icy fetters till far into the Pleistocene age have not since had time to arrive at maturity. They still tumble over some of the grandest falls on the globe, and have left undrained great lakes of the Laurentian basin and many others strewn over the Canadian Dominion, while the seaboard is so finely

diversified with fjords, gulfs, bays, and other inlets that it presents 26,000 miles of contour-lines compared with 19,000 miles of the somewhat monotonous South American coastlands.

Practically the South American coasts, always excepting Chile, Patagonia, and Fuegia, have no windings or inlets beyond the relatively insignificant Gulfs of Darien and Venezuela in the north and Guayaquil on the west, with the still smaller bays of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia on the east side. The few other indentations are not marine inlets, but great fluvial estuaries, which by the deposits of silt are being slowly transformed to deltas like that of the Orinoco, or else converted into alluvial plains like that of the Rio Colorado. Formerly the lower reaches of this Pampean stream presented the aspect of a very large estuary running over one hundred miles inland, though still greatly inferior to those of the Plate and Amazon, which are amongst the most typical and extensive of such formations in the world.

There is also a remarkable absence of islands or insular groups, South America showing in this respect a close analogy with the two other great Austral lands. As South Africa has its Madagascar and Southern Australia its Tasmania, so the southern continent of the Western Hemisphere terminates in Terra del Fuego. The few insular groups in the Caribbean Sea should either be grouped with the West Indian system or else regarded as almost still forming part of the mainland. And now, keeping these compari-

sons in mind, let us go more into detail regarding South America.

The southern continent extends from about 12° North latitude to about 55° South, and from about the 35th meridian west of Greenwich to about the 80th. Its area is estimated at 6,837,000 square miles, or 391,000 square miles greater than that of North America.

Along the west coast, from Panama to Cape Horn, runs the wall of the Andes, separated from the Pacific by a comparative ribbon of land and varying from fifty to several hundred miles in width. There are mountains in eastern Brazil, but these are so low, comparatively speaking, that the continent may be said to slope eastward from the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean. In the Andes is the highest land in the Western Hemisphere, supposed to be Mt. Aconcagua, about 23,000 feet. Many other Andean peaks are over 20,000 feet. The highest navigable lake in the world is Titicaca, which is situated at an altitude of nearly 13,000 feet, on the boundary between Bolivia and Peru.

The principal rivers are the Amazon, which traverses nearly the entire breadth of the continent and is the largest river in the world; the Orinoco and La Plata, with its two great tributaries, the Parana and Uruguay. West of the Andes and between upper Peru and upper Chile there is practically no rainfall, the moisture condensing and falling before the clouds can pass the Andean rampart.

The configuration of the surface is divided into five

physical regions: (1) Low-country skirting the shores of the Pacific Ocean, from 50 to 150 miles in breadth, and 4,000 miles in length. The two extremities of this territory are fertile, the middle a sandy desert. (2) The basin of the Orinoco, a country consisting of extensive plains or *steppes*, called Llanos, either destitute of timber or merely dotted with trees, but covered with a very tall herbage during a part of the year. During the dry season the heat is intense here and the parched soil opens into long fissures in which lizzards and serpents lie in a state of torpor. (3) The basin of the Amazon is a vast plain embracing a surface of more than two million square miles, having a rich soil and a humid climate. It is covered almost everywhere with dense forests, which harbor innumerable tribes of wild animals, and are thinly inhabited by savages, who live by hunting and fishing. The great southern plain, watered by the Platte and the numerous streams descending from the eastern summits of the Cordilleras. Open steppes, which are called Pampas, occupy the greater proportion of this region, which is dry, and in some parts barren, but is generally covered with a strong growth of weeds and tall grass, upon which feed great herds of horses and cattle, and which affords shelter for a few wild animals. (5) The country of Brazil, eastward of the Parana and Uruguay, presenting alternate ridges and valleys, thickly covered with wood on the side next the Atlantic, and opening into steppes or pastures in the interior.

Having thus considered the resemblance between

the northern and southern continents of the Western Hemisphere, and taken a general survey of the physical features of South America, let us turn our attention to the political divisions of the southern continent, which at present consist of ten independent republics: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela; and the colonies of Guiana under the British, French, and Dutch. Besides these, there is the Isthmus of Panama, which has recently gained its independence, and is no longer considered a part of South America, but an independent and individual country.

Commencing with the first of these republics, which we have named in alphabetical order, we find that the Argentine Republic extends from latitude 22° South to 56° South, and from the summit of the Andes to the Atlantic. The area is 1,212,000 square miles, or about five and a half times that of France. A recent estimate of the population places it beyond the six million mark, with one million of this figure in the city of Buenos Aires. For nearly three hundred years after the discovery of the River Plate, in 1516, the part of South America now known as the Argentine Republic belonged to the viceroyalty of the River Plate. In 1810, the Viceroy Baltasar de Cisneros was deposed, in 1816, independence was declared, and in 1825 the new Republic was recognized. From then until 1880 there was more or less continuous trouble between the *Porteños*, people of the gate, of Buenos Aires, who wished to dominate or separate

from the confederation, and the provinces who were jealous of Buenos Aires. The result was the making of Buenos Aires a federal district and a strong central government instead of a loose confederation. The Argentine Republic includes within its boundaries the country once known as Patagonia, and still known by that name as a province of the new republic. The Rio de la Plata, with its tributaries, the Parana and the Uruguay, drains an area of 3,103,000 square kilometers—slightly more than is drained by the Mississippi.

Bolivia, named in honor of Bolivar, the liberator of northern South America, gained independence in 1825. In the war of 1879 with Chile it lost its sea-coast, and it is now completely landlocked. Trade with the outside world is carried on through Chilean ports and the Peruvian port of Ollendo by way of Lake Titicaca. Most of the cities are situated on the high western tableland, which, at the ancient town of Potosi, rises to nearly 14,000 feet. La Paz, the capital, with a population of about 79,000, is situated at an altitude of 3,630 meters, over 12,000 feet. The area of Bolivia is estimated at 709,000 square miles, or only about 60,000 less than that of Mexico; it is the third country in size in South America. The population is estimated at 2,300,000, of which about one-fifth are white and the rest Indians and mixed races.

Brazil, which borders on the Atlantic, is the largest country of South America, and extends from 4° North latitude to nearly 34° South, with a coast-line

about 4,000 miles in length. Its greatest width, from east to west, is between a point in the State of Pernambuco and one on the frontier of Peru, in longitude 30° and $58'$ West, the distance between these two points being 4,350 kilometers, or about 3,500 miles. The area is estimated at 3,218,991 square miles, or about as large as the United States, including Alaska. A recent estimate gives the population as 20,000,000, of which one-third to one-half is white. The capital is Rio Janeiro—population about 820,000; the principal cities Sao Paulo, with 332,000 population; Bahia, 230,000; Pernambuco, 120,000; Belem, 100,000; Port Alegre, 80,000; Manaus, 40,000. Several other cities have over 30,000.

Chile extends from $16^{\circ} 30'$ South latitude to Cape Horn, about 2,300 miles, and from the crest of the Andes to the Pacific, an average breadth of 130 miles. The area is 307,620 square miles, or about 50,000 square miles larger than Texas. The country is extremely mountainous and has no large rivers. The population of the republic is about 5,000,000, 400,000 of which are residents of the capital, Santiago; the remainder of the population is in the rural districts and small towns, and such cities as Valparaiso, 143,000 population; Concepcion, 50,000; Iquique, 43,000; Talca, 43,331; Chillan, 36,681; Antofagasta, 16,253.

Colombia, which once included what is now Venezuela and Ecuador, gained independence from Spain in 1819; split up into Venezuela, Ecuador, and Republic of New Granada, in 1832; in 1858 New Granada

changed into Confederation Granadina; in 1861 name changed to United States of New Granada, which was changed to United States of Colombia in 1863. A revolution in 1885 brought about a new constitution, by which the sovereign states became simple departments, with governors appointed by the president of the republic. Revolutions have been almost continuous, and this, with lack of communication, has kept Colombia backward. The area of the republic is estimated from 445,000 to 505,000 square miles—this on account of disputed boundaries. The population is 4,279,674, including 150,000 uncivilized Indians. Colombia has a fine capital—Bogotá—situated in the interior, 9,000 feet above sea level; population 120,000. The chief commercial towns are Baranquilla, on the Magdalena River, and its seaport, Savanilla, Santa Marta, and Cartagena, on the Caribbean; Buenventura, on the Pacific, and Medellín, an interior mining town. The Magdalena is navigable for 900 miles, steamers now ascending to La Dorada, 600 miles from the coast.

Ecuador, separated from Colombia in 1830, has been disturbed more or less continually ever since by revolution. Its area is about 120,000 square miles, or about the size of Norway. The population numbers 1,400,000, the bulk of which is Indian and mixed blood. The capital, Quito, has 80,000 population. The principal seaport and commercial center is Guayquil, with about 70,000 inhabitants.

Peru, formerly the most important of the Spanish

vice-royalties, declared independence in 1821, and gained freedom in 1824. Since then the country has suffered from various revolutions and its power was temporarily crushed in the war with Chile (1879-1884), by which it lost the valuable nitrate provinces. Its area is about 696,000 square miles, or about three and one-half times that of France. It has a population of about 3,500,000, of whom more than half are Indian. The capital is Lima, with 135,000 inhabitants. Other important cities are Callao, the seaport of Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Iquitos; the latter is near the eastern border and extensive trade passes through it on its way to the Amazon.

Paraguay was originally a part of the viceroyalty of Peru, later placed under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. It declared its independence of Spain in 1811. After a short government by two consuls, the supreme power was seized by various dictators, and so held until the great war between Lopez and the combined forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, 1865-1870. Lopez was defeated and killed at Aquidaban, March 1, 1870. The country was completely exhausted, and it is only within the past few years that it has commenced to recover. The area of Paraguay is 98,000 square miles. The population of about 650,000 includes 15,000 Indians. The capital, Asuncion, has about 62,000 people. Other towns are Villa Rica, 25,000; Concepcion, 15,000; Carapegua, 13,000.

Venezuela, which was discovered by Columbus on his third voyage, in 1498, is one of the most inter-

esting of the Republics. It was here that the revolutionary movement began that freed the whole of the northern part of South America from Spain. The Republic itself was organized in 1830 by a secession from Colombia, and since then it has had no fewer than fifty-one revolutionary movements. Its area is about 364,000 square miles, with a population of 2,602,492. Carácas, the capital, has about 75,000 people, and among other cities are Valencia, 38,654; Maracaibo, 34,284; Barquisimeto, 31,476; Barcelona, 12,735; Ciudad Bolivar, 11,686. The area of Venezuela equals more than the combined area of Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

With this general outline of the geography, political and physical, of South America, we are well prepared to take up a chapter on the history of the country; a knowledge of both its geography and history are necessary to an adequate understanding of the life of its people.^b

CHAPTER III

FRAGMENTS OF HISTORY

THE very beginnings of the history of the southern continent of America are shrouded in mystery. Tradition, however, has been strong enough to furnish a basis for the wonderful story given us by Prescott in his *Conquest of Peru* that reads like a fairy tale, but in which it is a little difficult to draw the line between real facts and the glowing and fertile imagination of the brilliant historian. Certain it is that a great civilization existed there centuries before the discovery of the Americas by Columbus concerning which we have but meager information. In short, the origin and character of the earliest South American civilization are completely hidden from view. The most ancient traces of man on the continent are the "kitchen-midden" found on the coast of Peru, consisting of shells and refuse, mixed with fragments of earthen pots and ashes and occasionally the rude implements used by these primitive people. After these men who lived on sea-food, there came more advanced tribes of whom we know nothing except what may be inferred from their pottery and textures found in the deepest layers of soil. This development, such as it was, was confined to the sea coast. It was followed by a wonderful civilization

on the high tablelands. Where this civilization came from is a mystery. We know nothing of how long it lasted or what its nature was except as its architectural ruins show that it had oriental kinships and that it was as interesting as it was powerful. These ruins can be seen today at Tiahuanaco, in Bolivia, just south of Lake Titicaca. Immense stone pillars and gateways, which must have been brought from great distances, prove that a people lived on these tablelands in centuries which we can not fix now, akin to the race which left its massive monuments in Central America and Mexico, and capable of as great achievements as the ancient Egyptians. Of their ideas and language we know nothing; but it is evident that their influence extended from Colombia on the north to Chile on the south, and as far as Tucuman and the Gran Chaco in what is now Argentina.

This ancient pre-Inca civilization disappeared centuries before the discovery of America. Its remains, however, were scattered over the whole Andean plateau, and on this base of an ancient culture it was easy for the Incas to build their empire. The Incas had no written language or literature, and while, according to Garland, in his *Peru in 1906*, "there exist ancient chronicles written by some of the conquerors and missionaries, . . . it is impossible to place absolute confidence in these narratives." So that the real character of the empire of the Incas and the conditions of the South American people at the time of the Spanish conquest are but uncertainly known to us. It seems

clear, however, that there was a widespread socialistic, theocratic civilization organized and administered by the Incas, reaching from Colombia to central Chile and Argentina. Wonderful schemes of irrigation and, it is said, not less wonderful systems of roads were constructed. This matter of the wonderful roads, it is now believed by experts who have been over the ground, were mere Indian trails. Armies were organized which brought the whole Andean plateau under the Inca sovereigns, who appear to have possessed from the eleventh century, when tradition says they first came upon the scene, a sacred, semi-divine character. The Inca empire had reached its greatest prosperity in the generation before the Spaniards came, and the disruption of that prosperity by civil war was one of the conditions which played into Pizarro's hands when, with a handful of audacious desperadoes like himself, he came for glory and gold.

Apart from the Incas, the only other great people in South America, whom we can identify, were the Caras of Ecuador. Tradition says that they came from the south in the seventh century and invaded the seaboard of central Ecuador, and by the thirteenth century the outlines of their empire which was ruled by male succession, appear. The Cara kingdom reached its zenith at the end of the fourteenth century, after which it was overthrown and absorbed by the Incas. The Caras were a vigorous stock, however, and survived the Inca conquest and also outlived the decimating tyranny of the Spaniards, so that

ninety-five per cent of the present population of Ecuador is composed of their descendants.

The Incas and the Caras are the only South American races which attained any sort of organized and advanced civilization, and even that civilization was weak and inarticulate. History has shown us in their fate the frailty of a socialistic order. Under the Incas the state controlled everything—agriculture, commerce, marriage, work and play. The result was that when the central government fell, the whole civilization collapsed. We read that there were thousands of functionaries who spent their lives in superintending the furniture, the dress, the work, the very cookery, of the families under their charge, and inflicting corporal chastisement on those whom they surprised in a fault. These methods formed a correct and regular society, drilled like bees in a hive, it formed a nation of submissive slaves, but it could not nor did not make a nation of *men*. And this is why a handful of unscrupulous Spaniards overthrew what is reported to have been a great and powerful people. They were great in numbers and in long-standing institutions, but they were weak in character and could not stand the test. Reville has called it a “skilfully constructed machine, which worked like a chronometer; but when once the mainspring was broken, all was over.”

Beyond the empires of the Incas and the Caras the native peoples were Indians with a primitive social and political order, not very different probably from the Indians of the present time. The strongest and

most virile race among them were the Araucanians of Chile, who showed themselves well nigh unconquerable and whose sturdy, truculent qualities characterize the Chilean people today. In Brazil, covering one-half of the continent, and with an Indian population whose size is absolutely unknown to us, there was only a stagnant and rudimentary civilization, and the Brazilian Indians melted away before the white man's coming even more pitifully than did the Indians of the Andean plateau.

The savage Indians of South America, whom the discoverers found, were tame and feeble in comparison with the Indians of North America, and while the civilization of the Incas surpassed that of the Aztecs in Mexico, their resisting power was as nothing in comparison with the energy and fierceness of the Aztec race. The differences between North and South America today are not more the transported differences between the Latin and the Germanic peoples than the continuance of the ancient and primitive dissimilarities. The racial basis of the South American people is not Spanish nor Portuguese, but it is Indian. The native stock was not wiped out by the Conquistadores. They were decimated by disease and misuse, but at the same time they were made the stock upon which the Latin blood from Europe was grafted. To this day no small part of the diversities of character among the South American republics is due to the differences in the Indian racial stocks—Quichua, Aymara, Araucanian, Guarany; and in the Latin

racial grafts—Galician, Basques, Catalonian, Andalusian, Portuguese.

Brazil was one of the first parts of South America to be discovered, and the men who really found it were not Spaniards, but Portuguese, though Pinzon, a Spaniard from Palos, and one of the companions of Columbus, was the first European to see the new continent. Before Pinzon reached the limit of his journey, the mouth of the Amazon, Portugal had despatched Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who, in April, 1500, sighted what is now the state of Bahia. Cabral was followed by Amerigo Vespucci, whose name was given to the new world, and who gave the name of Brazil to the shores on which he landed on account of the Brazil wood he found there in quantities, and which was highly prized in Europe on account of its bright red and dyeing properties—Brazil meaning “the color of fire.”

It was Columbus himself who began the Spanish exploration of South America. On his third voyage he sighted the Venezuelan coast on Aug. 1, 1498. The country was then inhabited by numerous Indian tribes who were not of a peaceful character, and who bitterly fought against the cruelties and enslavements of the Spaniards. Not until 1545 were permanent settlements effected in the interior. On his fourth and last voyage in 1502 Columbus sailed along the Colombian shore, but no attempt to conquer the country was made until 1508, when Ojeda effected a settlement on the coast. In 1536, Quesada under-

took the subjugation of the Chibchas, a civilized people similar to the Incas on the high plateau, and established his capital, the present city of Bogota, near the site of the Chibcha capital. In 1570, Diego da Nicuera effected a settlement which extended from the Gulf of Darien to Cape Gracias a Dios. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus and discovered the Pacific Ocean.

It was Pizarro who finally opened the wealth of Peru to the world and established Spanish dominion on the whole of the Andean plateau. In 1532, after several experimental expeditions with a little company of one hundred and two foot soldiers and seventy-two horses, the daring adventurer seized the Inca emperor at Cajamarca, overpowered his futile soldiery and took possession of Peru, gathering in as the first booty gold worth more than \$20,000,000. Pizarro wasted no time and stood on no scruples. The Inca emperor he slew, the wealth he confiscated, and within half a dozen years the whole of the vast region ruled by the Inca power was overrun and subdued. Pizarro's lieutenant, Benalcazar, conquered the northern region of Ecuador and entered Quito on Dec. 6, 1534. Pizarro's brother, Gonzalo, was appointed governor of the province of Quito, and here, as elsewhere, the Spaniards apportioned the land and people among themselves and established feudal estates on which they lived upon the labor of the natives. To the south of Peru, Pizarro's triumph was even easier, and his brother Hernando was given charge of Bo-

livia. Almagro, another one of Pizarro's lieutenants, was sent further south to Chile, but here he encountered a vigorous, hardy people, not debilitated by the weakening socialism of the Incas. Individual ownership of property, rough struggle with nature and men, had made the Chilean tribes strong and virile, and although Almagro was victorious in his battle, he soon turned back from such an inhospitable and godless land. Returning to dispute with Pizarro his possession of the wealth of Peru, Almagro fell at Pizarro's hands, and the conquest of Chile was accomplished in 1540-45 by another lieutenant, Pedro Valdiva, who, after heroic marches and campaigns, subdued the land and set up the landed aristocracy which rules the country to this day. In the thirty years following Valdiva's invasion, settlers from Chile and Bolivia passed over the Andes and established Santiago de Estero, Mendoza, and Cordoba in western Argentina. Pedro de Mendoza founded Buenos Aires in 1536, although it was not till thirty years later that the settlement was securely established. The natural approach from Europe to the valley of the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries was, of course, direct by sea, and Juan de Solis, coming by water, is credited with having discovered the great river in 1515. The explorer lost his life at the hands of the Uruguayan Indians, and it is an odd fact that Paraguay, far inland, was an earlier settlement than Uruguay on the sea. A settlement was made on the site of Asuncion, the present Paraguayan capital, in 1536, while the first

permanent establishments in Uruguay were not set up until the Jesuits came in 1624.

The rapidity with which the Spanish explorers overran the western and southern sections of the continent is extraordinary. In fifty years they had laid the foundations of practically all the Spanish states which are now organized as nine independent republics. One reason for the rapidity of the conquest was the fact that the Spaniards had not come as agricultural settlers, but as adventurers for gold. They were looking for quick and easy wealth. They did no more work themselves than was avoidable. They were equal to any heroism, but to no industry. The Indian population were impressed to support and enrich them. The newcomers passed on to their children no inheritance of industrious conflict with common conditions, no disposition to seek wealth in the orderly development of common resources, no agricultural knowledge, but only the dominant ideas of quick action or feudal ease.

One of the tragedies of the conquest was the dramatic death of Pizarro at the hands of the friends of Almagro, the general, whom Pizarro, as governor of Peru, caused to be put to death. Almagro's friends quickly carried the news of his illegal execution to Spain, crying for justice against the Pizarros. The Spanish government was not unwilling to secure a selfish advantage from the disputes among the original conquerors, and sent out Vaca de Castro to investigate and report.

When the royal commissioners arrived at Panama early in 1541, the latest news from Peru was tranquilizing. Pizarro was busily engaged in enlarging and beautifying Lima, in regulating the revenue and the administration, in distributing *encomiendas*, and in restraining the rapacity of his Spaniards. However, Lima was full of the "men of Chile," as Almagro's adherents were called—all bitter enemies of the governor. They passed him in the street without saluting, and their attitude was so menacing that Pizarro received repeated warnings and was urged to banish them. Absolutely incapable of personal fear, magnanimous when his passion had not been aroused, he only replied, "Poor fellows; they have had trouble enough. We will not molest them." He even sent for Juan de la Rada, the guide, counsellor, and guardian of the young half-breed who was Almagro's heir, and condescended to try to argue him into a better frame of mind, saying at parting, "Ask me frankly what you desire." But the iron had entered too deeply into Rada's soul; he had already organized a conspiracy to assassinate Pizarro.

At noon on Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541, Pizarro was sitting at dinner in his house with twenty gentlemen, among them his half-brother Francisco Alcantara, and several of the most illustrious knights who had taken part in the conquest. The great door into the public square was lying wide open. The conspirators, to the number of a score, had assembled in a house opposite. All of a sudden they rushed

into the square fully armed and carrying their swords naked in their hands. A young page standing in front of the governor's house saw them and ran back shouting: "To arms! all the men of Chile are coming to kill the Marquis, our lord." The guests rose in alarm from the table and all but half a dozen fled to the windows and dropped into the garden. Pizarro threw off his gown and snatched up a sword, while the valiant Francisco Chaves stepped forward through the anteroom to dispute the passage to the staircase. The ferocious crowd of murderers rushed up and laid him dead on the stairs. Alcantara checked them for a few moments with his single sword, but was soon forced back into the dining-room and fell pierced with many thrusts. The old lion shouted from inside, "What shameful thing is this! Why do you wish to kill me?" and with cloak wrapped round one arm and his sword grasped in the other hand, he rushed forward to meet his assassins and strike a blow to avenge his brother before he himself should fall. Only two faithful young pages remained at his side. Though over seventy years of age, his practiced sword laid two of the crowd dead before he was surrounded. The two boys were butchered and in the melee Pizarro received a mortal wound in the throat, and falling to the floor, made the sign of the cross on the boards and kissed it. One of the ruffians had snatched up an earthen water jar and with this pounded out the old man's brains as he lay prostrate, disdaining to ask for mercy and murmuring "Jesus."

The news of the murder threw Peru into confusion. In Lima the governor's friends hid themselves or fled; a hundred sympathizers joined the assassins; the rudders and sails of the ships in port were taken away so that no word could be sent to Panama; and all the treasure in the city was plundered. Young Almagro assumed the title of governor of Peru, but he and Rada soon realized that the vast majority at Lima regarded them with execration, while threatening messages came from the commanders in other towns. Rada and the boy usurper started up the road for Jauja and Cuzco. At the former place Rada died, but his protégé, though only twenty-two years old, now showed unexpected ability and resource. Suppressing with bloody severity a quarrel among his captains, he took the road to Cuzco, where his father's party was strongest.

In the meantime the royal commissioner, now become legal governor of Peru, had sailed from Panama. Shipwrecked off the coast of southern Colombia, he resolved to proceed by land, and disembarking at Buenventura, made his way with infinite difficulty through the tangled forests and steep defiles of the Maritime Cordillera to the valley of the Cauca River. Thence to Quito over the highlands of Popayán and Pasto was easier. As soon as the news of Pizarro's murder reached him, he hastened south, receiving many offers of help from the friends of the dead governor. At Jauja he found a considerable army ready to his orders, so he proceeded promptly to

Guamanga, to which point Almagro was advancing from Cuzco. The soldiers of the young half-breed knew that they were fighting with halters round their necks, and the battle was the bloodiest since the Spaniards had landed in Peru. Of the twelve hundred white men who went into the fight only five hundred escaped unwounded. The rebels were practically annihilated. Two days after the battle Pizarro's murderers were executed in the great square at Guamanga. Young Almagro managed to escape to Cuzco, but he was quickly captured and relentlessly put to death.

Upon the death of Francisco Pizarro the right to nominate a governor reverted to the Spanish Crown. Though some disappointment was felt that Gonzalo Pizarro had not been appointed, Vaca de Castro succeeded without opposition. Gonzalo's selection would not have suited the new policy of the Spanish government. Las Casas had written his famous book exposing the unspeakable iniquities of the earlier conquerors toward the West Indian natives. It produced a tremendous effect on public opinion, and the authorities at Madrid decided to root up Indian slavery, and gradually abolish the existing *encomiendas*. Manifestly, such a step would excite bitter dissatisfaction among the adventurers in Peru, and it seemed best to name a viceroy, who would be *ipso facto* vested with absolute power, and not subject to the influence of the *conquistadores*.

This dangerous post was entrusted to Blasco Nuñez de Vela, an old bureaucrat of the Escorial,

whose integrity, piety, and rigid obedience to orders had pushed him into high positions. Arriving in Peru early in 1554, he was received with outward courtesy and respect, thinly veiling real alarm and distrust. The "New Laws" abolished personal service by Indians; the *grandees* of estates must hereafter be content with a moderate tribute from their tenants; *encomiendas* might not be sold or even descend by inheritance; and—worst of all—public officials and all Spaniards who had taken part in the wars between Almagro and Pizarro were to be deprived. The provisions were drastic and rumor exaggerated them. In his journeys down the coast the viceroy had sternly ordered that no Indian be forced to carry a burden against his will. To the Spaniards this seemed an outrageous violation of the natural order of things. The whole fabric of their fortunes rested upon forced Indian labor. Without it they could not work their mines, farm their estates, or transport their goods, and these "New Laws" enforced by a conscientious and stubborn old bureaucrat, would virtually rob them of all that their swords had won.

Dismayed *encomienderos* wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro, urging him to espouse their cause; his own vast estates would infallably be wrenched away by the viceroy, and he was told that his head was to be cut off as soon as Nuñez Vela could lay hands on him. With the Pizarro instinct of running to meet a danger, he hastened from southern Bolivia to Cuzco, where he was proclaimed "procurator general" of Peru; sol-

diers flocked to his camp; he seized the artillery and stores at Cuzco, and soon was at the head of four hundred desperate men, well armed and provided. Many, however, shrank from open rebellion against the representative of the Castilian king, and the Pizarros had enemies. The result was still doubtful, when the viceroy himself turned the scale by his own violent measures. He imprisoned Vaca de Castro on suspicion of favoring the revolt; quarreled with the judges of the royal court; and finally in an altercation with the popular factor of Lima, stabbed his opponent with his own hand, and then attempted to conceal the murder. Frightened at the burst of public indignation, he fled to Trujillo, while the royal judges took the direction of affairs into their own hands. They ordered the arrest and deportation of the viceroy, and sent a conciliatory message to Gonzalo. But he knew better than to rely on the unauthorized promises of the judges. His answer was to send a detachment to Lima, which seized three deserters and hanged them on trees outside the town. The judges having no troops upon whom they could rely, were forced to recognize Pizarro as governor. A few days later he made his triumphal entry, riding at the head of twelve hundred men.

Gonzalo's administration lasted three years, and they were golden ones for the Spanish adventurers. The marvelous silver mines of Potosi and the gold washings of southern Ecuador were discovered. *Encomiendas* were lavishly granted; the Indians went

back to their fields; the mining industry began that marvelous development which soon made Peru the treasure box of the world and Potosi a synonym for limitless wealth. But the dazzling sunlight of prosperity was dimmed by the shadow of Pizarro's scaffold slowly creeping across the Atlantic and down the coast. His chief lieutenants, knowing that they had sinned past forgiveness, urged him to declare himself king of Peru, but he was at once too proud and patriotic to fling away his right to die a loyal Spaniard.

Philip, the leaden-eyed, close-mouthed despot, was regent of Spain. Bitterly chagrined that the stream of Peruvian gold had ceased to flow into the royal treasury, his vindictive heart held no mercy for the gallant soldier whose sword had helped win the riches now temporarily diverted. He selected a man after his own heart—Pedro de la Gasca, an ugly, deformed little priest, hypocritically humble, though astute and untiring, whose success as an inquisitor was a guaranty that he would be as pitilessly cruel as even Philip could wish. Gasca landed at Panama in the character of a modest ecclesiastic, a humble man of peace who had been commissioned to investigate the sad situation in Peru and re-establish peace. He said he would recommend the repeal of the obnoxious New Laws, and had authority to suspend them. Gonzalo refused to put his head into the noose and demanded substantial assurances. But many Peruvians were more easily beguiled, and welcomed the excuse to renew their allegiance to lawful authority. While

Gasca remained at Panama, gathering troops from the neighboring provinces, Pizarro's fleet deserted, leaving the coast open to attack. An advance guard came sailing down the coast, sending letters ashore at every port promising amnesty and rewards. Desertions were so numerous that Gonzalo was forced to give up the hope of defending Lima and retreated toward Arequipa. Gasca ascended to Jauja, while Pizarro's old enemies in the Titicacan region rose, gathered a thousand men, and sent word to Gasca that they could overwhelm without help the five hundred soldiers who remained faithful. But a Pizarro never waited to be attacked. By forced marches he crossed the dizzy pass where the Mollendo and Puno Railway now runs, and fell upon his enemies near the southern end of Lake Titicaca. Though outnumbered two to one, the superior discipline of his men, his admirable dispositions, Carbajal's skilful handling of the artillery, and his own cool and intrepid leadership of the cavalry charges, gave him a decisive though dearly bought victory.

Meanwhile Gasca was coming up the road from Jauja to Cuzco, his army increasing by accessions from every direction until it numbered over two thousand. The wisest of Gonzalo's counsellors advised him to retire to southern Bolivia and make a defensive campaign in that remote region, but he preferred bold methods. For once, however, he could not inspire his men with his own confidence. They followed with heavy hearts his eager march against Gasca's over-

whelming army. He drew them up for attack and the battle was about to begin when, to his despair, he saw several captains desert to the enemy and his soldiers surrendering without a blow. Knowing that all was over, he turned to Juan Acosta, who rode at his side, saying, "What shall we do, Brother Juan?" "Sir, let us charge them and die like Romans." "Better to die like Christians," replied Pizarro, and he rode across the plain and gave himself up. The exulting priest grossly insulted the fallen warrior, and called a court-martial to condemn him and his captains to immediate execution. Though only forty-one years old when he went to the scaffold, Gonzalo had taken a leading part in nearly every one of the battles and expeditions of Peru.

The property of Pizarro's friends was confiscated; the prisons filled with wretched victims; many were put to death; many more were mutilated or flogged; even the staunchest loyalists were not safe. Gasca evaded and delayed as long as possible the distribution of land-grants among those who had earned and been promised such rewards, and when he had to announce the list he sneaked to Lima by an unfrequented route in cowardly fear of his miserable life. He never dared to try to put the New Laws into effect, and when a peremptory order came from Spain that enforced Indian labor must cease, he kept it secret until he could resign the government to the royal judges, leaving instructions that it should be published immediately he was at sea.

Peru was left in confusion. The prohibition of Indian slavery added to the dissatisfaction felt over Gasca's awards. The *ad interim* governments could make little progress in securing its enforcement. Rebellion after rebellion broke out, and civil war continued to desolate Peru, with a few intervals of quiescence during which the government allowed the proprietors to do as they pleased, until the arrival of the Marquis of Canete, the "good viceroy," on the 29th of June, 1556.^c

CHAPTER IV

THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

THE Spanish occupation of Peru was a conquest, not a colonization. The narrow plateau from Colombia to Chile and the adjacent dry valleys on the Pacific and in northwestern Argentina had been found fully populated by civilized races. The work of subjugating them was practically accomplished within eight or ten years after Pizarro landed in Ecuador, and this marvelous result was achieved by private adventurers, who, though they had commissions from Madrid, really acted on their own responsibility. A very few appreciated the advisability of well treating the Indians and thereby preserving the effective industrial organization, but the vast majority concerned themselves only with immediate profit. For eighteen years the original conquerors and the adventurers who followed in their track fought over the spoils. When the Marquis of Canete was appointed viceroy, he found eight thousand Spaniards in Peru alone, four hundred and eighty-nine of whom had grants of land and Indians.

We can never know the sufferings of the Indians during the civil wars that have been briefly mentioned in the preceding chapter. The chronicles tell us minutely the stories of the battles, marches, sieges,

surprises, assassinations, and deeds of military prowess, but little of the destruction and abandonment of the irrigating canals and terraces, the ruin of the magnificent roads, the breaking up of the ancient socialistic system, the impressment of natives into the rebel bands, the death by exhaustion of thousands dragging artillery over the steep mountain paths, the starvation of whole villages robbed of their crops. But the sturdy physique of the Andean Indians and their perfect adaptation to the climatic conditions saved them from extermination. In the midst of the devil's dance of Spanish carnage, the Inca officers reported minutely the crops stolen or destroyed, and the deficiencies were made up as far as possible from the villages which had escaped for the time being.

Naturally the Spanish government was anxious to put an end to such a state of affairs. Considerations of self-interest reinforced the eloquent indignation of Las Casas, but the New Laws could not be put into effect, notwithstanding the sentiment of fidelity to the Castilian king and the growth of considerable cities in which Spanish law and customs were dominant. The enlightened advisers of Charles V came to the conclusion that Peru could never become a loyal and profitable appanage of the Crown until freedom of action was granted to its government. Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, accepted the difficult post of viceroy. He was a scion of the noblest house of Spain, distinguished alike in arms and letters, capable and resolute, of mature

years and wide experience. His salary was fixed at the then fabulous sum of forty thousand ducats in order to enable him to maintain regal state, and, accompanied by his vice-queen and an imposing retinue he assumed power with ceremonial splendor. He prohibited further immigration from Spain and ordered that no Spaniard in Peru should leave his district without permission. Though the *encomienderos* were left in possession of their estates, they were made to understand that they must cease the more outrageous forms of oppressing the natives. He sent for the more notorious disturbers, and they came joyfully expecting to receive more grants, but were summarily disarmed and banished. He employed the more adventurous in expeditions to the interior and in completing the conquest of Chile. All the artillery in the country was gathered together under his eye, and the corregidores were required to dismiss most of their soldiery. Finally, the viceroy continued Pizarro's policy of founding cities into which were gathered the Spaniards who remained scattered over the country. He did much to alleviate the lot of the natives, though he dared not venture on giving them all the rights guaranteed by Spanish law. No efforts were spared to Hispaniolise the Inca nobles, and native chiefs who could prove their right by descent were formally allowed to exercise jurisdiction as magistrates. Even the rightful emperor, Sayri Tupac, who had maintained his independence in the wilds of Vilcabamba, was induced to swear allegiance and accept

a pension and estates in the valley of Yucay. When the Inca had attested the documents by which he renounced his sovereignty, he lifted up the gilded fringe of the tablecloth, saying "All this cloth and its fringe were mine, and now they give me a thread of it for my sustenance and that of all my house." Retiring to Yucay, he sank into a deep melancholy and died within two years.

In the meantime Charles V had been succeeded by Philip II. The Marquis of Cañete's liberal and enlightened policy did not wring money fast enough to suit the greedy despot. He listened to the slanders against the "good viceroy" brought home by disappointed Spaniards, and Cañete's reward for five years of brilliant service was a recall. Only his death saved him from hearing with his own ears the reproaches of his ungrateful sovereign.

After the recall of Cañete, the most notable viceroy was Toledo, and he was notable for the very opposite policy that he set up. Instead of pacification and justice, his was a reign of destruction and atrocities, which resulted in 1780 in the great Indian rebellion under the leadership of Tupac Amaru, the lineal descendant of the last of the reigning Inca emperors. In Peru proper it did not spread beyond the southern frontier provinces, and the story of its suppression belongs to the history of Bolivia. The authorities were so alarmed that the reforms, to procure which Tupac had risked and lost his life, were shortly afterward adopted. The vitality and fighting

qualities of the half-breeds now stood revealed, and the Creoles, jealous of imported officials and dissatisfied at their exclusion from places of honor and profit, realized that a weapon lay ready to their hand when they should determine upon revolution.

General Theodore de Croix, a Fleming, was entrusted with the reorganization and reform made necessary by the Indian rebellion. The Corregidores, petty tyrants over whom no effective control could be maintained, were abolished; the country was divided into a few great provinces, each ruled by an *intendente* to whom were responsible the subdelgados who had charge of local affairs, and measures were taken for the enforcement of the laws intended to protect the Indians.

By the year 1790 these valuable reforms had been put into effect, but they came too late. Ideas of liberty had begun to infiltrate into the educated classes, and among the Creoles the abstract right of Peru to autonomous government became the subject of secret though wide-spread discussion. A succession of able and liberal viceroys, however, averted the danger for the time, and the outbreak of the revolution in the rest of South America found Peru ruled by Abascal, whose energy, foresight, and determination not only prevented an insurrection at Lima, but nearly saved all South America to Spain.

The storm soon to burst over South America was gathering when the Viceroy Abascal assumed the reins of power in 1806. He made no pretensions to states-

manship, but it did not escape his shrewd soldier's eye and common sense that French revolutionary ideas would soon make trouble. Her very existence threatened in the titan conflict then devastating Europe, Spain could not be relied upon to spare any of her soldiers to guard her colonies. He must take care of himself. Wasting no time in seeking to propitiate the revolutionary elements, he quietly set to work to organize and arm an efficient army while vigilantly watching the course of events. With the first overt act he pounced upon the plotters. Two republican visionaries, named Ubaldo and Aguilar, were the first martyrs for liberty. A few learned and respected professors in Lima dared to speculate on the future of America as affected by recent events in Europe, but the viceroy summoned them to his presence and his stern warnings silenced them. Two young lawyers held evening parties where politics were discussed by the rising youth of the capital. One of the ring-leaders was condemned to ten years' imprisonment and the other sent to Spain, while several more were shipped off to southern Chile. Although the liberals continued to meet and conspire, and the priests were particularly active, for the present nothing definite came of all this.

For six years Abascal held things in splendid control, and in 1816 he thought that his work was virtually completed and that he had earned the right to retire. Resistance was confined to Buenos Aires, to the thinly populated provinces of Tucuman and

Cuyo, and to the banks of the Orinoco. The Argentine revolutionists were fighting among themselves, and that they must succumb before an advance in force from the Bolivian plateau appeared certain. The last act of his administration was to send out a fleet that compelled four Argentine ships which Admiral William Brown had brought around the Horn to withdraw to the Atlantic. He was succeeded by General Pezuela, a strategist of no mean abilities, who had borne a brilliant part in the Bolivian campaigns. The new viceroy straightway set about final preparations for a decisive advance across the Pampas to Buenos Aires, but like a thunderbolt from a clear sky came the news that San Martin had made a sudden descent on Chile and won the battle of Chacabuco, annihilating the Spanish forces in that country. Pezuela saw himself obliged to begin a war to reduce Chile to obedience—an undertaking sure to be long and arduous; and in the meantime Venezuela had risen in insurrection under Bolívar and Paez.

Having won the Chacabuco victory, San Martin did not rest content until he had created a fleet. It consisted of only three frigates and as many brigs, mounting about one hundred and eight cannon against four frigates and thirteen smaller ships, mounting three hundred and thirty guns manned by the Spaniards. But San Martin's disparity of force was more than made up by the superior skill and experience of the foreign seamen he had engaged. His admiral was Lord Cochrane, a Scotchman of noble family, but

radical principles and adventurous disposition. A daring and reckless fighter, inventive and fertile in resources, he excelled in leading cutting-out expeditions and surprises.

San Martin's plan was to wait patiently until a rising should compel the Spaniards to retire to the interior, and then to organize the country and gather an army for the final campaign on the plateau. He kept, therefore, at a safe distance from the Spaniards; sent out detachments which scoured the country up to the walls of Lima; and entered into communication with the conspirators in the city. Crowds of young enthusiasts hastened out to join him; Cochrane daringly cut out the frigate *Esmeralda* under the very guns of Callao castle; an expedition sent to Tacna, on the extreme southern coast, was enthusiastically received; and numerous desertions from the Spanish army culminated in a battalion of Venezuelans coming over in a body.

Notwithstanding this encouragement, San Martin saw that outside help was necessary, and, despairing of obtaining it from Chile or the Argentine, turned his eyes to the north. Bolivar's battles of Boyacá and Carabobo had redeemed northern Granada and Venezuela in 1819 and 1821, and he was now advancing toward Quito to complete the expulsion of the Spaniards from that viceroyalty. With a force of Colombians, Sucre went to Guayaquil by sea and climbed the Ecuador plateau. Defeated and driven back on his first attempt, he was reinforced by a divi-

sion sent by San Martin, and renewed the effort with better success. Although Bolivar had in the meantime been checked in his southward march on Quito by loyalists of southern Colombia, Sucre alone destroyed the Spanish army which had held Ecuador for so many years. The battle of Pichincha, fought in May, 1822, left Bolivar and Sucre free to employ their numerous and well-disciplined troops in completing the liberation of Bolivia.

Bolivar joined his victorious lieutenant at Quito, incorporated Ecuador with his new republic of Colombia, and proceeded overland to Guayaquil, where San Martin lost no time in going to meet him for a conference. The Argentine expected to find as unselfish a patriot as himself, but the "liberator" was not single-minded. He had formed plans for his own glory and aggrandizement to the accomplishment of which San Martin might be an obstacle. When the latter broached the subject of a joint campaign against the Spaniards in Peru and Bolivia, Bolivar gave him no satisfaction, and evaded the Argentine's noble offer to serve in a subordinate capacity. The silent soldier made no protest and uttered no reproaches. Confiding not even in his closest friends, he calmly considered his plight on his way back to Lima. His situation in Peru, bad already, would be made ten times worse by Bolivar's intrigues. Seeing that he could be of no further service to the cause of South American Independence, he formally resigned his authority to a national congress, deliber-

ately sacrificing his own future for the cause he loved, but leaving behind him a name untarnished by any suspicion of self-seeking or personal ambition.

Bolivar waited in vain for the expected invitation to come with his veterans. The leaders in Peru did not propose to jeopardize their own supremacy. They thought they were strong enough to whip the Spaniards by themselves, and made great efforts to drill and equip an efficient army. By the end of the year four thousand men under the command of Alvarado were sent to the southern coast to make an attempt to get between the Spanish armies. It failed before the astonishing energy of the Spanish general Valdez, who by forced marches reached the pass which the Peruvians were trying to climb, and taking up a strong position, beat them back with great slaughter. Alvarado retreated, but was caught by Valdez and completely routed; hardly a third of the army escaped to the seashore. The news of this defeat brought about a change of government at Lima. A revolution, headed by the principal officers, made Riva Agüero, the leader of the Peruvian liberals, president, while General Santa Cruz, a Bolivian, received chief command of the forces. Word was sent to Bolivar that his offer of help would be accepted; and another Peruvian army was recruited. Before the six thousand men promised by Bolivar had arrived, the Peruvians had regained confidence. With the aid of a London loan, the patriots got seven thousand soldiers ready for service, and in May, 1823, five thousand

men under the command of Santa Cruz sailed from Callao for southern Peru. This time they advanced so promptly that the Spanish generals could not get to the passes in time to dispute the way. Santa Cruz entered La Paz and defeated the first army which came against him. But the two main Spanish bodies hastened up from Cuzco and Charcas, outmanœuvred Santa Cruz, united their forces, and routed his army in a panic, not a fourth ever reaching the seaboard.

Shortly after Santa Cruz's departure on his ill-fated expedition, Sucre arrived at Lima with the first installment of the promised Colombian auxiliaries. The Spanish general, Canterac, had concentrated a large army at Jauja and descended on the capital; Lima was denuded of Peruvian troops; the government helpless against the Spaniards or Sucre. The Colombian was made commander-in-chief, and retiring to the fortifications of Callao before Canterac's overwhelming numbers, procured Riva Aguero's deposition and the nomination of one of his own tools as nominal president, while he sent off an urgent message to Bolivar to come in person. Canterac, after holding Lima for a few weeks, went back to the mountains, and Bolivar himself landed at Callao on the 1st. of September, almost at the very moment when Santa Cruz's army was getting involved in that snarl out of which it never extricated itself. The news of its destruction left Bolivar undisputed master of the situation, and in February the submissive rump of the Peruvian parliament conferred upon him an absolute

dictatorship. He now devoted all the wonderful energy with which nature had endowed him to preparation for a campaign which he meant to be final; and united ten thousand men under his command, two-thirds of whom were Colombian veterans and the rest Peruvians, Argentines, and Chileans who fought for the sheer love of fighting. His officers were the pick of South America, men who had proven their bravery and skill on all the hundred battlefields from Venezuela to Chile. With such a force he did not hesitate to attack the Spaniards, although the latter were nearly twice as numerous.

Suddenly, however, his plans were seriously disturbed by a revolt of the garrison in Callao castle—Argentines and Chileans who had not received their pay. The mutineers hoisted the Spanish flag and sent word to Canterac that he might come in and take possession. This event produced a great sensation at Lima. Many citizens who distrusted Bolivar or were fearful of the final result vacillated in their allegiance. Even men who had been prominent liberals went over to the royalists. Bolivar abandoned the capital and removed his base of operations to Trujillo, three hundred miles north. But discouragement gave place to confident enthusiasm when news came that the Spanish generals were fighting among themselves. Olañeta, the renegade Argentine, who commanded in Bolivia, had quarreled with the viceroy La Serna, whom he regarded as a pestilent liberal and an enemy of the absolute pretensions of the Spanish king. The vice-

roy sent Valdez against him, and some hard fighting had taken place, when this fratricidal war was interrupted by the news of Bolivar's preparations.

Though just recovering from a dangerous illness, Bolivar lost no time in taking advantage of Olañeta's revolt. His army numbered nine thousand men; it was well supplied with cavalry, and the troops received their liberal pay punctually. The patriots advanced rapidly and unopposed over the Maritime Cordillera, covered by a cloud of Peruvian guerillas, under whose protection Sucre marked out the daily route and brought in provisions. The city of Pasco, just south of that transverse range which forms the northern limit of the great Peruvian plateau, was reached and Bolivar's army hastened south along the western shore of the lake of Reyes to the marshy plain of Junin at the southern end, where he met Canterac hurrying up from Jauja with a slightly inferior force.

When Bolivar caught sight of the royalist army, he held his infantry back in a defensible position, and sent his cavalry toward the enemy. Canterac rashly charged in person at the head of all his cavalry, but instead of the easy victory he expected, his squadrons were thrown into some disorder when they encountered the patriot lancers. The latter, however, were compelled to retreat, and fled into a defile, followed by the royalists. The royalists did not notice that a Peruvian squadron had been drawn aside, and scarcely were they in the defile than they were charged from the rear. The fugitive patriots in front rallied, and

the disordered and huddled royalists, caught between two fires, could make no effective resistance. They were quickly cut to pieces and driven from the field. The whole affair had not lasted three-quarters of an hour; the numbers engaged did not much exceed two thousand; the royalist loss was only about two hundred and fifty, yet this battle of Junin produced almost decisive results. Though Canterac was not pursued, he did not stop in his precipitate flight until he had reached Cuzco, five hundred miles away, losing two thousand men by desertion on the road.

Leaving Sucre in command of the army, which now threatened Cuzco itself, Bolivar returned to Lima to look after his political interests, collect money, and urge the sending of reinforcements from Colombia. La Serna called in all his outlying divisions, while Sucre confidently scattered his forces. He underestimated the strength of the royalists, for to his consternation La Serna suddenly broke out of Cuzco at the head of ten thousand men, and before Sucre could concentrate, his opponent was threatening his rear and manœuvring to cut him off from his base. Happily the royalists were compelled to march in a semicircle, and Sucre, by desperate exertions, united his forces and cut along the radius, coming in sight of La Serna just as the latter had succeeded in getting between him and the road to Jauja. Sucre's position was desperate. The valleys to the north were rising in favor of the royalists; a patriot column advancing from that direction to reinforce him was driven back;

his provisions and ammunition were beginning to fail. Sucre's army was La Serna's real objective. Even if he could shake off the pursuit, another march to Lima would be as barren of results as Canterac's last descent, and to leave the Colombian army at Guamanga would expose Cuzco and Bolivia to invasion. During three days the opposing armies marched and countermarched among the ravines on the west bank of the Pampas River, and finally Sucre took the desperate resolution of crossing the deep gorge in which the river runs in order to reach the high grounds on the other side. He managed to get his main body over safely, but the Spaniards fell upon his rear guard, killing four hundred men and capturing one of his two cannon. The two armies were now opposite each other on the high, narrow and broken plateau which lies between the Eastern and Central Cordilleras, separated only by the gorge of the Pampas. They marched in plain sight of each other, the royalists along the slopes of the Central Cordillera, while the patriots skirted the foothills of the Eastern. Sucre hoped to outrun the enemy and reach the main road to Jauja, but La Serna again outflanked him; he offered battle, but the viceroy had determined to engage under conditions where not a patriot could escape, and by skilful manœuvres the royal army succeeded in getting into the protection of the eastern range at a point north of Sucre. Irretrievably cut off from the Jauja road, convinced by his previous failures that he could not better his position by any

further manœuvres, the Columbian general resolved again to offer battle, although this time upon a field chosen by La Serna. He ceased marching and allowed the enemy to dispose their forces at will.

On the 8th of September, 1824, La Serna's army, numbering eight thousand five hundred men—of whom only five hundred were Spaniards—encamped on the high grounds overlooking the little plain of Ayacucho, which sloped gently eastward to the little village of Quinua. To the left the level ground was bounded by a deep and precipitate ravine, and on the right by a valley which, though less difficult, was impracticable for fighting. Sucre's army lay at the eastern extremity of the plain, at the edge of the slope which rises from Quinua. Behind was no cover to reform in if defeated. His forces were a little less than six thousand, and he had only one cannon against the enemy's eleven, but three-fourths of his men were the pick of the Colombian veterans and the rest Peruvians of high spirit. Tired of interminable marching through the mountains, isolated in a hostile region, starvation staring them in the face, confident of their superiority, man for man, to the royalists, and led by fiery young generals,—Sucre was only thirty-one and his chief lieutenant twenty-five,—they welcomed the opportunity to fight it out once for all, face to face, man to man.

The morning sun of the 9th rose radiant behind the mountains where the Spaniards lay encamped. Sucre deployed his army in the open plain, riding

down the line exclaiming, "Soldiers, on your deeds this day depends the fate of South America," while the Spanish columns descended in perfect order from the heights. La Serna realized that his men would not fight with the same spirit as the patriots and that defeat might be followed by wholesale desertion, but he counted on his artillery and the reserve he had left on the high ground as a sure refuge in case of a reverse.

The story of the battle is soon told. The patriots advanced to meet the Spanish attack; musketry volleys on both sides did terrific execution, and the two armies met bayonet in hand. On the left the Spanish columns were unable to make any impression on the Colombian infantry, and while the conflict was still undecided the royalist cavalry rashly charged, hoping to strike a deciding blow. But they were met by a counter charge of the patriot squadrons and rolled back to defeat. The whole left of the royalist army dispersed, and such was the confusion that the impetuously pursuing Colombians reached the Spanish camp and spiked the artillery, defeating on the way the enemy's center. In the meantime the Spanish right under Valdez had outflanked the Peruvians who held that part of the line and driven them back, but before he could reach the patriot center the battle had been decided. Attacked by the victorious cavalry, Valdez's men were cut to pieces, and by one o'clock in the afternoon the Spanish army, except the reserve under Canterac, had ceased to exist as an organized body.

Of the royalists, fourteen hundred were dead. The viceroy was wounded and a prisoner, his men deserting and dispersing by hundreds. Of the patriots six hundred were wounded and three hundred dead. Canterac sued for terms, and that afternoon fourteen generals, five hundred and sixty-eight officers, and three thousand two hundred privates became prisoners of war. Never was a victory more complete and decisive than Ayacucho. The war for independence was over. Only under Olañeta in far southern Bolivia and at Callao castle did a Spaniard remain under arms. Sucre marched to Cuzco, where he rested and refitted and then went on to Puno and La Paz. Olañeta's troops deserted as the Colombian approached, and the last of the Spanish generals fell at the hands of his own men as he was bravely trying to suppress a mutiny. Callao castle held out for thirteen months, and with its surrender was hauled down the last Spanish flag which floated on the South American mainland.^d

CHAPTER V

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ISTHMUS

THE Republic of Panama is 425 miles long and averages 70 miles in width. Its most southern point is a little above seven degrees north of the equator, its northern point about $9^{\circ} 50'$. It is in the same latitude as Ceylon and Mindanao. It is almost due south of Buffalo.

It must be remembered that when Balboa discovered the Pacific, he christened it the Southern Sea, for the Isthmus runs east and west. Every new arrival gets the points of compass twisted, because of the habit of thinking of the Pacific as a western ocean. Panama City is south and east of Colon, the Atlantic entrance of the canal. In Panama the sun rises out of the Pacific.

The land frontiers of the republic are less than four hundred miles in the total, and are about equally divided between the Costa Rican and Colombian border. But the total coast line is over 1,200 miles, seven hundred of which is on the Pacific.

The most important physical feature of the Isthmus is that here the great chain of mountains, which form the backbone of the hemisphere from Alaska to Patagonia, breaks down into scattered hills and low divides. At Culebra—where we are making our deep-

est cut—the pass was only 290 feet above sea level. The highest peak in the republic is the Cerro del Picacho near the Costa Rican border. It is a little over 7,000 feet. There are four other mountains in the western provinces which are over 5,000 feet. They gradually decrease in height to the center of the isthmus and then begin to climb again towards the Colombian borders, where they again approach 5,000 feet.

The republic is divided into the following provinces: (1) Bocas del Toro, (2) Chiriqui, (3) Veraguas, (4) Los Santos, (5) Coclé, (6) Colon, and (7) Panama. The last is by far the largest, more than a third of the total, and Coclé is the smallest.

Bocas del Torro (the mouths of the bull) is the extreme northwest. It is notable for the wonderful Almirante Bay and Chiriqui Lagoon. They are really one body of water, as the long narrow peninsula which divides them is almost an island. It will be remembered by students of President Lincoln's administration that this was one of the locations considered by our government for a naval station. In fact, it is almost certain that if Lincoln had not been assassinated we would have acquired Lagoon. He had been deeply impressed by the difficulty of blockading the Gulf ports without some such base, and he kept Seward busy trying to acquire one of the West India islands or some post on the mainland.

The Chiriqui Lagoon is thirty-five miles long from east to west and about twelve miles wide. It is an

unbroken sheet of water and almost everywhere navigable for the biggest warships.

Almirante Bay—really the northwestern extension of the Lagoon—is a maze of waterways between its numerous islands. It has, however, a number of fairly large harbors and deep water in most of its channels. In many places the banks are so abrupt that a deep draught steamer can tie up to the shore. The mainland is a tableland about six hundred feet high and within a few miles reaches an elevation of 2,000 feet. It is remarkably salubrious, and on account of its ideal facilities for bathing and small boating and its marvelous scenery, seems doomed to develop into a smart winter resort.

At present the province is practically a feudal domain of the United Fruit Company, and banana growing is its principal industry. The Chanquinolo River is one of the finest spots in the world for this fruit. There is said to be coal of good quality in the province, but it has never been mined.

Bocas del Toro, a town of about six thousand inhabitants, is the capital of the province. It is built on an island at the mouth of Almirante Bay and is a very busy port of export. About five steamers and as many sailing vessels clear from Bocas every day, loaded down to the scuppers with fruit.

The province of Chirique lies to the south and east of Bocas del Toro. It has considerable frontage on both oceans. David, the capital, has about eight thousand inhabitants and is rapidly growing. It is the

largest inland city of the republic and far and away the most progressive.

There has long been a large grain and cattle trade in this province and new crops are being planted, new industries started with surprising frequency. It is the favorite location for foreign settlers. The reports one hears from those who have gone in for agriculture are universally favorable. The present government has passed a bill authorizing the building of a national railroad from Panama to David. It is not quite certain that the necessary financial arrangements can be made, but if the railroad is built it will of course give a new impetus to the prosperity of Chiriqui and the intervening provinces. The talk about the railroad—the survey has already been made—has induced a good deal of land speculation. But the values of land in this district have been steadily rising for generations and even if the railroad project falls through, real estate is a good investment.

In the early colonial days the Spaniards worked some very rich gold mines in the mountains of Chiriqui, and one of the most popular industries today is that of trying to relocate lost mines. It is here, also, that the signs of the highest pre-Colombian civilization have been found. The high development of art and architecture with which Cortez met in Mexico, seems to have petered out to the southward. In the other states of Central America some imposing ruins have been found. The largest are in Guatemala. In Costa Rica there are few signs of architectural development and

the pottery implements are very crude. In Chiriqui one finds only a few "painted stones" and graves. A popular form of vocation for the American employees on the canal is to go grave-robbing in the mountains back of David. A native walks in front of you and pounds the ground with an iron rod. If he gets a hollow sound, he digs. If he strikes a grave you are almost sure to find weird pottery and sometimes gold ornaments. M. de Zeltner, a former French Consul at Panama, has written an interesting brochure on the prehistoric graves of this district; and the Smithsonian Institute has published an elaborate description of them.

Farther east is the province of Veraguas—wedge-shaped, with only a few miles on the Atlantic coast and a couple of hundred on the Pacific. It is remarkable for its beautiful islands and Montijo Bay, the second of the great harbors of the isthmus.

Coiba Island is the largest in the Republic. It is more than twenty miles long, well wooded and fertile, but is very sparsely settled. Jicaran, further out to sea, is much smaller, but rises 1,400 feet above the sea. It is the most beautiful of all—a real distinction along a coast studded with beautiful islands.

Montijo Bay is fourteen miles long by nine broad. Cebaco, an island fifteen miles long, stretches across its entrance and makes it one of the most sheltered harbors ever contrived by nature.

Veraguas, and the small province of Los Santos, form together a peninsula which reaches to the south-

ern extremity of the isthmus. The coast then turns back—an accurate angle—and runs northwest up to Parita Bay and the province of Coclé.

These three provinces are the least developed of the republic. They are sparsely settled. The blood of the population varies between the formulæ: one-tenth Spaniard, one-tenth Cholo Indian, eight-tenths negro, and one-tenth Spanish, one-tenth negro, eight-tenths Indian. Near the coast the negro strain predominates, in the hills that of the Indian.

The roads are the merest trails—impassable, even for Indians on foot, during much of the rainy season. There is very little circulation of commodities beyond navigable water. The population has the ingrown indolence which comes from life in such bountiful countries. It is only necessary to scratch the earth with a stick to make yams and plantains grow. The only tools needed for rice are a pair of hands. And one could not stop the plentiful harvest of cocoanuts if one tried.

Colon Province is the extreme north of the isthmus. What has just been said about the three provinces to the west applies to it, with the exception of Colon City. And this city is entirely the work of foreigners. It was founded, and at first called Aspinwall, by the Panama Railroad Company in 1850. The province, however, is rich in historical interest. Columbus himself visited the coast on his last voyage in 1502. He named Puerto Bello, and what is now called Colon Harbor, he christened Navy Bay. Not far from

the present city of Colon he attempted to found a colony—it would have been the first on the continent. His brother Bartholomew landed a company of settlers, but the day before the great admiral sailed away they were attacked by the Indians and driven to the ships. It was along this shore that Don Diego de Nicuesa, seven years later, strove so desperately to gain a foothold for his sovereign. He had set out with a brilliant following to establish a Spanish colony and met with a series of almost incredible disasters. Beaten back by the savage natives, buffeted by storms, his ships eaten by worms, he and the pitiful remnant of his expedition came to a favorable looking harbor. "In the name of God," he cried, "let us stop here." *Nombre de Dios*, they called the place, and it is still on the map.

East along the coast from Colon is the Gulf of San Blas, named after the most unique tribe of Indians left in America. The San Blas have never been conquered. And they have preserved their ethnic purity as intact as their territory. Their coast is famous for its coconuts—the finest on the market. A number of schooners trade with the villages along the shore and on the island, but there are no European settlements in their territory.

The province of Panama, with long coast lines on both oceans, is in the eastern extreme of the republic. Most of it is undeveloped, but there is considerable cattle raising. Several companies with foreign capital have been established in the Bayano Valley. They

are interested in bananas, cocoanuts, vegetable ivory, rubber, cocoa, and other native products. A lumber company, an English affair, is planning to exploit the mahogany and cabinet woods. And down towards the Colombian border, near the head waters of the Tuyra River, are the properties of the Darien Gold Mining Company. The mines date from prehistoric times and there have been very few long interruptions in the taking out of bullion. At present the company is run under an English charter, but most of the stockholders and the technical managers are French.

The province of Panama contains the third of the great natural harbors of the isthmus. San Miguel Bay, with its inner Darien Harbor, from the immense outer bay, is almost closed by a large island, on either side of which are deep, safe channels, the Boca Chico and the Boca Grande. Beyond them, is an unbroken expanse of water, thirty miles long by half that width. All the navies of all the nations could anchor here in safety. Half a dozen submarine mines would make the place the surest refuge in the world.

The big tides form a great advantage over the Chiriqui Lagoon. They rise and fall fifteen feet—and at “spring tide” twenty feet. The shores of the harbor are natural dry-docks. Any ships which visit these coasts can be run on the beach on the top of the tide and left high and dry when it falls. A further advantage is that the Tuyra River is navigable beyond salt water. A short anchorage in fresh water kills the barnacles, here the pest of navigation.

Off the mouth of San Miguel Bay are the Pearl Islands. The archipelago is over thirty miles long. There are sixteen high islands and innumerable small ones. The Isle del Rey is over ten miles long and as big as all the rest put together. Most of the islands which have fresh water are occupied. There is a considerable output of cocoanuts and pineapples, but of course the pearl fisheries are the big industry.

Taking the Isthmus as a whole its most noticeable feature is the maze of innumerable rivers. As a rule the mountains are nearer the Atlantic than the Pacific; so most of the longer rivers are on the southern slope. However, the Rio Coclé del Norte has its source in the province of Coclé, and crosses that of Colon to empty into the Caribbean. The Chagres River, which is to furnish the water for the canal, is also a northern stream. It is about one hundred miles long and navigable half that distance by small boats.

The largest of all rivers is the Tuyra, or Rio del Santa Maria, as the old maps have it. From its mouth in Darien Harbor it is navigable for small steamers and schooners fifty miles inland. The *cayukas*, native dugouts, go up it and its tributary, the Chucunaque, for fifty miles more.

In the face of the unquestioned resources of the Isthmus, there is remarkably little development. There are three main obstacles in the way of foreign enterprise:

1. The uncertainty of land titles. There are a dozen large estates which would be bought up and

developed at once if titles were clear, which are tied up in litigation. Always some of the heirs are obstructing a settlement, in the hope that the next turnover in politics will put some of their friends on the bench. There are almost no accurate surveys and the records of the land office are in a mess. In Honduras an American once found a deed which recorded the corner of the property as marked by "a dead mahogany tree, with two ravens on the branch." Perhaps the Panama records do not offer so crude an absurdity; but nine out of ten of the myriad springs in the country are called *Aguadulce*, and many deeds give "a spring called *Aguadulce*" as the boundary mark. Frequently the original land grants read "from the sea back to the mountains." When the hinterland had no value this was a satisfactory description, but it is now a fruitful source of dispute. Very few landholders know definitely how much they own.

2. The next obstacle to progress is the dearth of good roads—the almost total lack of bridges. The country, for instance, is full of valuable cabinet woods. A dozen companies have come to grief after acquiring good title to enough standing mahogany to make a fortune. It is next to impossible to get the stuff out. And there are immense tracts of valuable banana land lying fallow for want of transportation. It works both ways, as it is just as difficult to get machinery and provisions in as it is to get your commodity out.

3. The third obstacle—and the most serious of all for a large undertaking—is the dearth of labor force.

If the enterprise requires steady labor, it must be imported. The native population is small and long tradition has habituated them to the simplest of simple lives. Nature is so bountiful that a man can easily raise a family according to accepted standards of living by two days' work a week. It is easy almost anywhere on the Isthmus to get fifty men to work for you. But as soon as they have earned enough to buy a year's supply of powder and shot, and half a dozen needles for the wife, it is all over. Five dollars a day would not keep them on the job. They will have to be educated up to a new and very much more complex system of "wants," before they will become reliable workmen.

The banana fields of the United Fruit Company in Bocas del Toro are the biggest foreign enterprise in the republic. They have successfully overcome the last two obstacles. Their fruit grows near water and they have built a network of rails into the more remote fields. They control good harbors, so their transportation problem is solved. And they import their labor from the West India islands. But their land titles are in a bad tangle and it is costing many thousands of dollars to get them straightened out.

The Darien Gold Mining Company is the oldest and most firmly established in the country. Their titles are clear. They run a small steamer weekly from Panama to Marrisanti on the Tuyra River, and they transport upriver in *cayukas* and, during the rainy season, in a flat-bottomed stern-wheeler to the head of

navigation, from which they operate a miniature railroad to the mine site. They also have to import most of their labor.

Another industry in which there is invested considerable capital—mostly local—is pearl fishing. It does not seem to be well organized, but considering the slipshod methods it is very profitable. The “mother-of-pearl” from the shells pays a small interest on the capital and all the real pearls are clear profit. There are twenty or thirty ships equipped with diving apparatus, which operate at the islands and up and down the coast. But the majority of the diving is done by the natives of the Pearl Islands. They are enslaved to the companies by debt and are viciously exploited.

Any large enterprise by outsiders demands sufficient capital and patience to secure clear titles, efficient transportation and a steady labor force. This applies only to “big business.” The Isthmus offers opportunity to half a million settlers of the type of our forefathers who pushed across the Appalachians and won the West. One who wants to live close to nature will hunt long before he finds a location where the Old Mother is kindlier. The opportunities for small homes are limitless. Much fertile land is unoccupied and can be taken up under the homestead law. Dozens of profitable crops are practical—rice, onions, rubber, bananas and other fruits.^e

CHAPTER VI

THE PANAMANIANIANS

THERE is little real friendship between the Americans on the Isthmus and the natives. In temperament and tradition we are miles away from the Panamanians. The hostility between Latin and Saxon probably dates back to the old Roman days when the Saxons first began to plunder the Latins.

When the Spanish Empire sprang up in America, its most relentless enemies were the Protestants of England. Even in the odd moments when the two mother countries were not at war, the colonists never buried the hatchet. From the days of Drake till the fall of Carthagena, the Latin people of Central America lived in constant fear of the English buccaneers.

Since our revolution, they have transferred this dread to us. Gradually, but apparently restlessly, the United States have expanded—always at the cost of Spanish America. Florida, Texas and California, the Philippines, Porto Rico, one after the other, have disappeared down the maw of what our southern neighbors are wont to call "The Northern Vulture."

Very many of our representatives in the Canal Zone have made sincere efforts to establish friendly relations with the native population. A few still continue such efforts, but most have given it up as hope-

less. The two people live side by side, meet occasionally at the theatre or public receptions, but very rarely become intimate. Perhaps half a dozen men have married Panamanian wives, but I have not heard of a single American woman marrying a native.

This age-old hostility to the "Gringo" is deep-rooted. Differences in language, customs and religious practices keep the breach wide. So any description of the people is necessarily that of an outsider. Very likely many of the things which seem ludicrous or unlovely to us might be understood and overlooked if they would admit us to greater intimacy.

Panamanian society is sharply divided in classes. The people on top are either old Spanish families, whose income is dependent on land, or well-established families of foreign extraction who have been naturalized for many years and whose source of income is industrial. The descendants of the Conquistadores look down on these parvenu families in private, but are so generally in debt to them that they dare not do so in public. They form a pretty solid social block.

The division in regard to politics is sharper than that of heredity. At present the Liberal party is in power and the Conservatives are getting social as well as political snubs. One of the most noticeable things about these people is their inability to bury political differences. Theirs is a politic of personalities, first, last, and all the time. The Conservative members of "The Union Club" are resigning—although the club was formed as a place where the two sides could

meet socially—because they feel that they have not been fairly treated in committee appointments. As a general proposition, Conservatives and Liberals will not break any manner of bread together. During the elections for the Queen of the Carnivals, all good Liberals vote for the daughter of a Liberal.

This political bitterness, which shows itself so unpleasantly in social life, goes to even worse extremes in the business of politics. Every political turn-over means an entire house cleaning. Every government official, from judge to street cleaner, loses his job—to make way for a member of the triumphant party. The Liberal party, now in power, has developed the “machine patronage system” to ludicrous lengths. They seem bent on creating a job for every one of a safe majority of voters. Panama City has enough policemen for a city ten times its size. Consulates have been sprinkled all over the map—often in places that never saw a Panamanian till the consul arrived.

There is absolute unanimity on the question that what the Republic needs before and above everything else are roads. With its long coast lines and many navigable rivers, it is unusually adapted to the cheapest of all forms of transportation—by water. Small amounts of money spent in harbor works in half a dozen places, a few good roads leading inland from the harbors, would open up large districts. Yet the 1910 National Assembly voted to tie up all the reserve capital in a railroad of doubtful utility. In tropical countries railroading is expensive transportation.

The little Republic of Panama made its bow to the world in the enviable position of having several dollars per capita in the bank, when most of its older sisters were heavily in debt. Most of this reserve has been dissipated in the extravagant building of national theaters and national universities, or in more extravagant pay rolls. Very little of it has gone in real development of the country.

Besides the class composed of landed gentry politicians and financial industrial politicians, lies the great mass of the people, who take no more part in government affairs than they do in government receptions. One sees them at their worst in the cities, as is true in every country. The Sanitary Department has cleaned up the slums, and the housing conditions are better than in more prosperous communities. In the country they lead a sort of Arcadian life. There is much free land, and those who have not acquired any property "squat" wherever the fancy strikes them.

Of course, the base of the population is Indian—a squat, square-faced type, completely unlike the illustrations in the de luxe editions of *Hiawatha*. There are two main ethnic groups of Indians. The Cholos, a fairly pure type, is found in the mountains of Coclé province, and are scattered all up and down the west coast, from the borders of Mexico to the edge of Peru. The early Spanish adventurers found that friendly Indians from the Isthmus could act as interpreters within these limits.

In the northeastern part of the country, beginning

at the Gulf of San Blas and extending almost to the Colombian border, and inland to the Chucunaque River, are the San Blas. Probably of the same race as the Cholos, they have become differentiated in the four centuries since the visit of Columbus, in that they have never been conquered and have not allowed intermarriage. They are estimated at about 20,000 and are reputed to be well armed. As the Republic has no army, they have every prospect of maintaining their independence for a long time to come.

They are not unfriendly to the white population, and treasure an especial respect for the English, who, tradition tells them, are irreconcilable enemies of their enemies, the Spaniards. The San Blas men frequently come up to Colon and Panama with cayukas laden with cocoanuts, scrap rubber, and other products, which they trade for powder and salt and needles and cloth. They allow traders along their coast, but never permit them to stay on shore during the night. They guard their women to such an extent that a white man rarely sees one of them except through glasses. The moment a stranger approaches a village, the women disappear into the bush.

The Cholo Indians have not preserved their ethnic purity and seem to have no sentiment in the matter. Most of the crossing has been with the negroes, the slaves of colonial days, their descendants, and the recent immigrants from the West Indies. But the crossing of the races has been varied in the extreme. At El Real on the Tuyra River, a pure type of Cholo

girl was married to the leading Chinese merchant, and the two babies are almond-eyed and yellow skinned. It is generally affirmed that aside from the San Blas people, no native of Panama is of pure blood. The color line is not drawn in the official and social circles of the cities, so of course it is not on the country-side.

Family life is simple in the extreme. John and Jenny, or more probably Jose and Dolores, walk off some fine day. If they happen to pass a priest, they may stop and get married. When they find a satisfactory place, it does not take them many days to get settled. They have probably started out with a couple of machetes, an earthen pot and a hammock. They build a roof and hoist it up on four poles. They begin cutting out a clearing, and at the end of the dry season, burn off the fallen timber. Until their first crop comes to harvest, they borrow rice and yams and plantains from their relatives if there does not happen to be a stranger more near at hand. In the course of a few years they have many children, their original shelter has been turned into a kitchen, and a new ranche with woven walls has become their residence. They have several acres under mild cultivation. The bananas and oranges have begun to bear. Dolores has woven several new hammocks, has molded several new pots and pans, and has made a dozen different household utensils out of the fruit of their thriving calabash tree. They have become people of consideration, and are now in a position to lend yams and rice to more recently established homes.

Once a year or so, Jose sets out for the nearest town. He loads up with various medicinal gums they have gathered, a few pounds of rubber scrap, and, if Dolores is a clever artisan at hat weaving or gourd carving, with her handiwork. On the way he stops at every hacienda he passes and asks for work. In due course he reaches town with a handful of silver, buys what supplies he needs and returns to Dolores for another long sleep. As soon as the oldest boy grows up, he sends him to town instead, and sleeps all the year round.

The formal tribal relations have broken down among the Cholo Indians. They appear to be, according to Herbert Spencer's ideal, the happiest of people, for they are certainly the least governed. Half a dozen whom I questioned did not know who was president of the Republic. There seems to be in each community some old man who is generally considered wise. Disputes are informally submitted to him, but he has no authority to back up his decisions.

The jungle stretches on all sides invitingly. Very few of the Indians have acquired sufficient property to bind them to a locality or community; and if a man feels that he is unjustly treated by his neighbors he will move.

The landed gentry generally live in the cities. Their haciendas are unattractive places, the cultivation of their estates is almost nil. In general, their income comes from cattle raising or those forms of agriculture which require the least human labor. There is

none of the slavery of which one hears so much in Mexico, partly because the Panamanian gentry are too indolent to make effective slave drivers, but more because the jungle offers such ready escape. Almost every time you find an even moderately well-cultivated estate, you will find a foreigner as foreman.

The homes of the rich are strangely unattractive to Northerners, and this is especially remarkable, as most of the upper class have been educated abroad. I spent nearly a week in a household not far from Panama City. They were the most important people of the village, and reputed to be rich. They were so nearly white that the daughters had been received in a smart finishing school in the States. Several members of the family had been in Europe, and, taking everything into consideration, one would naturally expect certain traces of advanced culture.

It was a large one-storied house, with unglazed windows. One room, which served as a dining-room and living room, was papered with a cheap, gaudy, green and gilt paper, stained and moldy from humidity. The walls of the other rooms were bare. In this living-room there was a grand piano which had been out of tune at least a generation, and had been superseded by a graphophone. Sousa marches were the family's preference in music. On the wall there was a chromo portrait of Alphonso XIII, advertising a brand of sherry, and a hideous crayon enlargement from a photograph of the father. In a book-shelf there was a fine old set of Cervantes, a couple of

French and English dictionaries and text-books, and a file of *La Hacienda*, an illustrated magazine published by and in the interests of an American manufacturer of farm machinery. I did not see any member of the family reading anything but the daily paper from Panama, although they could all read and speak French and English.

The ladies of the household spent the morning in dingy mother hubbards and slippers. After a heavy mid-day meal they retire to their hammocks. About four o'clock they took a dip in the ocean, sat around the rest of the evening with a towel over their shoulders and their hair drying: About a month later I encountered one of these young ladies at a ball in Panama. She was dressed in an exquisite Paris gown, and was strikingly beautiful. She would have passed muster in the most exclusive set in any European capital. It was hard to believe that three hundred days out of the year she led the slipshod, slovenly life I had seen in her home.

The married life of the better class natives does not seem attractive to Americans. The women have no social intercourse with men, except at infrequent balls and formal dinners. They are expected to keep their feet on the rocker of the cradle all the time. The men lead their social life in cafés and clubs. "Calling" is unknown. Many amusing stories are told of the excitement and astonishment caused by Americans breaking over this custom. There were a great many love feasts in the early days. Every one

talked of friendship between the two nations and the Americans believed in it. And our young men, having duly met the ladies of Panama at these formal functions, proceeded to "call" in form. Invariably they found the ladies in "deshabille" and tongue-tied with astonishment at the invasion. The husbands were outraged at this attack on the sanctity of their homes, and while the affair fell short of diplomatic incident, a lot of explaining had to be done to avoid the duels which threatened.

The religion of the country is Roman Catholic. Most of the men, however, seem to be free-thinkers. Even more than in Protestant countries the congregations of the churches are made up of women. But especially at fiestas the churches are packed. The ceremonial in these Latin-American countries is not as attractive as it is in Europe nor as impressive as it is in Russia. The religious fervor which marked the clergy in the early days of colonization—the missionary spirit—seems to have very largely given place to formalism, and rather shoddy formalism at that. Even the linen on the high altar of the cathedral is seldom washed. The silken finery of *Nuestra Senora del la Merced* is moth-eaten. The worshipers seem uninspired, the celebrants of the mass half asleep. Only once I heard some sisters chanting a mass in San Felipe Neri, and it was a sadly untrained chorus.

"Sport," in the Anglo-Saxon sense, is hardly known in Panama. The nearest approach to baseball, for instance, is cock-fighting. It holds a place in the

hearts of the people on a par with, if not above political intrigue. There are cock-fights every Sunday, and elections only once a year. The birds are raised with great care, and are trained and fed with as much solicitude as a prize fighter. Sunday morning while the women are at church, the men crowd into the cock-pit. The excitement is intense, the tobacco smoke dense—and the sport pitiful. Two cocks, most of their feathers shaved off, are brought into the ring by their keepers. There is a long wrangle over odds, and then bets are tossed in from the circle of seats. When the debate between the keepers is ended, they knock the roosters' heads together and then turn them loose. I sat through a couple of hours of it once, and only one bout of a dozen or more had any action to it—or any suspense. In the other cases, after a little sparring, one cock ran and the other chased it, round and round the pit. Every few minutes the backer of the fleeing cock would persuade it to turn round and face the foe, but in a second the chase would begin again. The bout was ended when one cock was smitten with heart failure. Perhaps the worst thing which can be said of the Panamanians is that cock fighting is their national sport.

Ice is almost a necessity of life in the tropics. A private monopoly in Panama City manufactures it and sells it at exorbitant prices. The Commissary has a fine modern plant and furnishes ice to canal employees at cost. A few families reap immense profit from the ice monopoly. All the natives pay

exorbitant prices for it. If the National Assembly should pass a resolution instructing the President to request the Commission to extend its commissary privileges to the people of Panama, nine-tenths of the population would benefit immensely, and only half a dozen already rich families would suffer. It pays these families to stir up patriotism to the extent that the natives prefer to go without ice rather than touch that of the Gringos.

An even more striking case is furnished by the situation in regard to electric power and light. The same clique who own the ice monopoly have an antiquated electric plant, operated by coal brought all the way from the States. The unit cost is ludicrously high, and the monopolistic profit is extortionate. A few miles out of Panama, the Commission is installing a large electrical power plant to operate the Miraflores Locks. They must make it large enough to handle the maximum of traffic, and there is no possibility of the maximum being reached for years to come. It would certainly pay our government to furnish light and power to Panama at less than cost. This they undoubtedly would and could do, were it not for the bitter hatred which the people have for Americans.

We may have set out the characteristics of the Panamanians rather harshly, but this is inevitable, when it is considered that they are on the surface, while their virtues they hide from foreigners.^f

CHAPTER VII

EVENTS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE

THE history of Panama is for the most part identified with that of Colombia, of which republic it was until recently a province. It is necessary to know something of certain movements and tendencies of the last half century in order to gain a just understanding of the position and prospects of the new republic.

All the principles of advanced democratic government were included in the program of the party which ruled Colombia from 1863 to 1883, and the leaders earnestly tried to put those principles into practical effect. They dreamed of an Utopia, but practically their efforts only aggravated the anarchical tendencies bequeathed by the Spaniards and Bolivar. Colombian liberals still insist that a persistent enforcement of the constitution and principles of 1863 would ultimately transform the character of the people—that religious bigotry and priestly influence would gradually disappear; that the progressive enlightenment of the masses would make military despotism and revolutions impossible; and that in process of time the relations of the states to the federal government would reach a satisfactory and workable basis. But so far

as the experiment went, no progress was made toward unifying the nation and pacifying the adverse elements. Discontent, disorders, civil wars increased in violence as the years went by. Though one-fifth of the federal revenues were spent on the public school system, and one-tenth of the children were nominal attendants, the clergy were permitted to have no share in their control, and retaliated by excommunicating the parents. The devoutly pious Creole mothers and wives, threatened with the closing of the confessionals and the denial of absolution, threw their incalculable influence against the atheistic government. The destruction of the convents and the confiscation of the vast ecclesiastical estates violently changed the ownership of two-thirds of the land in the confederation, but this imposition of new landlords on the industrious, oppressed, half-enslaved tenantry did not much modify real agricultural conditions. No extensive subdivision of estates resulted, and the Creole aristocracy continued to pay more attention to political intrigue than to improving their property.

Not less disappointing in its practical working was the independence of the states. Not only did the local bosses constantly abuse autonomy for their own selfish purposes, but the presidents of Bogotá often ignored the constitutional rights of the states, and selected for coercion precisely those states which were farthest from the capital and most needed wide autonomous powers. Though Panama's position was isolated, its population cosmopolitan, its commercial

interests and social structure peculiar, and though in colonial times its dependence on Bogotá had been only nominal, the liberal presidents usually ruled it like a conquered province. Members of the Andean oligarchy poured in to fatten on its revenues; the autonomy guaranteed by the constitution proved illusory, and discontent led to repeated efforts to achieve absolute independence.

Rival ambitions among its own leaders furnished, however, the immediate cause of the downfall of the liberal party. A close oligarchy grew up and that inevitable corollary, a powerful faction of dissident liberals, while the clericals remained formidable and irreconcilable even after their bloody overthrow in 1876. Rafael Nuñez, a brilliant writer, a resolute and ambitious party chief, and a leader in the confiscation of church property, had been defeated in his candidacy for the presidency in 1875. The younger and dissatisfied liberals rallied behind him in his war against the oligarchy, and in 1880 the old-fashioned liberals could not prevent his election to the presidency. He vigorously strengthened the prerogatives of the federal executive and built up his personal following, but although the issue of paper money and the discontinuance of interest on the foreign debt—a debt which only ten years before had been scaled down to \$10,000,000, one-sixth its original amount, on a solemn promise that at least this much would be faithfully paid—placed large funds at his disposal, the old-line liberals were strong enough to prevent his re-

election in 1882. Their victory was illusory and temporary; Nuñez controlled both houses of Congress and was able to block President Zaldua at every turn. Eighty years old and in feeble health, the latter died after a year of fruitless struggle.

After a short *ad interim* administration in which Nuñez's influence predominated, he was re-elected to the presidency and installed in 1884. By this time his centralizing tendencies were manifest, and the measures he adopted unmistakably pointed to the substitution of a unified republic for the old loose confederation. Many of his liberal supporters fell away and he was driven into an alliance with the conservatives. Appointments of members of that party to important positions were followed by the great revolt of 1885. The insurrectionists delivered their main attack on the Caribbean coast, whither the importation of arms was easy. Much of the department of Magdalena fell into their hands, and they besieged Cartagena in force. But when one of their expeditions invaded the Isthmus, burning Colon, and interrupting traffic on the Panama Railway, the president appealed to the United States, as previous presidents had done in similar cases, to carry out the guaranty of free transit contained in the treaty of 1846. At the same time the government troops attacked and defeated the isolated insurrectionists at Colon, and shortly afterwards the latter's main army suffered a bloody repulse in an assault on Cartagena. This broke the back of the movement against Nuñez.

The insurrection had been undertaken for the purpose of defending the 1863 Constitution, and its defeat meant the destruction of departmental independence. As the logical and natural result of his victory, the president proclaimed the abolishment of the constitution and summoned a convention to adopt a new one. Thenceforward, until his death ten years later, Rafael Nuñez and his political ideas were supreme in Colombia, and Panama was held in most rigid subjection. The old *United States of Colombia* was replaced by a *Republic of Colombia*, one and indivisible; the departments became mere administrative divisions whose governors were appointed from Bogotá; the presidential term was increased to six years; the radical liberal projects were abandoned; the clergy regained many of their privileges; and the historical conservatives continued the dominant party.

Panama suffered far more than the mountain districts. Practically she was allowed no voice in either her own or general affairs; the very delegates who nominally represented her in the Constitutional Convention of 1885 were residents of Bogotá appointed by Nuñez; military rule became a permanent thing on the Isthmus; all officials were strangers sent from the Andean plateau; and the million dollars of taxes wrung each year from the people of Panama were spent on maintaining the soldiers who kept them in subjection. In January, 1895, the harassed province broke out in a rebellion which was suppressed by an overwhelming force of Colombian troops in April.

Meanwhile in Colombia proper, the opposition to the ruling clique grew stronger and stronger. Persecution united the liberals, and they began organizing for revolt all over the republic. The conservatives themselves divided into two parties, one of which opposed the administration. Nuñez did not live to finish the second term to which he had been elected in 1892, but his successor managed to suppress the premature revolt of 1895, and in 1898 Sanclemente was elected, the opposition refraining from going to the polls. The new president soon found his position very difficult, and, unlike Nuñez, was unable to dominate his own party and hold the opposition in check. The French Canal Company, whose concession, granted in 1878, would expire in 1904, offered a million dollars for a renewal, desiring to recoup, by a sale to the United States, a part of the two hundred million sunk by De Lesseps. Sanclemente's government wished to accept, but the opposition and even the conservative congress insisted on the forfeiture of the French rights. The administration rapidly lost prestige, the discontented elements saw their opportunity, and the long brewing storm now broke on the hapless country. The liberals hurriedly completed their preparations, and in the fall of 1899 a civil war began—the most terrible and destructive that has ever devastated the republic. Before it ended in 1902, more than two hundred battles and armed encounters had been fought, and thirty thousand Colombians slain. The detailed history of the campaigns has not yet been

written, but it is apparent that the insurrectionists at first gained many successes. The president declared martial law, suspending the functions of congress, and the extension desired by the French Canal Company was granted by executive decree. But the pecuniary relief thus obtained did not materially help the floundering administration. Sanclemente became a mere figurehead for his more resolute ministers, and in July, 1900, the vigorous vice-president, Marroquin, seized power by a *coup d'état*, throwing Sanclemente into a prison, where he remained until his death. Thereafter the war against the rebels was prosecuted with more energy, and the tide turned with the defeat of an army of Venezuelans, eight thousand strong, which had invaded the eastern provinces, to co-operate with the insurrectionists.

However, the liberals were still strong in the west and north. On the Isthmus four insurrections had broken out from October, 1899, to September, 1901, and though each had been promptly suppressed, in 1902 the liberals were able to make a last great effort to establish themselves in Panama. They had considerable forces near the mouth of the Magdalena, and gunboats on the Pacific. The secure possession of the Isthmus would have enabled them to reinforce this Magdalena army, cut off Marroquin's troops at Agua Dulce, near Panama. But this was their last success. Marroquin poured reinforcements into Colon, and though the American admiral at first refused to allow them to be transported over the railroad to Panama,

permission was granted when it became evident that there would be no fighting near the line. News came of the defeat of the liberal army near the Magdalena, and General Herrera, the victor at Agua Dulce, found himself isolated. In desperation he sent an expedition in October, which surprised and captured Colon, but French and American marines were promptly landed to prevent fighting in that city. The expedition had no alternative but to surrender, and a few days later General Herrera with the main body capitulated on the Pacific side.

The three years of war left Colombia in frightful demoralization. The victorious government was little better off than the defeated liberals. Commerce and industry had been prostrated; revenues had dwindled to nothing; the paper currency was worth less than one per cent. The exhaustion of its adversaries, not in its own strength, enabled Marroquin's government to continue in power. In such a situation the administration welcomed the opportunity which now offered of renewing the building of the Isthmian canal. The United States government determined to undertake this great work itself, and finally decided in favor of Panama as against the Nicaragua route. Forty million dollars was agreed upon as a just price for the work already done by the French company, and nothing remained but to obtain Colombia's consent to the transfer. The civil war helped to delay the negotiation of a satisfactory treaty, but, as soon as it was over, the Marroquin administration lost little

time in coming to an agreement with the United States. Colombia was to receive a bonus of ten million dollars for consenting to the transfer and enlarging the terms of the original concession; her sovereign rights were reserved and guaranteed, although she agreed to police and sanitary control of the canal strip by the United States.

When the treaty was submitted to the Colombian Senate for ratification, opposition developed which the administration was not strong enough to overcome. Among the politicians at Bogotá, the opinion was almost universal that the executive should have demanded more. The Colombian people have ever regarded the political control of the Isthmus as their most valuable national heritage, and cherished extravagant hopes that some day they would be vastly enriched by the sale or rental of this strategic bit of ground for its natural use as the greatest artery of the world's commerce. Many now insisted, as they had done in 1898, on enforcing a forfeiture of the French rights, or at least on receiving a proportion of the \$40,000,000 to be paid for them. It was also said that Americans could well afford a larger bonus, and the opponents of the treaty made the further point that the agreement was unconstitutional and contained insufficient guaranties of Colombian sovereignty. Against this storm the feeble administration probably could do little and certainly did nothing. The Senate was allowed to adjourn without ratifying the treaty, and an attempt was made to negotiate a new one pro-

viding for a larger bonus and more stringent guaranties of Colombian sovereignty.

The United States, however, absolutely refused to consider any other terms than those already agreed upon, and the civilized world saw the completion of an enterprise promising incalculable benefits to mankind indefinitely postponed by the opposition of the Andean provinces whom the accidents of war and international politics had given an arbitrary control over a region with which they had no natural connection. The situation was particularly hard for the people of the Isthmus, whose confident hopes were now disappointed of at last receiving, by the prosperity which would follow the building of the canal, some compensation for the oppression and losses they had suffered during the eighty years of misrule by the Bogotá oligarchies. Hardly had the treaty been rejected when plotting for a declaration of independence began. The resident population was unanimous, and good grounds existed for believing that even the Colombian garrison would offer no resistance unless reinforcements should come from Bogotá. In case of an armed conflict with Colombia, the people of Panama could count on the sympathy of all America and Europe. The stockholders of the French Company had a direct pecuniary interest in their success. If once they could establish independence and a *de facto* government, Colombia could not deliver an effective attack without violating the neutrality and security of transit guaranteed to the Isthmus by the United States. Everything pointed

to the success of a well-conducted movement.

Though the preparations for the revolt could not be concealed, the Bogotá government took no effective measures to forestall it. Warned that trouble was impending, the United States sent ships to prevent fighting that might interfere with transit. The new republic was proclaimed at Panama on the 3d of November, 1903. The Colombian authorities made no resistance; the garrison surrendered without firing a shot; and the entire population acquiesced in the appointment of a provisional government, pending the calling of a convention and the adoption of a constitution. A small force of Colombians had been landed at Colon, but the revolution at Panama found it still on the Atlantic side. On November 4th the American naval commander refused to give these troops permission to use the railroad for warlike purposes. Because the vital portion of the new republic is virtually neutral under the treaty of 1846, the provisional government having established itself in peaceable possession, was safe from external attack. The useless Colombian troops at Colon either joined the people of Panama or retired. The inhabitants of Colon and the outlying districts immediately sent in their adherence, and the peace of the whole Isthmian region remained unbroken. On the 13th of November the United States recognized the new republic, being followed by France on the eighteenth, and then by all other nations as soon as diplomatic formalities could be complied with. Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero was elected first presi-

dent of the Republic of Panama, being inaugurated on February 19, 1904. A treaty with the United States for the building of the canal was framed on substantially the same lines as the one which had been negotiated with Colombia. By the end of February it had been ratified and proclaimed, and the United States at once made the preparations for the beginning of the work.

That Panama has a great future before her is evident, and in his most entertaining manner the noted traveler, Mr. Frank G. Carpenter, tells us something of the probable future, having gained his information from an interview with the president of the Republic, Dr. Pablo Arosemena, who has been in office since the death (March 1, 1910) of President Obaldia. Mr. Carpenter, in a recent news letter, tells the story of the interview as follows:

I met President Arosemena in the Isthmian white house, or, as it is known here, the government palace. This is a big, white, two-story building of Spanish architecture. It surrounds a patio filled with palm trees, in the center of which is a pond where huge turtles roll over and over and splash about in the water.

I found soldiers on guard as I entered the palace with the American minister, Mr. H. Percival Dodge, and we saw more soldiers at the wide stone stairway to the second floor. At the top of the stairway we waited until our cards were sent in, and a moment later were ushered into the long narrow parlor which forms the audience room of the mansion. This parlor is furnished strangely for this land of the tropics. The floor is covered with a warm velvet carpet, the windows are veiled in hot-looking curtains, and the gold-plated furniture is upholstered and hot. At each end of the room is a

great mirror in a frame of gold and over the windows hang lambrequins from gold frames.

We waited but a few minutes, when the president entered. He is a lean, dark-faced, black-eyed man of medium height, and he weighs, I should judge, about 150 pounds light. He is seventy-four years old, but is still in his prime. When the minister introduced me I was surprised to hear the president address me in English. He speaks that tongue fluently, and it was in English that our conversation was held. The first part of it related to the political situation, and I asked as to whether there was any danger of a revolution in case the administration candidate should be defeated.

"There will be no revolution here," said President Arosemena, "and the day of revolution is fast passing away as far as the whole of Latin America is concerned. As for us Panamanians, we have given up such foolishness, and we expect to have no revolutions for all time to come. I think the same will be the case at no distant date throughout South America. It is already so with Peru and Chile. We have now no revolutions in Argentina and Brazil, and it will soon be so in Colombia and Venezuela."

"How about Central America?" I asked.

"That eventually will be the case with Central America, although I can not say when. The people of some of those countries have had so many revolutions that they may be said to have acquired the revolution habit, and it will be some time before a condition of permanent peace can be established there. Nevertheless, Central America is improving, although the several republics composing it are not so free as ours. The Panamanians have more liberty of speech. For instance, my enemies call me a tyrant and I make no reply. If one should denounce certain of the presidents of the republic north of us, he might hear from his denunciation in no favorable way."

The conversation here turned to the Panamanian republic and its prospects, and President Arosemena said:

"I am enthusiastic over the future of Panama. It is the baby of the nations, the youngest of all the republics. It is still in its swaddling clothes, and is just beginning to grow. Look

at what we are doing! Take the city of Panama. It had only 12,000 people nine years ago, and it has now 35,000. It will have 50,000 as soon as the canal is completed. Colon, at the other side of the Isthmus, had 5,000 population when you made your deal with the French. It has 17,000 now, and we have other towns which have greatly increased."

"But will not this population drop when we stop our work on the canal?" I asked.

"I think not," replied the president. "Col. Goethals says the United States may have to keep soldiers here to the number of 10,000, and also that it will take 2,000 additional employees to run the canal. These people will spend a great deal. Then we shall have the tourist travel. That will steadily increase. It will give us a stream of travelers passing through and dropping dollars into Panama and Colon. Why, take your own people! All of you Americans will certainly want to come to see the canal. There are ninety millions of you, and even at as low as a dollar apiece, that would give us \$90,000,000 to start with. If you should spend \$10 apiece, the amount would soon reach a billion."

"But can you accommodate the crowd?"

"Yes. We shall have big hotels for the tourists," said Dr. Arosemena, "and the tourist travel will bring in a great deal. Paris gets a thousand million francs every year out of tourists, and Switzerland feeds fat upon them. There is no reason why we should not do likewise."

"Do you not think that the Americans will have cities of their own here?"

"Very likely so. There will probably be a great business city at Balboa, but that will be in the swamps, and while it will contain the warehouses and great stores, it will hardly be fit for the hotels and the residences. Panama will be the Brooklyn, the residence quarter, and we shall have street-cars which will go back and forth in five minutes. The people of Balboa will do their business there and come to Panama for the night."

"But has Panama nothing else but hotels to offer to the world?"

"She has a great deal more," said the president. "The

Panama Republic is one of the richest countries in the tropics, and by modern sanitation the most of it can be made one of the most healthy. It is now open to settlement, and we will do what we can to encourage the establishment of small farms and farmers. We are offering land in tracts of fifty hectares, or about 247 acres, at a little over 20 cents an acre, and 200 hectares at a still less price per acre. As the amount of land goes up, the price goes down, and we are doing everything we can to encourage development. We have been building roads in many of the provinces, and we now have in the neighborhood of 500 miles of roads and over sixty-one bridges."

"But tell me something about your lands, Mr. President," said I. "What can you raise on them?"

"We can raise all sorts of tropical fruits. We have good lands for coffee and cacao. Coffee plantations are being set out in some places, and cacao land is in demand in the country about Bocas del Toro. There are immense banana estates there. The United Fruit Company owns thousands of acres, and it ships millions of bunches of bananas a year. The most of that fruit goes to the United States. We have also good soil for rubber, and rubber plantations are being set out by Americans and others. Some of the ex-employees of the canal have rubber estates which are already in bearing.

"We have also large areas of fine grazing land," continued President Arosemena. "The climate is such that the cattle can feed out-of-doors all the year round, and we have three varieties of rich grasses to fatten them. Take the province of Chiriqui in the northern part of the republic. There is a region there known as the Divila country, which has many square miles of plains covered with grass which is dotted here and there with groves.

"The country is well watered, but there are no swamps, although it rains almost daily for about eight months of the year. Still the rains are short and for the most of the time the weather is clear. That land is splendid for cattle, and it has more stock than all the rest of the republic. It has already a number of large ranches, and there is room for many more. I doubt whether we have more than fifty or a hundred thousand head of stock in Panama now, whereas I have seen

it estimated that our lands would sustain 5,000,000 head. When the canal is completed, there will be a great demand for meat, from the ships passing through, and it ought to be supplied by the Isthmus. It seems to me there should be a great deal of money in cattle raising. As it is now, lean cattle may be purchased at from \$15 to \$20 a head. After they have been grazed for six months they will bring \$30 and upward."

"What opportunities have you outside of farming?"

There is a great deal of money to be made in real estate," said the president. "With the completion of the canal there is sure to be a demand for farm lands and plantations of various kinds. There is a steady rise in real estate values also both at Panama and Colon. I have property here which is worth ten times what I paid for it a few years ago, and I have put up a building at Colon which cost me only \$7,000 and which has been netting me \$700 per month in rents. That property is now paying for the building every year. I know of buildings here in Panama which are doing as well. Rents are exceedingly high, and we have a number of men who have grown rich out of their real estate deals. We have several millionaires and some of them have incomes of over \$50,000 a year. The Panamanian minister at Washington receives something like \$5,000 per month from his real estate investments, and I venture that M. Espinoza of this city does equally well.

"And then there is a great deal of money in banking," continued the president. "You can loan here all the money you have on good security, at eight or nine per cent. The old rate of interest used to be twenty-four per cent, but we have cut that down by establishing our national bank, which makes loans on real estate at seven per cent, and on jewelry and other collateral at nine per cent. That bank has a million and a half capital, and its net profits last year were \$90,000."

"What is Panama doing to open up the interior of the country?"

"Not as much as we could wish," replied the president. "We have some roads and we expect to build more. We have had plans for railroads, but the time is not yet ripe to build

them. All that will come, and in the end we shall be a thickly populated land."

"How about your mines?"

"We have some gold mines working right here in the central part of the Isthmus, and there are others at Darien. We know that we have copper and other minerals, but the country has not been thoroughly prospected."

"How about your pearl fisheries?"

"They have produced a great deal in the past, but we have not been taking care of them and they do not yield what they did. I have been interested in pearls myself, and my father sold one pearl for \$4,500. It weighed twenty-three carats, and was of a beautiful shape and fine color. That pearl would bring \$10,000 today. I think if we should let the pearl fisheries lie still for a while and keep a closed season for fishing that we might make that a profitable industry."

"How about the hidden gold of Panama? It is said that you have islands near your coasts where the treasures of the Incas are buried and also that there is gold under old Panama."

"That is the stuff that dreams are made of," replied the president. "Many have hunted for those treasures, and have never found them. We have now made a road to old Panama, and it is probable that something may be discovered there."

"Tell me something about your trade with the United States."

"We are buying more of you than of any other nation, and the trade steadily increases. It might pay your merchants to establish a great warehouse here for the display of American goods. There will be a continuous stream of merchants passing through the canal, and that house could take orders for both North and South America. As it is now, our foreign commerce amounts to \$11,000,000 per year, and of that about \$5,750,000 goes to the United States. Next to you, our chief consumer is Great Britain, and after that come Germany, France, and Italy. As to our exports, the most of them go to the United States. Indeed, you buy nearly all that we sell."

"Are you doing much in education?"

"We are preparing the way. We have established some schools, and have a large number of students abroad to be prepared for teachers. We have some girls studying for that purpose in Belgium, and we have also scholarships in Chile, which I arranged for during my trip there last year. We have also built a national educational institute here at a cost of about \$800,000."

"How about the health of the Isthmus? Do you think that the sanitation methods which we are using here at Panama could be extended to the whole country?"

"Not as an entirety," said the president. "It would be too expensive. Nevertheless, you have done a great deal for the cities of Panama and Colon. Indeed, the sanitary commission is the most absolute ruler we have. Every one has to obey it, and the men who come in on the ships, no matter whether they be presidents of other countries, American ministers, or our own officials, are kept in quarantine for three days if they come from any port that is even suspected of fever or contagious disease. We did not like the sanitation methods at first, and many of the people objected to having their houses inspected. That has all passed away now and we are congratulating ourselves on our new streets with good water and freedom from disease."

"What are to be the future relations of Panama and the United States?"

"I hope they will always remain two sister republics."

"Is there any chance that Panama will be annexed to the United States?"

"I do not see any possibility of that at present," said Dr. Arosemena. "We are glad to have you as our great and good friend, and we want to work along with you as far as we can. I believe that our people would prefer to be independent."

At this point I rose to go, but the president asked me to wait a moment and have some refreshments. A moment later a servant brought in a tray of champagne, and we drank to the health of our respective countries as we said good-bye.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOUNTAIN REPUBLICS

ON the western slope of the Andes are Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, which have been designated as the Mountain Republics. Of these, Colombia is the northernmost and the only one touching both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. In a previous chapter we have gone somewhat into detail regarding the area, government, and resources of all the republics, and as for their history, it is identical with that of Peru, all of the republics between the Andes and the Pacific having once been comprised under that name.

Colombia is the South American Persia without Persia's excuse. It is a rich and fertile country, not a desert. There is scarcely anything that it can not produce from the fruits of the tropics to the grains of the temperate zones. It has thousands of miles of low-lying forests and pastures, capable of raising cattle for the Central American and West Indian markets, and bananas for the United States. It has thousands of square miles of higher valleys and mountain plateaus, thousands of feet high, where it is perpetual spring time. No country can produce better coffee and cocoa. It has the richest emerald mines in the world. Its total output of gold has been \$639,000,000.

Asphalt, rubber, salt, coal, iron, and all that is necessary for the industrial independence of the country and for the large export trade are found in abundance. The whole country could be a garden. Great river systems provide means of communication and highways for trade. Steamboats on the Magdalena River can run from the sea to within eighty miles of the capital, and there are other navigable streams tributary to the Magdalena or running into the Orinoco, the Amazon, the Pacific Ocean, or the Caribbean Sea.

And yet this rich country is one of the most backward and decrepit nations in the world. She has a few little railroads, the longest of them only ninety-three miles, and all of these were built and many are owned by foreigners. She has only three or four highways, and two of them, the most important of all, from Cambao and Honda to Facatativa, are falling into ruin. One of them, the road from Honda, has already fallen. It never was a real road, but simply a mountain trail, paved in parts, for the use of saddle horses and pack-mules. For centuries this was the only road to the capital for all imports and for the people of most of the country. It was probably a better road a century ago than it is today, when the traveler finds it only a series of rocky inclines, the stone pavements broken up and the road for the fifty-six miles of its length, until it joins the Cambao road, worse even than any road in Persia. There is an automobile road built by Reyes as one of his spectacular achievements covering over his private loot-

ing, running eighty miles north of Bogota over the plain, but the country can be said to be without roads, more without them than Persia and Korea were ten years ago.

The cause of Colombia's special backwardness is not the character of the great mass of the people. We met no people in South America more hearty and amiable. One never asks help in vain. In some South American lands there is a great deal of the dourishness of the Indian. There is much Indian blood in the Colombian, but it is a good-hearted, friendly blood. The moral conditions are the same as elsewhere in South America. The control of marriage by the Roman Catholic Church and the use of this control by the priests as a source of income to the church have resulted, as the priests themselves admit, in a failure on the part of great masses of the population to get married. Men and women live together with no marriage ceremony. Sometimes the relationship is maintained, but the very nature of it makes fidelity too rare. In spite of the good nature of the people there is a great deal of want and suffering. In some sections goiter is almost universal, and there is the same lack of medical provision which is found in other South American lands. In the Bogota Hospital, crowded so full with its one thousand patients that some of them were laid on mattresses on the floor, we were informed that the death rate both in Bogota and in the country was abnormally high—how high the doctors disagreed—and that in Bogota

with one hundred thousand people there were one hundred eighty doctors and five hundred seventy in the whole of Colombia, or one to each six thousand, as against one to each six hundred in the United States. In Colombia also we saw more poverty and suffering than anywhere else in South America. In Honda alone one afternoon more beggars came to us as we sat under a tree in front of the hotel after the ride down from Bogota, than we had seen in all the rest of our trip. Colombia is the South American land most praised by the Roman Catholic Church for its fidelity. The church has here a unique control and here least is done for the suffering and needy. We did not hear of an institution of any kind for the blind, for the cripple, for the aged. There are leper asylums, but the state has founded them. The women of Colombia are even more burdened than those of other countries. We saw women with pick and shovel working on the highway. The porter who came to take our bags to the station in Bogota was a woman. You may see women with week-old babies folded in their breasts, staggering along under a sack of coffee weighing 150 pounds, or a load of merchandise. The butchers in the market in Bogota were women. And I think one could find no sadder faces than those of the women in the Bogota Hospital. The curse of any land guilty of uncleanliness and untruth, is bound to fall heaviest on its best hearts, the hearts of the women. But Colombia is not behind the other South American countries because the people are immoral

or more unworthy. They are probably of about the same morality and they are certainly more industrious and more kindly and more eager than many of the others.

The cause of Colombia's special backwardness is twofold. First, is the character of the governing class. No country, unless it has been Venezuela or Paraguay, has been more cursed by politicians, men who were concerned only to hold office, to have hands on the reins of government, but who did not use office for any public service or handle the reins of government to guide the nation into better things. Bogota is full of people who live on the state and talk politics and play at life. Politics to them means holding office and drawing salary and talking of the nation and its honor. It does not mean the development of its resources, the improvement of its communications, the education of its children, the progress of its industries. Each other South American country has had its men of the Bogota stamp, but contact with the outside world, the incoming of foreign capital, truer ideals of education, have crowded these men aside or checked them by the creation of another class who are engaged in the real work of the world, in producing wealth and promoting progress.

The other great cause of the special backwardness of Colombia is the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church, which holds the land in a grasp which she has been obliged to relax in other South American countries. In the first half of the last century the state

asserted for itself a large freedom. It took over many of the great properties of the church, which the latter had acquired by its political character and put them to public uses. In Bogota the postoffice, some of the government buildings, the public printing office, the medical school and the hospital are all old convents. In 1888 the church came back into power through a concordat with the state. Since Ecuador threw off the dominion of the church there is not one South American country where the influence of Rome is so powerful as in Colombia. The archbishop and the papal delegate in Bogota are the most conspicuous figures after the president. The papal delegate is the head of the diplomatic corps, and it is said by many that there is nothing which the church desires that it can not do. The church controls education, and while the constitution proclaims religious liberty, the church exercises its authority to see that as far as it can order matters the liberty shall not be exercised by the people. The mission school for boys in Bogota was nearly wrecked in 1909, though its prospects seemed brighter than for some years, by the reissuance of a letter by the archbishop, first sent out ten years ago, in which he warned the people against the heretics who had come into the country, naming specifically the Presbyterians.

The Roman Church in Colombia has been a reactionary and obscurantist influence for centuries. At Cartagena, the best port of Colombia and the most picturesque city I saw, was the seat of the inquisition, where it is said 400,000 were condemned to death, and

while that terror has long since passed away, the shadow of the church as a great repressive, deadening power has remained. The people have not been taught. Peonage has endured and in a modified form been sanctioned by law. The machinery of the church, it is charged, has been used in the interest of personal and commercial politics. In one word, the fact is that one of the best countries and peoples in South America, and the one most docile to the church and most under its control, is the most backward and destitute and pitiful.

Of Ecuador, the "Report of Trade Conditions in Central America and on the West Coast of South America," issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington, has this to say:

Ecuador and Colombia together may be regarded as among the most backward of the South American States. Their resources are undeveloped, their surplus products for export are far below the proportion which might be expected from their population, and their imports are correspondingly insignificant. Their importance in the commercial world lies rather in the possibility of future development than in their present status. Ecuador, with an area of 116,000 square miles and a population of 1,500,000, exported but \$11,520,000 worth of goods in 1904, and imported to the value of only \$7,670,000.

The reasons for Ecuador's backwardness are given as the unhealthfulness of the port of Guayaquil, notorious for its unsanitary condition as a pest hole of yellow fever, the vexatious government regulations, and the revolutionary spirit. Instead of improving

the condition, the Republic absorbed the appropriations for the Guayaquil and Quito and Machala waterworks, the parks in Quito, and public roads, for the payment of current expenses of administration. Trade conditions are improving and things are looking up for Ecuador. Cocoa is the most important export of this Republic. In 1908, 6,400,000 pounds were shipped, of which the United States took about one-sixth. The total export of cocoa in 1910 was \$7,896,057; of Panama hats, \$1,258,575 worth were exported. Forty million pounds of rice are produced annually, but this is not enough to meet the demands of the home market.

The Montaña, or forest region lying on the eastern slope of the Andes and with its network of river basins stretching to the Amazon, is less exploited in the Ecuadorian than in the Peruvian territory. The rubber in these tropical forests will be secured in the process of time. The development of this region on the part of Ecuador is not remote. But there must be means of communication. The government, realizing this, decided to build a railway from Ambato, on the Guayaquil and Quito Railroad, one hundred miles to the Curarey River, a branch of the Amazon with headwaters near Iquitos in Peru. This line will enable that district to export its rubber through Guayaquil instead of out through the Atlantic Ocean. The railway route lies east of the Andes.

Tobacco is grown in the north near the coast for home consumption. Sugar-cane is cultivated success-

fully on the nearer border of the Montaña and also nearer the coast, but it will be a long time before Ecuador exports sugar in appreciable quantities. This may be less true of cotton, which is becoming a national industry. A fine quality is grown in the northern districts, of which Ibarra is the center, and cotton flourishes in other sections. The mills, which employ the cheap labor of the native Indian women, have proved successful, and they find a profitable home market, though it will be many years before the mills of the New England States will be seriously hurt by their output.

The minerals of the country are principally in the southern zone, though there are rich places in the rivers of the north. The southern province, of which Zaruma is the center, in the last century was famous for its gold mines, and it is still known as El Oro, or the gold country. In late years little has been done, though the quartz veins have been worked intermittently and in some of the streams gold-washing has been carried on. Minerals are abundant further south in the district of which Loja is the center. Some copper is found, and there are deposits of iron and anthracite coal, silver, and lead.

In proportion to its size, Ecuador, though sparsely settled, is as well inhabited as other South American countries. The population is very largely Indian with the usual Spanish intermixture. The total number of inhabitants is 1,275,000. The whites and the *mestizos*, or mixed bloods, comprise about twenty-five per cent

of the population. The central plateau easily could sustain an agricultural population of twice that number.

Of recent years Ecuador has maintained political equilibrium, if not absolute political stability. President Alfaro during his term was compelled to combat the reactionaries and the church party, but the program of Liberal measures was sustained. The greatest progress that has been made is toward financial stability. The money of the country was put on the gold basis, and that having been maintained for several years, the promise of its continuance is encouraging. The standard of coinage is the gold *condor*, equal to the English sovereign in weight and fineness. The common circulating medium is the silver *sucre*, ten of which constitute the *condor*, or the pound sterling. The *sucre* is equal to 48.66 cents. Paper money is circulated, but the outstanding issue is not very large. There are two banks of emission, each of which has a capital of 3,000,000 *suces*.

The Ecuador banks do a profitable business in international exchange. The Guayaquil institutions regularly pay 14 and 15 per cent dividends, and their deposits are constantly on the increase.

The key to the industrial growth of Peru and to the mastering motives of her national policy is found in the knowledge of the three zones into which the country is naturally divided. The zones of the Coast Region, relatively fifteen hundred miles in length, varying in width from twenty to eighty miles, and ex-

tending from the foot of the Coast Range to the Pacific; the Sierra, or Cordilleras of the Andes, including the vast tablelands, averaging three hundred miles in breadth; and the misnamed Montaña, or mountain region, actually the land of tropical forest, and plains extending from the eastern slope of the Andes to the Amazon basins. The settlement of the boundary disputes with Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, and Bolivia have reduced Peru by 500,000 square miles of territory, which Peru claims as her area yet. The wealth of this vast region is in rubber and the varied products of tropical agriculture. The Sierra, in the future as in the past, is for the minerals, with alpaca wools and live-stock as an agricultural addition.

The Coast Region is for tropical and temperate products. The principal ones,—wheat, corn, oats; grapes and the generality of fruit; rice, tobacco, sugar and cotton. Except in reference to the two great world staples, they may be viewed almost solely in the light of domestic consumption. Sugar and cotton are on a different plane.

Peruvian cotton production can not become large enough to affect the world's markets, yet it may be a gain to the national wealth in the quantity which can be raised for export and also for the domestic spindles. The sands of Piura which stretch from the coast at Paita back to the Cordilleras, have in them possibilities that are yet undreamed of. The cotton tree of Piura amazes the beholder when he sees it in all stages of production—in bud, in fleecy bloom, and

in seed. The quality surprises the expert. It is finer than the finest Egyptian and is equal to certain grades of wool. It is known variously as vegetable wool and as wool cotton. Irrigation is employed to a limited extent. One ambitious scheme which was to bring 60,000 acres under cultivation was stopped for lack of capital.

Cotton of good quality is raised in the central district of Lima and in the southern region of Pisco and Ica. While rains are not common in these districts, the fogs at certain seasons are heavy enough to be accounted rainfall, and the moisture in the air is precipitated in quantities sufficient for the product, taken with the somewhat restricted means of irrigation employed on the plantations. The cotton plant, no longer the cotton tree as in Piura, is met with for fifty miles north of Lima, and especially in the neighborhood of Ancon. The plantations lie under and between the overlapping sand-hills, side by side with fields of sugar-cane.

Taken as a whole, the advantages of Peru as a cotton-producing country are a suitable climate, the alluvial soil of the valleys, the facilities for irrigating the sandy plains, and a sufficiency of fairly cheap labor. The price of the land is a fraction of the value of similar soil in Egypt. An official publication of the government places the yield per acre at 630 pounds, of which 250 pounds is lint cotton.

Peru has produced sugar for many years, and the industry has had the usual ups and downs, but it has

capabilities of increase. About 125,000 acres were under cultivation in 1905, and 2,500 persons found employment on the plantations and in the mills. Both natives and Chinese coolies form the field hands. The production for export in recent years has varied from 100,000 to 125,000 tons, and it is gradually advancing to 200,000.

The treasure beds of the Andes, as they have been exploited for centuries, are in the Sierra, though the output of the precious metals in the Coast Region has been great. The Department of Ancachs, which comes down to the sea, has enormous mineral wealth. The district lies within the two Andean chains which parallel the Pacific, and which are known as the White Cordillera and the Black Cordillera, the latter being nearest the coast. Silver, gold, and copper are the chief sources of mineral wealth. In the Cerro de Pasco district, since control was secured by the American syndicate, the copper output is more important than the silver production.

The petroleum deposits are in the north between Tumbes and Paita, around Tolara, Zorritos, and Cape Blanco. Several of the English companies were not very successful, owing to bad management. The supply which is now obtained is utilized as fuel on the railways and in many of the smelters. The value of the annual production is approximately \$750,000.

Live-stock or grazing may be said to be one of the industries of the Sierra, but in relation to the foreign commerce of the country it does not promise to be an

appreciable source of national gain. Sheep-raising—alpacas, vicuñas—is of the highest plains. With the increase in the population at these altitudes through mining settlements, the flocks are not likely to grow extensively. The vicuña, not being domesticated, is more apt to recede before the advance of civilization. Such growth as the live-stock industry may have in the Cordillera region may be looked upon chiefly as a means of supplying local consumption. The exports of hides and wool, while not necessarily stationary, do not indicate a heavy increase.

The world does not yet fully grasp the possibilities and limitations of the Amazon rubber production, but the Peruvian government has a proper conception of it and has enacted legislation both to secure the development of the gum forests and to preserve them from heedless destruction. The rubber region within Peruvian territory has its main extension in the department of Loreto and in the provinces of that interior country, but the area reaches almost to Cuzco and Lake Titicaca. All of it is within the Montaña or forest region. In the Loreto region the population does not exceed 100,000 inhabitants, if it reaches that number. The productive forests lie along the banks of the rivers. The *jebe* is obtained from incisions made in the tree, while the *caucho* is the sap that is had from cutting down the tree which produces it and then extracting the milk.

The Peruvian government, having adopted effective measures for the protection of the rubber forests

from prodigal destruction, also has sought to aid the various private enterprises by supervising the supply of labor. This is a much more difficult problem. The native Indians and the *cholo* are hardly numerous enough to meet the needs of the industry in its present state, and both persuasion and compulsion are exerted in order to force them to work. This condition of affairs has recently been exploited at great length through the public press and investigations have proved that much cruelty is practiced. The ultimate solution of the problem and the full exploitation of the rubber wealth of Peru must rest on the colonization of the trans-Andean region, and a gradual transformation into tropical agriculture of the districts which are not unfit for habitation and cultivation by the annual high-water overflows of the Amazon affluents. But for this river region, as for the other regions of Peru, there is no artificial aid which can compare with the Panama Canal.

The Great Central Plateau, where is located the Republic of Bolivia, because of its mineral riches, has been called by a noted geographer a gold table with silver legs. Once the bed of a vast inland sea, the tableland now forms the Titicaca basin and lies between the Oriental and Occidental Cordilleras. Its surface is broken by many conical hills and small Sierras, supposedly the result of volcanic eruptions, yet it comes within the definition of level country as level country is understood in the Andine regions.

Life in Bolivia is a primitive pastoral existence,

and while not a joyous existence, does not appear to be too somber. The religious festivals here are celebrated with undeviating punctuality. No matter how small the collection of huts, somewhere among them is a church, and each group of cabins has its own *cure*. I remarked everywhere the grass cross over the dwellings. It was very rare to find a hut without this symbolism. It seemed to indicate great devoutness, but what I have already seen of the *cures* and their flocks made me doubt whether this was the correct explanation. The cross, I was told, was blessed by the priest, and then it kept out the rain, which at times is very heavy. One old man, who after pretending that he knew nothing but the Aymará tongue, had talked very well in Spanish, was asked if the crosses really did keep out the rain. He replied gravely, "Yes, if the roof is a good one."

Among the native population of Bolivia the *cholos* are easily distinguished. They are the migratory classes who live in the larger towns and some of whom work in the mines. Many of them are freighters. They have a distinctive dress,—the loose cotton trouser, widening below the knee and with a V-strip of different cloth in either side. They are a political power, for while they take little part in the elections, they are not unready to share in a disturbance.

The aboriginal native yet preserves many customs distinct from the *cholo*. He wears a cap or gorro, which was worn in the time of the Incas, and he contents himself with a blanket instead of trousers if he

can not afford the latter. The pure-blood Indians are the best for the freight caravans where the llamas are employed, for they can manage those whimsical beasts of burden as no one else can. The llama feeds as it goes along, and a born manager of animals is needed to handle a *tropa*, or drove of them, and keep them moving in regular order. The life of the freighter is a hard one, tramping all day and at night sleeping in the corral with the beasts.

The Indian woman in Bolivia occupies a plane on equality with the man. She has no lord and master, as has the American Indian woman in the noble red man of the West. She works, but he also must work. She accompanies him with the pack trains, all the while that she is trudging along twirling her spools and winding the wool into yarn. It is rare to see an Indian woman without her spools unless she is weaving at the loom. Walking and talking, gossiping and scolding, shouting at the llamas, tramping over the sharpest mountain passes or plunging down into the gorges, she manages to keep the spool always twirling. It is a most peculiar process, and would drive a small boy who has a notion of spinning a top on the end of his finger wild with emulation, though he hardly would be able to imitate the process.

Marriage bonds among the Indians are not loose ties. In all the settled communities where the little church has been planted, the priest sees that the ceremony is performed, for it means a fee to him. But when the man wanders away for work and is gone

for years, as sometimes happens, it is no interruption to the family bond that on his return a brood of children greet him. He resumes the matrimonial relation and accepts the children without question.

There is a prevalent delusion that in these altitudes the birth rate is very low, and, moreover, that many of the children come into the world deaf or lose the sense of hearing soon after birth. While the families are not so large as in the tropics or lower altitudes, they are numerous enough, and it is said that the report about deafness and the excessive rate of infant mortality does not bear the scrutiny of scientific investigation.

Bolivia is called the Mexico of South America, and her mines have yielded precious metals for hundreds of years. Not only gold, silver, copper and iron are her heritage, but that rarest of all minerals, tin, is found there. Bolivia was the casket of gems held in pawn by the Spanish Crown. She poured the riches of prodigal Mother Nature into the lap of the mother country.

Of the world's total tin output, say 100,000 tons, the Bolivian production under the present conditions may be placed at from 9,000 to 10,000 tons, or more than equal that of Cornwall and Australia combined. Since the United States consumes 43 per cent of the entire production of tin, the importance of the development of the deposits in Bolivia and of the transportation facilities should be appreciated.

Besides its mineral productions, Bolivia is also

rich in agricultural resources, and it is this possession of varied resources that gives it the name of the Mexico of South America.

Chile ranks second to Brazil in its enterprise and progressiveness, and has many features similar to that Republic and to the Argentine. And yet its similarities are more in commercial progressiveness and industry, while the contrasts between the two countries in their physical conditions are markedly noticeable. One lies almost wholly within the tropics; the other almost wholly in the temperate zone. One is as wide as it is long, and the other is a thin strip one hundred or so miles broad, stretched along the coast for 2,500 miles. The area of Brazil in round numbers is 3,220,000 square miles, and of Chile 300,000, about one-eleventh the size of Brazil. The wealth is agricultural, while of the 750 square kilometers of Chile only 20,000 are cultivated lands; 100,000 are semi-arid, 200,000 forest, and 430,000 sterile. Yet Chile's wealth is in these sterile lands, embracing fifty-seven per cent of the territory, for there are the great nitrate beds, and the varied mineral veins. In Brazil everything is spread out, expansive; in Chile, drawn in and compacted. Brazil is so big that it does not know itself. Distant provinces are like small independent governments. Chile is highly centralized, with all its activities focussed in the capital and ordered by a small class of men. The Brazilian is placid and tranquil; the Chilean energetic and enduring. "By reason or by force," is the motto stamped on Chilean coins.

“Progress and order” are the words on the flag of Brazil. In Brazil the population is a composite mixture with a large immigration and a strong African element. In Chile it is largely homogeneous, with a negligible immigration and no negro element whatever. The fundamental problems are closely akin in the two countries, but the contrasts serve to give an edge to the facts.

Chile is made up climatically of at least three countries. (1) There is the southern section, reaching roughly from Cape Horn to Valdivia, a land of forest and rain and storm. In this section are the sheep-lands of Patagonia, Magallanes, and Terra del Fuego. In the province of Magallanes or Magellan, there is an area larger than the state of New York, wind-swept and fog-covered, but well adapted to sheep pasture. There are now millions of sheep here, and besides the receipts for wool, mutton is the great staple of export. In 1905, the shipments from Chile amounted to 75,000 frozen carcasses that were shipped from Punta Arenas. In 1908, one plant just east of Punta Arenas froze and shipped 196,000 sheep. (2) The real Chile lies between Valdivia and Santiago. Four-fifths of the population live in this central section. It is the cultivated section, though there is much waste land even here. In the provinces of this section the population varies from five to forty-seven per square kilometer. The average would be near twenty. It is full of cities and towns and villages, readily accessible, railroads running up and

down and to and fro across it, and all parts not reached by rail are possible of an access which would be deemed very easy in Bahia or Persia. This section is one long valley, with subordinate valleys, covering a region probably 500 by 100 miles, perhaps a little more than this, perhaps a little less. The southern half of this section, from Valdivia to Concepcion, is still frontier. The remnants of the Araucanian Indians, a race whom the Spaniards could not conquer, live in the midst of this southern half. (3) The rest of Chile is the dry land to the north, from Santiago and Valparaiso, latitude 33° , to Tacna, at the northern boundary at 18° . At Valdivia it rains 172 days a year, and the rainfall is 2841.1 m.m. At Santiago it rains 31 days, and the rainfall is 264 m.m. At Antofagasta and Iquique it never rains at all. The nitrate and borax are piled in the open with no fear even of a shower, and the shops display no umbrellas. Here in the north among the nitrate oficinas and at the copper mines, an unstable population comes and goes, with more money than in the south, and with the freedom of opinion of such a moving company detached from old moorings.

The great curse of Chile is alcoholism. In Santiago, a city with a population of 332,724, it was found recently, when the municipality took up the matter, that there were six thousand places where liquor was sold, and in Valparaiso, we were told, there was one saloon to every twenty-four men. Mr. Akers, in *A History of South America, 1854-1904*, says that Val-

paraiso, with a population of 140,000, shows six hundred more cases of drunkenness reported to the police than in all London, with five million souls. Drink has nearly wiped out the Indians. The land is cursed with drink, and foreigners are manufacturing it, or a good part of it.

The general hygienic conditions also are appalling. Smallpox is practically endemic in Valparaiso and Santiago. There were many deaths daily when we were in Santiago, and smallpox sufferers would be seen even on the streets or on the street-cars, and the pest-house was in constant use. The conventicles, or tenements, in a land where all such houses are only one story high and there is no excuse for congestion, are simply breeding-places for disease and killing-grounds for little children. Open sewers run down the uncovered gutters before the long rows of sunless rooms. Seventy-five or eighty per cent of the children die under two years of age, and the general rate of mortality is nearly double that of Europe. Well-informed men declare that the population is stationary. The census reports, which show a population in 1875 of 2,075,991, in 1885 of 2,527,300, in 1895 of 2,712,145, and in 1907 of 3,249,279, do not confirm this impression of stagnancy, but the ablest and best-informed men recognize the evil of the national suicide through alcoholism and dirt, the uncleanness of the houses and the murderous ignorance of the care of little children. Property under \$2,000 is not taxed, and on property above that the maximum tax rate is

three per mille, or about one-tenth of what we pay in many communities in the United States. There is none of that spirit toward public interests which makes their tax bills the most grateful expenditure of many Americans.

Nevertheless it is a wonderful little republic, patriotic to the last fiber, with many capable and public-spirited men, but without the political or moral spirit in the mass of the nation capable of sustaining representative institutions or creating a progressive state.^h

CHAPTER IX

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR INCREASE

IN the times of the Incas the territory which is now Peru supported a dense population. The vestiges which remain of the intensive cultivation of the land show that it must have sustained a very large number of inhabitants. The population extended from the Sierra and its sides down to the coast, and took little account of the forest region stretching to the Amazon. The enumeration made by the Spanish officials in 1793 has little value as a basis of estimating the increase, because it was not limited to the present Peru. It is interesting only as showing that out of a total of 1,077,000 inhabitants there were 618,000 Indians, 241,000 *mestizos*, 136,000 Spaniards, and 82,000 negroes and mulattoes. Another estimate made at that period was of 1,250,000 persons.

It is difficult to figure out that the population of Peru at the end of 1905 exceeded 3,000,000 to 3,250,000, though an estimate of 4,000,000 was attributed to the Geographical Society of Lima a few years ago. The last census was taken in 1876. It gave a total of 2,673,000 persons. The enumeration admittedly was deficient, and an open question was whether the semi-civilized tribes of the trans-Andine region had been underestimated or overestimated. In subsequent

years the province of Tarapacá was ceded to Chile, and Peru suffered not only the losses caused by war with that country, but also from the complete industrial prostration which supervened and from the intestine struggles of the revolutionary factions.

Only within very recent years a basis of normal growth of population may be said to exist, and, with reference to the natural increase, the high rate of infant mortality, both in the cities and in the Sierra, has to be kept in mind. A long period of comfortable existence and of hygienic education must elapse before this mortality will be sensibly diminished. In many communities the birth rate and the death rate are evenly balanced, while there are districts in which the grave claims more than the rude cradle.

By the national census of 1876 Lima had 101,000 inhabitants. In November, 1903, a municipal count fixed the population at 131,000. Lima has received the cream of the immigration in recent years, and has drawn to itself all the floating elements. The smaller coast cities have shown no such growth, while in the interior the towns appear almost stationary as to their inhabitants. If the rate of increase were 30 per cent for the whole country, as with Lima, and if the census of 1876 could be accepted as a safe basis of calculation, the total population today would be approximately 3,500,000. The notable increase of Peru's foreign trade in recent years is evidence of improved consumptive capacity, due to industrial prosperity, rather than of an increased number of consumers. It

came too swiftly to be accounted for by the growth in population, and therefore does not support the theory of upward of 3,500,000 inhabitants.

I have taken into account the statement of travelers in the interior, who have found the people more thickly distributed than they had thought. Two young Americans, Messrs. Whitehead and Peachy, who in 1902 traveled through northern Peru to the Amazon, encountered a relatively dense population. The engineers, who in 1895 made the Intercontinental Railway Survey from the border of Ecuador to Cuzco, calculated the number of inhabitants along the route to be 482,000, substantially in agreement with the national census and with no signs of a marked increase. The location was through the Sierra and directly on the line of the most populous Andine towns. Engineers for private companies who made a reconnaissance of a route along the left bank of the Marañon, were surprised to find every little stretch of plain or valley between the glaciers occupied and cultivated by an Indian family, yet when they came to estimate the aggregate of the inhabitants, the total was not a large one. This inter-Andine population may be numerous enough to justify the belief that the census of thirty years ago was not wide of the mark, but it is impossible to find grounds for the assumption of an increase of 30 per cent since then. The population of Peru at the beginning of the Panama Canal epoch reasonably may be placed at 3,250,000.

In the enumeration of 1876 the estimate was, that

of the inhabitants 57 per cent were pure Indian, 23 per cent mestizos, and, except for a fraction of negroes, the remaining 20 per cent was Caucasian, chiefly Spanish. The aboriginal proportion is now smaller than it was thirty years ago, since European immigration has added to the white population, and the mixed blood also has been augmented.

There is no more fascinating history than that of the Quichuas, the aboriginal population of Peru which still survives. The distinctions are yet marked between this basic race and the races which were subjected, such as the Yuncas, who dwelt in the northern part and along the coast and whose language is still spoken by their descendants. Some of the tribes along the shores of Lake Titicaca are not of pure Quichua descent, being sprung from the rival race of the Aymaras, while in the forest region the Chunchos and others of the uncivilized tribes have little of the Quichua traditions and customs and speak dialects of their own. But the great mass of the population of Peru today is Quichua. The Spanish and other intermixtures which have produced the *cholos*, or half-breeds, have had four centuries to work out the blood mingling, and the *cholo* in every community is easily distinguishable from the pure Quichua.

The Quichua is of the soil. Under the Incas the communal system of land cultivation prevailed, and the natives, even in the loftiest recesses of the mountains, were agriculturists. They found means to irrigate the most barren of spots. On the plains and in the val-

leys they cultivated the land. The fondness for the freedom of the country still survives, and many of them prefer this life to being grouped in villages.

On some of the great haciendas the crops are apportioned on shares almost as in the times of the Incas. The natives are born shepherds, and the pastoral life suits them. In the Cordilleras, wherever there is a pass or a valley, the cabins of the Indians are scattered about as thickly as the producing qualities of the land will permit.

Much of the work in the mines is done by the *cholos* or *mestizos*. These also are the freighters who handle the droves of llamas, burros, and mules that bring the ore from the mines and take back the supplies. On the coast the population might be called chiefly *cholo*, for here the intercourse with other races has made the conditions different from those in the Sierra.

In the forest region the tribal customs are observed almost as before the Spaniards came. Many of the tribes are still restricted to bows and arrows, and as they are hostile to the government and accept its rule unwillingly, the authorities take pains to see that they are not encouraged in procuring fire-arms and learning the use of modern weapons. The marriage relation is primitive, but the traditions are rigidly maintained. An Englishman who had spent some years in the basin of the Ucayali told me that in one tribe polyandry was practiced. An epidemic of smallpox had left more men than women. The owner of an hacienda on the

edge of the forest region gave me an account of the marriage customs which had prevailed immemorially. One instance which had come to his attention was of a girl of nine married to a boy of eleven. When the child-wife was eleven years old, she was a mother. The gentleman had verified this incident himself and had no question of the age of the husband and wife.

The native is deeply attached to his surroundings and does not take readily to labor elsewhere. The climate has something to do with this unwillingness to move. It has been found by experiment that the inhabitants on the *punas*, or tablelands 5,000 feet above the sea-level, do not work well when taken up another 5,000 feet. They are not only homesick; they suffer real physical illness. It is the same with those brought down from the lower plains. Alcohol is the worst drawback to their physical well-being and moral advancement. The coca leaf, the essential principle of cocaine, which they use as a food, is far less responsible for their lack of physical stamina than cane rum.

In many of the villages of Peru which I visited I formed an impression that the natives were further advanced than in similar villages in Bolivia and Chile. There was more cleanliness, more evidence of good order and of wise local administration. They are a brooding, solitude-loving race, though not altogether spiritless. How far they still preserve the traditions and sorrow over the Incas I do not know, but their gentle resistance makes it more difficult to impose civilization on them than would be sullen opposition.

While the army is distasteful to the Indian population, and while they evade the conscription wherever possible, it is one of the strongest civilizing forces. The discipline is good, and the change of environment also is advantageous. Obedience has been so fixed a habit of the natives since the Spanish conquest that they never think of questioning authority. As to the degree of superstition which is mingled with the nominal adhesion given by the Indian population to the church, I do not profess to judge.

The Peruvian government seeks to enforce a good school system, and in the large towns and villages with some success. But on the part of the mass of the Quichuas there is still inextinguishable hostility to learning Spanish, not less effective because it is passive. The suggestion has been made that the authorities provide a system of primary schools where Quichua shall be the language and shall be taught systematically. It is the *lingua general*, or common speech, of a large majority of the inhabitants.

At Huanuco, where a German agricultural colony was established forty or fifty years ago, the sons of the early colonists still speak German, and many of the Quichuas in the neighborhood have acquired a smattering of that language. Apparently they distinguished between the tongue of the conqueror and another strange tongue.

The negro element in the population in Peru is sometimes remarked by strangers. They are told that it has become thoroughly intermixed with the native

race. In the early days of the viceroys, when African slavery was exploited by the two great Christian powers, England and Spain, many Africans were brought to Peru. It is thence that the name Zambo, or Sambo, came. They are yet called Sambos. Though the Spanish and Indian mixture is said to be thorough, there seems to be much of the African racial identity still preserved.

The Chinese coolies were brought to Peru in the fifties. They still work in the sugar plantations and the rice fields and a few of them also in the cotton fields. The coolie in the second generation, however, becomes a store-keeper or a property owner. On some of the sugar estates the Chinese steward in the course of a few years leases the plantation and later becomes the owner. There are many wealthy Chinamen in Peru, and not all of them made their money as merchants at Lima. The policy of the government is not to encourage coolie immigration.

For the industrial and political future of which Peru dreams there must be immigration as well as natural increase of the present native population. The potter's clay is not all at hand. Some of it must be brought in. This immigration will be along three lines, which may be called topographical or geographical,—first, on the coast; second, in the Sierra; third, in the trans-Andine country and the vast basin of the rivers that feed the Amazon. A phenomenal growth in the latter region during the present generation is not probable, though it has enormous colonization possi-

bilities which gradually will be utilized, especially with the opening up of the means of communication. Some of them, too, are European or Caucasian possibilities, for the exploration of numerous scientists and their studies have shown that the European can live and thrive in these regions. These climatic and similar observations may be had from a score of books giving experiences of individuals.

In the development of the mines Peru necessarily must add to the population of the Sierra. Mining labor now is hardly sufficient, and the preference of the natives for agriculture and for service as freighters makes the problem one of increasing difficulty. The wages in the mines are good, varying according to locality. In the Sierra day labor can be had for about half a *sol*, which is equivalent to twenty-five cents gold. The American syndicate, in building the Cerro de Pasco Railway, paid the natives a *sol*, or fifty cents, and got satisfactory returns. But for the mining development of the future, miners from Spain and Italy should supply the deficiency that will exist so long as sole reliance is placed on the natives. They may come in considerable numbers.

Irrigation of the region between the Sierra and the coast is assured, and this is going to furnish the basis for the largest and earliest increase in population. A portion of this increase should also come from Italy and Spain and perhaps also from Germany, for the Germans are highly successful in semi-tropical agriculture. The Italians have been very successful in Peru

in retail trade and in some of the mechanical employments, but the conditions also are favorable for them in agricultural pursuits. The vineyards in the region around Pisco and Ica seem to afford an especially inviting field for them. By the time the Panama Canal is open the big trans-Atlantic liners from Genoa and Naples which now come to Colon should be bringing a full quota of Italian immigrants through the waterway to the Peruvian ports.

The government has enacted liberal legislation providing for immigration and colonization, but it does not follow the theory of government-aided colonies. Its course is sound. It grants land to private enterprises for colonization, and in the industrial plans which are now a part of its political policy there is a certainty of an increased population to be drawn from abroad. An old law authorizes an annual appropriation of 50,000 for encouraging immigration, and the passage of immigrants may be paid, but this is the limit of state aid.

Colonization plans by private enterprises received a check a few years ago, when the Peruvian Corporation abandoned its efforts. Of the total grant of 2,750,000 acres in the region of the rivers Perene and Ene and the Chanchamayo valley, more than a million acres were set aside for immediate peopling. The corporation began to attract settlers to the lands, but the movement was feeble and was not sustained. The complaint made was that instead of inviting fresh and virile European immigration it drew the dregs from

neighboring countries, taking colonists who had proved their own worthlessness in the places where they first settled. The experiment was still another instance of ignorant London directors and incompetent management.

Many of the earlier colonists in this district went into coffee-growing with fair success. The climate, the soil, the slopes of the Cordilleras, all were favorable. Good crops were raised and found a profitable market. But this market was obtained at the period when Brazil was changing from the empire to the republic, and when through that and subsequent disturbances the supply to meet the world's demand was interrupted. When the Brazilian crop became abnormal in its productiveness, weighting the price down below the level of profitable production, coffee-raising no longer was business for the colonists of Peru. They themselves did not clearly perceive the cause of their distress. Many of them, instead of turning to other products, got discouraged and went away. But merely because of this failure there is no ground to believe that in the future colonizing movements in this region, intelligently directed by the Peruvian Corporation or by any private company, will not succeed. The climatic and soil conditions are inviting, and the only question is the means of utilizing these gifts of nature. The entire Pichis zone is favorable to European colonization. When it is connected with the Pacific by the extension of the present railroad to Port Bermudez or some other river point, its colo-

nization capabilities will be appreciated; for the lack of access has been the drawback. This rich region lies within three hundred miles of the coast.

A similar observation may be made concerning the northern districts. From any one of half a dozen little seaports the valleys of the Marañon and its tributaries are less than two hundred miles distant. But the Continental Divide lies between, and this mass of mountain wall must be pierced by the railroad. Once this is done, the immigration possibilities of northern Peru will develop rapidly.

For all this there must be faith, and resolution, and definite measures. It is not a question of settling a new land, for Peru is an old, old country. Nor is it the problem of reconstructing the ancient civilization of the Incas, or the civilization which twentieth-century iconoclastic antiquarians charge the Incas with stealing from other races. In its economic aspect the matter is simply one of getting more people into a country which has plenty of room for them.

During a stay in Lima, I spent an afternoon with Rev. Dr. Wood, a Methodist Episcopal missionary, who had been in South America for thirty years, and who had made the most discriminating study of social conditions of any Yankee living in the Andes. I came away permeated with some of Dr. Wood's enthusiasm and, I hope, with some of his devout faith. The South American continent, he declared, has been held in reserve by Providence for a time when the population of other countries would press for room and for

means of subsistence. The present Peru, he thinks, is easily capable of supporting 20,000,000 inhabitants in conditions of life and comfort similar to those enjoyed by dwellers in the Alps and the Appenines.

But if in the years pending the completion of the Panama Canal, Peru by natural increase and by immigration can add 1,000,000 to her population, that modest addition will determine her industrial future. A million more people during the next ten years will mean an extra 2,000,000 in the decade that follows. The horizon does not need to be extended farther.ⁱ

CHAPTER X

PERU'S GROWTH AND GOVERNMENT

WHEN Honorable James Bryce wanted an apt illustration of the numerous elections in the United States, he compared them in their frequency to revolutions in Peru. The comparison was not unjust. Civil wars have occurred almost as often. The bloodiest drama was enacted as recently as 1895. In that year the streets of Lima were choked with corpses and ran with blood of brother shed by brother. No one today can give a rational cause for it. A few years earlier, when Peru yet was prostrate at the feet of Chile, there were revolutions and counter-revolutions.

But the seeds of revolution do run out after centuries. The soil grows barren. The soil in this case is the mass of aboriginal population, the Indians and the mixed bloods, who have known only blindly to follow one chief or another. Slowly they learned that in the revolving of rulers they were no better off. An English monarchist repeated to me the story of an old Indian at Chosica. He was bent with age and hard work, was in rags and was a beggar. This was after the Spanish power had been broken and independence established. He came one day to the group of political chiefs who were then in control and were controlling

for the benefit of themselves. They were eulogizing Liberty and the glory of having done with kingships. The old fellow listened and then meekly remarked: "But, sirs, it is all the same. Under the viceroy I was a beggar. Under the Republic and your Honors I am a beggar. I don't see that Liberty means anything to old Juan Martinez."

For the bulk of the inhabitants it has not been quite so bad, because even the republican semblance of government has been better training for them than the monarchical rule. Yet in the uprisings and counter-uprisings they were like the old beggar. Whatever dictator was in and was promulgating high-sounding proclamations of liberty, they were no better off than under his predecessor. They followed one *cacique* or another, killed one another at his behest, and then settled back in the old way. But of late years the condition of the mass of the Indian and mixed population has improved. I take this statement on the evidence of discriminating foreigners, and not as a conclusion from my own observations, which were made within too short a period to afford a basis for comparison. It is the testimony of the Europeans that more than one ambitious leader has been willing to lead a revolt when his faction lost, but he could not get followers or dupes, and therefore he acquiesced.

It is true also that the educated classes have become more stable and have put forth a stronger influence against political disturbances. Yet over-credit should not be given them, for the hot Spanish blood

in all of them has not been brought down to an even temperature. This was very forcibly impressed on me during the spring of 1903, when the presidential election was pending. Señor Miguel Candamo, for several years president of the Lima Chamber of Commerce, was the only candidate who had a political party back of him. He had been an influential supporter of the liberal administration of President Romaña. He was the choice of the Constitutionalists and Civilistas. There was another aspirant whose canvass was entirely personal. Besides the Civilistas the only important political organization was the Popular Democrats, who were supposed to represent the popular element, or the masses. They nominated no candidate, but they sought to control the Congress.

One of their leaders, Señor A——, calmly explained to me that they would get control of Congress, would declare the election null and void, and substitute their own man for Señor Candamo. He looked on this as perfectly legitimate politics. Señor A—— had been educated in the United States in order to have the benefit of free government, had spent his youth there, and after returning to Peru had held important public offices. When he was explaining to me the plans of his faction, the future of Peru hinged on the peaceful succession to President Romaña.

After Señor Candamo had been chosen for a faction which had not even proposed an opposing candidate, to seek to prevent his inauguration and put in its own man—who never had made even a pretense of

seeking the suffrage of the electors—meant to precipitate, if not actual revolution, a condition fully as bad. It meant to destroy the confidence of foreign capital, and to take from Peru the prestige which she slowly was regaining among South American nations. It was inconceivable how a patriotic Peruvian could harbor a purpose of encouraging such a condition, and yet Señor A—— was intensely patriotic and ready to fight for his country.

The election was held, and some of the hot-heads, among whom was Señor A——, did undertake to question the result, and for a brief period the fate of Peru trembled in the balance. It was settled by the stern displeasure of General Nicolas de Pierola, a former president, himself the chief actor in many revolutions and at that time the leader of the Popular Democratic party. He told his radical followers that insurrection against the government would be treason to the nation, and Señor Candamo was inaugurated with his support.

Another test came when, a few months after President Candamo's inauguration, he was taken ill and in May, 1904, died. He had been conspicuously and honorably identified with the history of Peru, had the confidence of the whole people, and especially of the commercial classes both foreign and native. His program had been purely a civilian one. All the political parties had been harmonized and were supporters of his administration. His death inevitably brought on a contest for the succession. In this struggle there was to

be an alignment of political organizations. Again Peru was approaching a crisis which would test her stability, and show the world whether confidence could be placed that the progressive career on which she had entered would be uninterrupted by domestic dissensions.

Under the Peruvian constitution a first and a second vice-president are chosen, but the vice-president has not exactly similar functions to that official in the United States. The first vice-president, in the absence of the president or his temporary retirement from official cares, discharges the responsibilities of the executive office, and in the absence or disability of the first vice-president the second one acts. But in the event of the death of the Executive, the vice-president fills the office only until an election can be called and a successor chosen. It happened in 1903 that Señor Acorta, who was chosen first vice-president, died before the inauguration. On the death of President Candamo, Señor Serapio Calderon, the second vice-president, discharged the executive functions and issued the call for the election of a new chief magistrate. If the emergency had been pressing, he could have called the Congress in extra session. After some delay nominations were made by the opposing political parties. The Civilistas united on Señor José Pardo as their choice, and the Constitutionals endorsed him, he becoming the candidate of this coalition. The Popular Democrats and a political group known as the Liberals named General Nicolas de Pierola, the former

president, as their candidate. His career in the stormy periods of Peruvian history for forty years had made him a leading character and he had strong influence with the masses. On his retirement from the presidency he had become the head of a business enterprise in Lima. His old opponent, General Caceres, one of the Constitutionalists, supported Señor Pardo.

José Pardo is a member of a distinguished family, one of several brothers influential in the business and politics of the country, sons of the president who founded the Civil party in 1872. He was educated for the law, and had been in the diplomatic service in Europe, but had returned to Peru and was occupied as a sugar-planter when Miguel Candamo was chosen president. He was one of Señor Candamo's active supporters, and entered the latter's cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was generally recognized as the coming leader of the Civilistas, and was surrounded by a group of young men who were aggressive in their advocacy of civilian policies. His speech in accepting his party's nomination was singularly free from the generalities and the apostrophes to Liberty with which presidential candidates and dictators in the Spanish-American republics are accustomed to season their discourses. Instead it was a plea for a school system, internal improvements, railways, irrigation, harbor works, fiscal reforms, and economical administration.

General Pierola also made industrial measures the leading feature of his program.

The campaign caused anxiety, though the tension clearly was less than in the previous year in the period between Señor Candamo's election and his inauguration. Demonstrations by the rival political groups resulted in bad blood, there were collisions with the police in which several persons were killed or injured, and election riots after the manner of some sections of the United States. But these incidents were not numerous enough to show the existence of a revolutionary spirit, and they were dismissed with the euphemistic designation of "electoral effervescences."

Meanwhile the real electoral contest was going on in the newspapers, in meetings, and by manifestos and addresses to the public. It soon became evident that the Civil party with Señor Pardo as its leader would triumph. The Pierolists asked the government for a postponement of the election. This was refused on the ground that under the laws and the constitution no authority existed for such postponement. Then the Pierola ticket was withdrawn by the Popular Democrats and the Liberals, and their followers were advised not to vote. This action was a resort to the minority method practiced in Spain and her offshoot countries in America. It is an admission in advance that the other party will win.

After General Pierola's withdrawal the Civilistas and their allies exerted themselves against what in the United States we call apathy. To comply with the law and make the election valid, it is necessary to have one-third of the registered vote cast. The proportion

of the ballots was much larger than that. Señor Pardo was elected in August and inaugurated in September. He formed his cabinet with young blood tempered by experience. Señor Leguia, who as his colleague in President Candamo's cabinet had been Secretary of the Treasury and had been the warm advocate of the new industrial policy, was called to the Treasury again and became president of the cabinet. Other members of the cabinet selected also had the confidence of the public. The continuance of civil administration and the dominance of civilian measures were reaffirmed, and it was shown that Peru had taken another stride toward stability by the acquiescence of the defeated party. The opposition made no effort to question the election.

The administration of President Pardo was a most successful one, but it is one of the iron-bound rules of South American politics, that no president may serve two terms in succession. It was a very happy circumstance, however, that the Civilistas had still another strong man in Señor Augusto B. Leguía, Secretary of the Treasury under two administrations, who was elected in August, 1908, and on the 24th of September of that year was inaugurated. For four years now President Liguia has splendidly managed Peru's national affairs, and while he has been progressive and determined in his administration, he has still shown that caution exercised by the presidents of Peru for the last twenty years. Under his administration the government has made great progress.

I have given the substance of the spirit of the government of Peru as it exists today, leaving only brief space for an analysis of the form. The constitution now in force was adopted in 1860 and was modeled after that of the United States. Power is centralized, though there is a reasonable measure of local self-government or local administration. Geographical isolation of the different sections is one cause of the centralized authority. The political division of the Republic is into twenty-one departments, which are subdivided into ninety-seven provinces, and these into 778 districts. The source of administrative authority in each department is the prefect, who is named by the central government. In many of the departments the prefect is an officer of the regular army. Each of the provinces has a sub-prefect, and the districts have their local rulers or governors, depending from the higher power. In the municipalities the *alcalde* is appointed, but the members of the Council are elected. The Amazon Province of Loreto has a system of administration somewhat different from the other departments. It is more under military administration. The customs administration at Iquitos also requires a close supervision by the national authorities.

The powers of the Executive are defined with clearness. They are complete, though there is something of a limitation in the Council of State, which was created by law in 1896, is in some respects an executive body. When the cabinet is in full sympathy with the President, the Council of State is his instrument.

But when this body is made up of warring political elements, the President is not always able to have his way. The system obtains of having the various political groups represented, and when there is a hostile majority in the Congress that is the only means by which the government can be carried on. Frequently it results in an administration of cross purposes. The Cabinet members may be also members of the Congress, and may be summoned before either branch of that body to give explanations and may take part in the debates. The Peruvian Congress is peculiar in one respect. This is in the election of *suplicantes*, or deputy representatives and deputy senators. When the election is held, it is both for members and for deputy members. Thus it happens that the Congress never need be without a quorum in either branch, and no district or department need be deprived of representation temporarily by the death or absence of the senator or representative. His deputy can be counted on to attend the sessions.

The church is a part of the state in Peru, and has been usually an unprogressive part. The ecclesiastical organization consists of an archbishop, resident in Lima, and eight suffragen bishops for the various dioceses. The church as an institution has opposed movements to liberalize Peru, and has instigated revolutions against reforms.

Roman Catholicism is intrenched in the constitution, not only as a religion of the state, but by the prohibition of other forms of worship. The Protest-

ant congregations are not numerous, and it is still necessary to call their places of worship halls instead of churches. Yet under liberal administrations no real difficulty is experienced by the missionaries who temper good sense with zeal. In remote districts the central government can not always insure protection against local prejudices, but its authority is exerted to that end. The testimonies of the missionaries themselves is that they are meeting fewer and fewer difficulties, and even in the strongholds of intolerance, such as Cuzco and Arequipa, they are able to carry on their proselyting labors without interference.

In the passing of years the constitution of Peru will be amended so as to welcome Protestantism, though the Roman Catholic Church will remain the state church. This constitutional amendment is somewhat cumbersome, since it requires consecutive action by two congresses in order to become effective; but the sentiment in favor of it is spreading and propositions already have been presented to Congress. Wise Protestants do not believe in urging it too rapidly. They realize that with a succession of liberal governments and with the toleration that already is manifest, Protestantism can afford to wait and work.

The provisions of the Peruvian constitution and the laws with regard to foreigners are liberal. Foreigners may be naturalized after two years' residence. The government at Lima through the prefects extends every possible protection to those who are traveling or who seek to engage in mining or other industries.

The trouble which arises generally is with the local authorities, and Europeans and Americans who have a reasonable degree of tact and are willing to adapt themselves to their surroundings usually can make themselves *personas gratas*. Where they start in with the disposition to flaunt their foreign citizenship and to override the natives, not even the central authority can prevent local antagonisms. In four cases out of five the foreigner in Peru who gets into trouble with the local authorities has only himself to blame.

The government in the laws it has promulgated for the mining industry, for the exploitation of the rubber forests, for irrigation, and for the navigation of the waterways has sought especially to protect and encourage foreign capital and individuals. Foreigners may be members of the deputations and delegations which are provided in the mining code, and they also may serve in the municipal councils. On the aldermanic ticket at Cuzco and other places I found English and German names, and was told that these candidates had not been naturalized and had no intention of being. This provision should be of particular value in colonization movements where communities may be established without the native Peruvians.

In relation to income and outgo there are three sources of revenue,—general, municipal, and departmental. The general revenues are had from the customs import and export duties, from the stamp tax, and from the internal revenues on tobacco, alcohol, sugar, matches, and similar articles of consumption.

Salt is a natural monopoly. The departmental revenues are from the land tax (which is very light), from the imposts on property transfers, from the inheritance tax, and from a variety of industrial sources. The municipal taxes are obtained from local tolls, licenses, surveys, and like means.

Somewhat curiously in this age, the collection of the internal taxes is farmed out by the national government. A joint-stock company known as the National Tax Collection Society, by an agreement with the government, collects all these revenues and turns them in, retaining its percentage and providing loans when needed for current purposes. The stock of this company was taken mainly by the Lima Chamber of Commerce. There is also in Lima a provincial tax collection association, which takes charge of the local revenues in the same manner that the national company collects the general revenues. Contrary to what might be supposed, this system works very well, and is satisfactory to the tax-payers, while the government gets a larger return than if it itself were the collector.

Peru is almost exceptional among the South American Republics for establishing and maintaining the gold standard. This is a brilliant and instructive chapter of financial history. The beginning was made in 1897, following the presidential election in the United States. General Pierola was President and was strongly in favor of the gold basis. Though Peru was a silver-producing country, a law was passed pro-

viding that gold should be the sole standard, that customs duties should be thus paid, that there should be no further silver coinage, and that the ratio should be ten *soles* of silver, equal to the English pound sterling, or the Peruvian pound sterling, which is the exact equivalent in weight and fineness of the English pound and is known as the *inca*. It also was provided that silver should not be legal tender in amounts greater than \$100, that no person should be permitted to bring more than ten *soles* into the country, and that the export duties on silver should be repealed. Subsequent legislation strengthened this law, and the government by an arrangement with the banks called in and melted into bullion, the redundant *soles*, itself taking the loss. There was opposition, especially in the Cerro de Pasco mining region, where the output of silver was greatest. In the interior also the Indians, who had been accustomed to silver, could not be made to understand gold. But as they have few transactions in which a yellow coin is necessary, this was not a serious drawback.

Paper money, either bank emissions or national notes, is prohibited by the law of 1879. The currency which was in circulation in 1881 was converted into internal debt. This internal debt grew out of the calling in of the paper currency and the liquidation of old accounts. The total is approximately \$15,000,000. A small yearly disbursement is required for its service. Part of this so-called internal debt earns one per cent yearly interest, and the remainder receives

no interest, being provided for out of a redemption fund which amounts to \$125,000 annually. This liquidation has been regularly carried on since the bonds were issued under the terms of the law of 1888. The yearly fund appropriated for interest and the sinking fund remain stationary unless increased by Congress.

In the ten years following 1895, the banking capital of Peru increased at the rate of 150 per cent, while the deposit accounts ran up from \$4,500,000 to \$14,000,000. The banks pay dividends of 14 to 16 per cent. Volumes might be written about the causes which are leading to the commercial and industrial prosperity of the country and contributing to the political stability. The convincing evidence of the fact is the growth in the bank deposits. In these chapters on Peru I have sought to show something of the country and the people, of the resources and the commerce, of the economic prospects and the political conditions, for all of them must be known if the country's future is to be judged. What the joining of the Amazon to the Pacific means, what the new industrial life promises, what the governmental stability signifies, may find an answer in what has been written, for I believe in the destiny of Peru, but not an iridescent, dazzling destiny to be realized within a twelvemonth or a decade. Instead, a gradual growth to be attained by a plodding policy, sympathetic to the popular aspirations yet rock-rooted in sound principles of national progress.⁷

CHAPTER XI

CHILEAN CONDITIONS

CHILE has a political history that marks an isolated chapter among Spanish-American republics. Its unique and significant feature is four successive and peaceful presidencies of ten years each. The phenomenon is worthy of study. The tributes which the Chileans pay themselves are merited. Their national growth has been a growth, not a series of spasms.

After independence was achieved through O'Higgins in 1818, the Liberator was sent into exile, because he sought to exert kingly powers as a dictator under the merest crust of republican forms. The riot of liberty followed for ten or twelve years with frequent revolutions, changes of rulers, and unavailing efforts to form a stable government. The anarchy of license under the mask of popular institutions reached its height during the period from 1828 to 1833, when the Liberal party—that is, liberal in name—was in power. Then came the Conservatives or reactionists. They forced the adoption of the Constitution of 1833, which remained unchanged for thirty-seven years. Order and tranquility was the motto, and general republicanism was choked in order that a government of law might live.

From 1833 to 1873 Chile had four presidents, all elected and re-elected under constitutional forms. These chief magistrates were Joaquin Prieto, Manuel Bulnes, Manuel Montt, and Jose Joaquin Perez. During General Bulnes' administration an army uprising was attempted; during that of President Montt a revolution started at Copoapo in the north. There were also other disturbances. But all of them were suppressed without long periods of civil dissensions, and though liberty seemed to be smothered under councils of war and the absolute suspension of individual rights, it was a hardy plant and after a brief period would begin to grow again.

Under the Constitution of 1833 the presidential term was five years, and there was no prohibition against a second term. In this manner each president re-elected himself and enjoyed a ten years' tenure. But he could not have done this if the privileged classes, the family groups, had not sustained him. They were aggressive in defending their share in the oligarchy, and their individual independence they maintained as sturdily as did the English barons who forced the Magna Charta from King John. With the national development assured, the country began to chafe under the recognition of the autocratic power which was vested in the Executive, and to feel that the growth which would not have been possible without the colonial despotism under republican form had now reached the full measure. Consequently the agitation for liberalizing the constitution began and was contin-

ued persistently instead of intermittently. In the decade from 1860 to 1870 the Conservative reactionaries were pressed so vigorously and were on the defensive so constantly that the harsh features of the constitution were modified in the spirit if not in the letter.

During the life of this old parchment and the four Executives who put it into practice,—for there never was a dictator among them,—Chile consolidated her domestic interests, inaugurated the building of railways, and by the navy and other means prepared for the war which it was felt one day would be had with Peru and Bolivia. In view of all that was accomplished, it can hardly be said that the Constitution of 1833 and the power of the one hundred families as exerted under that instrument, were bad for the country. But a change was inevitable, and in 1870 the constitution was reformed in a manner to bring it within the sphere of modern principles of government and remove its aggressive antagonism to republican institutions. Greater independence was conceded to the judicial power, and larger liberty of action to the municipal authorities, while the electoral right of the citizens was broadened. The presidential term remained at five years, but successive elections were prohibited so that the ten-year tenure could not continue.

Frederica Errazuriz was the first of the executives to serve under the amended constitution. His term was peaceful and progressive, but was devoted chiefly to preparing for war by ordering the construction of

the armored cruisers which rendered the Chilean navy so formidable. He was succeeded by Anibal Pinto, who had served in the cabinet as Minister of War. A financial and economic crisis supervened during his administration, and in its closing year was fought the war of the Pacific, with Chile as the antagonist of allied Bolivia and Peru. Chile's sweeping victories not only gave her the nitrate territory which she exacted as war indemnity; it made her the most aggressive and the most feared Power in South America.

It had been the custom for the outgoing president to intervene in the elections in order to insure the election of a candidate of his own choosing. President Pinto announced his purpose of repudiating this practice, yet he was succeeded by Domingo Santa Maria, who had held the portfolio of Foreign Relations in his cabinet. President Santa Maria found himself antagonized by the Conservatives and one wing of the Liberals. He tried to organize an administration party and to control the election of senators and deputies in the Congress, but failed. This was a clear manifestation of the inability of the Executive to rule without the consent of the families who composed the various political groups. But the issue between the Executive and the families was to be forced by a more resolute hand. Its outcome was dramatic, a tragedy for the nation and a tragedy for one of the country's greatest men.

José Manuel Balmaceda was chosen president in 1886, after a sharp electoral struggle in which Con-

servatives and the reactionary faction of the Liberals opposed him. He sought to conciliate the latter by calling some of them to his cabinet. He had grand plans for the development of the nation, and he wanted a united support.

President Balmaceda strengthened the naval and military establishment out of the nitrate proceeds; but his guiding ambition was to apply them to public improvements, railways, roads, harbors, and schools. The Conservative-Liberal fusion thwarted him. It prevailed in the Congress, and demanded that he name ministers satisfactory to the majority. This he claimed was in violation of his constitutional prerogatives. The Congress refused to authorize the taxes and appropriations necessary for carrying on the government. When for any reason this was not done at the regular session, the practice had been to convoke Congress in extra sessions. President Balmaceda, wearied with the controversy, abstained from taking this action. On January 1, 1891, he announced that the appropriations for the current year would be the same as during the previous year.

Bloody, merciless civil war followed. The Congressionalists proclaimed that their contest was against executive usurpation. They removed to Valparaiso, and took refuge on the warships which had been prepared for them. They named Captain Jorge Montt as Commander of the National Squadron. President Balmaceda declared Montt and the naval commanders who obeyed his orders traitors. The President orga-

nized an army, while the navy sailed for Iquique and seized the nitrate provinces.

The Congressionalists instituted their provisional government there to carry on the war against President Balmaceda. They organized troops which were transported to Valparaiso and defeated the garrison. A second victory at Placilla and they were in control of the capital, welcomed by the populace as liberators.

Balmaceda took refuge in the Argentine Legation. Flight across the Andes was open to him, but he disdained it. He waited calmly till September 19, the day on which his constitutional term as president ended, wrote farewell letters to his family and friends, arrayed himself in black, pointed a revolver at his right temple, discharged it, and died instantly. His policies live.

These swiftly tragic events have only been recalled to show their relation to the political system of Chile as it exists today, for they influenced it and caused modifications of the Constitutional restrictive of the Executive power.

By the books the form of Chilean government is popular representative. To the foreign observer the wonder grows that a system which gives such inordinate power to small groups of families, who call themselves political parties, and which binds the Executive hand and foot, can prove satisfactory. But it suits Chile, or has suited her, and the country progresses. That is the conclusive answer. If Chile chooses to make a straight-jacket for herself, that is

her own concern, and if in that straight-jacket she expands and develops a progressive national life, she may be permitted to take her own way and her own time for freeing herself.

But what of the governing classes? Who compose them? The Chilean professional man or merchant or government official will tell you that there are no class distinctions, and at the same time will take pride in drawing himself and his fellows far apart from the masses. It has been said that a hundred families have ruled Chile for seventy-five years. The numeral might be doubled or trebled, but the truth would not be changed. The landed interests, the commercial community, and the church have ruled the country, and it must be said that they have ruled well. They may accuse one another of being false to their trusteeship, but the foreign observer is not impressed with this charge. All of them have worked together to make Chile the powerful and aggressive little nation that she is, and have secured her respect that the rest of South America has given her. But they have taken all the benefits for themselves,—the honors and emoluments of public office, the opportunities for wealth that came from the nitrate fields, the chances for careers that have been afforded by the army and navy. It may almost be said that the army and navy exist for the employment of the one hundred families.

Chile herself is not a country of great private fortunes. One or two families have been enriched by mines, a half-dozen by banking and commercial devel-

opment, a larger number by nitrates. But when it is all said, the Chilean hundred families are kin of moderate means. Their main sources of income are from their landed estates. These land-owners do not tax themselves heavily. As in the majority of countries of Spanish-America, the government imposts are laid on the revenue from the land and not on the land itself. The landed proprietors contrive that these imposts shall be light.

The existing regimen, as studied on paper, is almost a complete reversal of the regimen under which for nearly half a century Chilean nationality was developed and the little ribbon of a republic was consolidated and made strong. The old form was a colonial despotism, with monarchical powers for the Executive. The present system is congressional despotism without republican powers for the Executive, but under both forms the one hundred families have ruled. The president is selected by electors chosen in the provinces through direct suffrage, since there is no such thing as provincial legislatures.

In the fabric of Chilean social organization the warp is the individual unit known as the *roto*. The *roto* constitutes the mass. *Pelucón*, aristocrat, is a term transmitted from the old *régime*. Violent objection is made to its use at the present day on the ground that there are no privileged classes and that it never had more than a restricted meaning. But it describes the antithesis of the *roto* since his evolution into the proletariat began, and it typifies a recognized

social distinction, so that its use is permissible. *Pelucón* comes within the designation of the governing classes and the one hundred families, and does not require further explanation.

One morning in May, 1903, the Chilean government and the foreign presidents awakened to the existence of the *roto* as an organized element in society, with destructive capabilities and the courage of destructive tendencies. Disputes with the steamship companies had resulted in a strike. That morning the mob seized Valparaíso and took to burning property, pillaging, and killing. It was a wild mob, but it had perception and direction. It burned the offices of the Chilean corporation known as the South American Steamship Company, and undertook to sack one of the newspapers, but it left unharmed the property of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, which was a British corporation. Its grievances against both companies were the same, but this Chilean mob would give no ground for foreign intervention.

The authorities were blamed for the demoralization which the strike developed. It was charged that the forces were at hand to quell the disorder, and that a firm show of strength would have saved the hundred lives which were sacrificed before the rioting and sacking were ended. The inquiry was made why five hundred marines who were available were not utilized. The sinister reply was that they had refused to be used, that they had been on the point of mutiny when it was attempted to use them. They were of

the roto class, recruited from the same ranks as the strikers. The exact truth never got to the public. The Chilean government vindicated its ability to maintain order and by the presence of warships and of troops silenced the clamor of the timid English and French residents who were calling for cruisers to be sent by their own governments.

A generation ago, J. V. Lastarria, the Chilean diplomat and historian, asserted: "The Chileans are the most homogeneous people of Spanish-America, and they know how to use in the most practical and prudent manner their political rights." He also declared that the physical and social elements of his country explained her salvation from the disastrous anarchy which the other republics had suffered and her progress in all spheres of human activity.

This complacent judgment was not unjust, but in describing his countrymen Señor Lastarria meant chiefly the higher stratum, the governing classes. When he wrote, the robust race mixture was yet going on, the amalgam of peasant northern Spain and of the Basque, after two centuries of transplantation, with the fierce Araucanian Indian blood. Not all of the original amalgam has been Araucanian. There are ten distinct aboriginal tribes known in Chile, and in the northern part the mixture has been more that of the Indians of the historic Upper Peru or Bolivia. All of these tribes have been habituated to hardship, and the grosser qualities of civilization have been developed aggressively.

The Chilean lower stratum of today is far from the refinements of civilization. Its vices and its virtues are equally strong. Among the virtues is native independence. The vices are of crude, half-conscious brute power, with little restraint of the passions.

The roto has many qualities in common with the higher classes. His patriotism is fully as deep. Heretofore he has been willing to fight at the dictation of the military commander, but the threatened mutiny of the marines was a warning. At the very time the conscription was going on, and an uncommon sullenness was shown by the conscripts in the interior, and a vague resentment against being enlisted to fight their brothers. This was when the necessity of employing the army to break the strike was most openly discussed.

Among the qualities of the roto, whether in the army or navy or in the mass of the population, is persistence in his prejudices. He is not easily changed from that which is taught him. I was in Santiago during the celebration of the peace pacts with Argentina. The governing classes and the merchants entered heartily into those festivities. They knew that the prevention of war by the treaties had saved the country from bankruptcy, even though war might have brought territorial extension. But it was noticed everywhere that the masses took no part in the demonstrations. They either were surly or indifferent. They had been taught to believe that Argentina was an enemy with whom they would have to make war

and from whom they would have a chance to take spoils. They could not readily turn about and join in the celebrations of peace.

In the economic discussion of the social movement, citations will be made of the lack of thrift on the part of the roto classes, and their unwillingness to do anything for themselves. This is a loose assumption, which is not warranted. On the seacoast he may be reckless with his wages, but in the interior this is not true, and I question whether it is true to the extent claimed even in the seaports. There is some reason for this doubt, since it is shown that the savings bank carries 50,000 small accounts, and some of them very small indeed. The depositors represented by these accounts are soldiers, sailors, servants, students, seamstresses, shoemakers, merchants, farmers, and laundresses. This surely indicates thrift on the part of the mass of the population.

Trade and industry in the future will have a broader scope in Chilean national policies. The passing of the era of unlimited naval expansion assures this result. After the peace pacts with Argentina were made effective, and the building of new battle-ships was stopped, it was estimated that \$1,000,000 went into industries of the soil. By the sale of other superfluous naval armament to European Powers, more funds can be released for public works and agricultural development.

The industrial resources of Chile are mirrored, though not with completeness, in the Permanent In-

dustrial Exhibition which opened in 1904. This covers not only the products of the soil, but also the home manufactures that are fabricated either from imported raw material or from half-manufactured products brought in to encourage home industries. The Chilean policy is protective both by bounties and by duties. The sugar refineries, which import the raw cane-sugar from Peru, are among the most stable of the industries. The flour mills are also profitable enterprises. They grind the native wheat, and have a market for the flour for export in Bolivia and Peru, as well as farther up the coast.

The country has about 8,000 industrial establishments. Among these are 400 engaged in tanning and curing hides, 430 in various kinds of woodworking, 308 in metallurgy, 268 in chemical products, 560 in ceramics or pottery, 1900 in food products, 1920 in cloth manufacturing and tailoring, 700 in building, and so on. Car-shops are maintained in connection with the state railways. A disposition on the part of foreign capital to engage in textile manufactures has received encouragement, and woolen and cotton mills are being established. The native labor, judged by the experiments, is competent.

The public works policy has become the program of all political groups, though the Congress sometimes is laggard in voting the appropriations recommended by the Executive. Railways are its most important feature. No chapter in Chile's history is more creditable to her people than the sacrifices made for building

railways, and nothing shows the national instinct better than the perception that was demonstrated of the part which railroads play in both the industrial and the political development of a nation. Over three thousand miles are in operation and new lines are under way. The majority of the lines are owned by the government, with the exception of the nitrate roads and the Chilean section of the Antofagasta and Bolivian Railway.

What Chile needs most is immigration and this she is seeking from northern Europe and Scandinavia. Then with closer relations with neighboring countries of South America and a wider trade with the world, her industries will expand and she will enter upon a new era of commercial and industrial life. With these economic forces recognized and given proper sphere, the collisions and the cross-purposes of domestic politics need have no deterrent influence on the industrial future of Chile. Agriculture, mining, and trade are better for her than battleships.^k

CHAPTER XII

ARGENTINE TYPES, MANNERS, AND MORALS

A SALIENT characteristic of the Argentinos is a desire, not only to learn from Europe, but to carry to the farthest possible pitch of perfection every institution begun, whether public or private, and to surpass their model. The obvious danger in all rapidly developed colonial settlements is the acceptance of the "half-done," an almost obligatory condition in the early stages of development, and one whose facility of attainment is apt to militate against the persistency of effort after that precision of completion which alone can give good results. This defect, in fact, constitutes the principal reproach brought by the systematic Northerners against the impulsive Latin races, whose temperamental traits lead them to content themselves with a brilliant start, leaving thereafter to imagination the task of filling in the blanks left in the reality by this unsatisfactory method of operation.

In 1865, Buckle, who is a man of no ordinary mental calibre, did not fear to write in his *History of Civilization* that the compelling action of land and climate in Brazil was such that a highly civilized community must shortly find a home there. The event has amply justified the bold prophecy. In the South American republics, as in the United States and else-

where, there are different degrees of fulfilment, of course. At the outset, while waiting for land to acquire value, all peoples have had to be satisfied with an approximate achievement. But in the Argentine, Uruguay, and Brazil it is plain that nothing will be left half done, and the capacity to carry all work methodically forward to its end, in no matter what field of labor, promises well for the future of the race. At Buenos Aires you will find that this quality exists in a very high degree in the Argentinian.

Buenos Aires is the least colonial-looking of any place in South America, but at the same time the Argentinian refuses to be simply a Spaniard transplanted although *society*, in Buenos Aires, traces its descent, with more or less authenticity, from the *conquistadores*, and did originally issue from the Iberian Peninsula. If we go farther and inquire what other influence, besides that of soil and climate, has been exercised over the European stock in the basin of the Rio de la Plata, we are bound to be struck with the thought that the admixture of Indian blood must count for something. The negro element, never numerically strong, appears to have been completely absorbed. There is very little trace of African blood. On the other hand, without leaving Buenos Aires, you can not fail to be struck by some handsome half-castes to be seen in the police force and fire brigade, for example, and the regularity of their delicate features is very noticeable to even the observer who is least prepared for it. The Indian of South America, though

closely akin to the redskin of the North, is infinitely his superior. He had, indeed, created a form of civilization, to which the conquistadores put a brutal end. There still subsist in the northern provinces of the Argentine some fairly large native settlements which receive but scant consideration from the government. I heard too much on the subject to doubt the truth of this. Not but what many savage deeds can be laid to the charge of the Indians, as, for example, the abominable trap they laid for the peaceful Crevaux Mission in Bolivia which led to the massacre of all its members. Still, in equity we must remember that those who have recourse to final argument of brute force are helping to confirm the savages in the habit of using it. In the interest of the higher sentimentality we must all deplore this. But our implacable civilization has passed sentence on all races that are unable to adapt themselves to our form of social evolution, and from that verdict there is no appeal.

Not that the native of the South is incapable, like his brother of the North, of performing a daily task. I saw many natives among the hands employed by M. Hilleret in his factories in Tucuman. Neither can it be said that there is any lack of intelligence in the Indian. But the fact remains that he finds a difficulty in bending the faculties which have grown rigid in the circle of a primitive state of existence to the better forms of our own daily work, and this renders it impossible for him to carve out a place for himself in

the sunlight under the new social organism imported from Europe by the white men. With greater power of resistance than the redskins of the other continent, he, like them, is doomed to disappear. Yet in one respect he has been more fortunate than his kinsman of the North, and will never entirely die out, for he has already inoculated with his blood the flesh of the victors.

I am not going to pretend to settle in a word the problem of the fusion of the races. I will only observe that the inrush of Indian blood in the masses—and also to a very considerable extent in the upper classes—can not fail to leave a permanent trace in the Argentine type, notwithstanding the steady current of immigration. And if I were asked to say what were the elemental qualities contributed to the coming race by a native strain, I should be inclined to think that the Indian's simplicity, dignity, nobility, and decision of character might modify in the happiest way the turbulent European blood of future generations.

After all, the Argentino who declines to be Spanish has, perhaps, very good reasons for his action. Here, he has succeeded, better than in the Iberian Peninsula, in ridding himself of the Moorish strain, which, though it gave him his lofty chivalry, has yet enchained him to the oriental conception of a rigid theocracy. Why should not native blood have taken effect already upon the European mixture, and, with the aid of those unknown forces which we may class under the collective term of "climate," have prepared

and formed a new people to be known henceforth by the obviously suitable name of "Argentinos"? All I can say is that there are Argentine characteristics now plainly visible in this conglomeration of the Latin races. The objection may be that the "Yankee" shows equally strongly marked characteristics which distinguish him from the Anglo-Saxon stock, while we know that he is unaffected by other than European strains. This is undeniable, and in his case soil, climate, and the unceasing admixture of European types suffice to explain modifications which are apparently converging towards the creation of a new type.

It is easier to generalize about the Argentine character than to penetrate beneath its surface. It is naturally in "society," where refinement is the highest, that traits which best lend themselves to generalization are to be seen in strongest relief. The American of the North is, above all, highly hospitable. If you have a letter of introduction, his house is open to you at once. He establishes you under his roof and then leaves you to your own devices, while keeping himself free to continue his daily occupation. The Argentino receives you as kindly, though with more reserve. Although I know but little of the business world, I saw enough of it to gather that money enjoys as much favor there as in any other country; but the pursuit of wealth is there tempered by an indulgent kindness that greatly softens all personal relations, and the asperities of the struggle for life are smoothed by a universal gentleness charming to encounter.

In their family relations the difference between the social ideals of the North and South American are plainly visible. The family tie appears to be stronger in the Argentine than, perhaps, in any other land. The rich, unlike those of other countries, take pleasure in having large families. One lady boasted in my presence of having thirty-four descendants—children and grandchildren—gathered round her table. Everywhere family anniversaries are carefully observed, and all take pleasure in celebrating them. The greatest affection prevails and the greatest devotion to the parent roof-tree. Not that the Argentine woman would appear to be a particularly admirable mother according to our standard; for, on the contrary, it is said that her children are turned out into the world with very bad manners. How, then, are we to explain the contradictory fact that such children become the most courteous of men? Perhaps a certain wildness in youth should be regarded as the noisy, but salutary apprenticeship to liberty.

All that can be seen of the public morals is most favorable. The women—generally extremely handsome in a super-Spanish way, and often fascinating—enjoy a reputation, that seems well justified, of being extremely virtuous. I heard too much good about them to think any evil. They were, from what I could see, too carefully removed from the danger of conventional sins for me to be able to add the personal testimony that I have no doubt they merit. As to their feelings, or passions, if I may venture to

use the word, I know nothing. Are they capable of the self-abandonment of love, of experiencing all its joy and all its pain—inseparable as these but too often are? They did not tell me, so I shall never know. The most I can say is that they did not give me the impression of being made for the violent reactions of life as it is known in America and Europe. I hope no one will see in this statement a shadow of criticism. It is, indeed, a compliment if you will admit that in an Argentine family love's dream is realized in the natural, orderly course of events. But if it were otherwise, it would still be to the highest credit of the women that in their *rôle* of faithful guardians of the hearth they have been able to silence calumny and inspire universal respect by the purity and dignity of their lives.

Above all do not imagine that these charming women are devoid of conversational talent. Some ill-natured critics have given them a bad reputation in this respect. Their principal occupation is evidently paying visits, and they gossip as best they can under the circumstances, considering that neither their friends nor their foes give any ground for tittle-tattle. This deficit might cause conversation to languish. Dress and news from the Rue de la Paix are a never-failing topic. It is also said that financial topics come up for their consideration, since the women are as free to speculate in land as are the men. They are superstitious, too, and are supposed to attach great importance to knowing exactly what must not

be done on any given day of the week, or to what saint they should address their petitions. Besides, the many works of public charity in which the ladies of Buenos Aires take a share would account for much time and also for much talk.

Argentino men are as amiable as their wives, except that they are jealous. If by chance, after dinner, you remain chatting quietly with one or two ladies, and in the inevitable ebb and flow of a *salon* you find yourself for a moment left alone with a lady, be sure that her husband, more genial than ever, will promptly appear on the scene to claim his share in the talk.

Not much can be said of the Argentine girl, for she is not much in evidence except in the home and at an occasional concert. She remains on the edge of society until the day of her marriage. At the same time, the Argentine girl must not be supposed to resemble very closely her sister in Latin Europe. Less educated, perhaps, but more vivacious and less timidly reserved, she shows greater independence at Mar del Plata, which is the sole meeting-place for wealthier families, since the Pampas offer no resource outside the *estancia*. At the Colon Theater and at the opera she is seated well in view in front of the box, making the whole ground floor an immense basket of beribboned flowers, and there, under the eye of her parents, the young men who are friends of her family are permitted to pay their respects to her. It is said that she makes use of borrowed charms, applied with puff and pencil.

In Argentine, gambling is a universal evil. The form of gambling which is special is land speculation. It is constantly stated that all the work of Buenos Aires and the Pampas is done by foreigners, while the Argentino himself sits waiting for the value of his land to treble, quadruple, decuple his fortune without effort on his part. This might easily be true since the value of property has risen with giddy rapidity of late years.

But while there is no denying that land speculation occupies a special place in Argentine life today, it is also incontestable that all ranks of society are here, as elsewhere, devoting their energy to some great agricultural, commercial, or cattle-rearing enterprise. The *estancia* needs a head. Herds of ten thousand cows must be well looked after if they are to be productive in their three departments—dairy, meat, or breeding. The magnificent exhibits to be seen at shows are not raised by the sole grace of God, and the Argentinos speak of their *estancias* with a wealth of detail that shows a close interest, ever on the watch for improvements. Yet they have other interests which claim part of their time, and are ever ready to discuss topics of general interest that happen to be engrossing the attention of Europe and the United States.

The growing interest taken in all kinds of labor on the soil and the need of perfecting strains of cattle both for breeding and for meat have led the larger owners to group themselves into a club, which they call the Jockey Club. The name suffices to denote the

aristocratic pretensions of an institution that has, nevertheless rendered important services to the cause, as well for horned cattle as for horses. The sumptuous fittings lack that rich simplicity in which the English delight. The decorations are borrowed from Europe, but the working of the club is wholly American. The greatest comfort reigns in all departments of the palace, whose luxury is not allowed to dissemble itself. The cuisine is thoroughly Parisian. Fine drawing-rooms, in which the light is pleasantly diffused. A large rotunda in Empire style is the show-place of the club, but, like Napoleon himself, it lacks moderation. A severe-looking library, reading-rooms, banqueting-rooms, etc., complete the club building.

To explain the amount of money either amassed or flung away here, it must be remembered that all the receipts taken at the race-courses—less a small tax to the government—come back to the Jockey Club, which is at liberty to dispose of them at will. Hence the large fortune of the establishment, which has just purchased a piece of land in the best part of Buenos Aires, for which it gave seven millions; and here it is proposed to erect a still grander palace. The building they now occupy will be presented to the government, and it is believed the Foreign Office will be moved there.

In Argentine, as in Brazil, the internal arrangements of the houses show that the greater part of the time is spent out-of-doors. Italy, with its open-air life, was naturally the land to which the Argentine

turned for architects to supply florid furniture, meant rather to look at than to use; and when to this is added cheap German goods with their clumsy designs, one may be pardoned for finding a lack of grace as of comfort. In aristocratic *salons* the best Parisian upholsterers have at least left their mark—with a little overcrowding in effect, if the truth must be told. In a few, where “antiques” are discernible, there are evidences of an appreciation of just proportions and simplicity. But my criticisms must be taken in the most general way possible.

It is in the hotels that one finds more particularly a lack of comfort and convenience. A continual change of servants and a bad division of labor ensure infinite discomfort for the traveler. There is, it is true, central heating, but it works badly. Is the *pampero* blowing? The pipes of the radiators shake the window panes with their tempestuous snorting and bubbling, waking you out of your sleep with the suddenness of their noise; but they diffuse only cold air. An electric heating apparatus, hastily put in, must be used to supplement the other. Do you want to lock up some papers? You may, perhaps, after a long search, find a key in your room, but it will assuredly fit none of the locks. As I was tiresome enough to insist, the manager, anxious to oblige me, ordered his own safe to be placed in my apartment, with all his accounts therein. When I found the drawer that was placed at my disposal, I found money in it! Oh, marvelous hospitality!

To the new houses in the town, chimneys are being added. Those who come to the Argentine for the winter months—June, July, and August—can but be delighted with the change. But still he suffers keenly from the cold, for even if the sun shines perseveringly in a cloudless sky, an icy south wind proves very trying.

It is difficult to speak of Argentine cookery—which is rather international than local—always excepting those households that boast of a French *chef*. The influence of Italy, with her macaroni and her cheese, predominates. The vegetables are mediocre; the fruit too tropical, or, if European, spoilt by the effect of the tropics. Lobsters and European fish, imported frozen, are not to be recommended; table water is excellent. The national dishes, *puchero*, or boiled beef, good when the animal has not been slaughtered the same morning; *asado*, lamb, roasted whole—the same savory dish that is met with in Greece under the name of *lamb à la palikare*. I might add a long list whose sole interest would be the strange sounding names given to familiar dishes. Still, as the main conditions of man and communities are necessarily unvarying, is it not in appearances and forms of expression that we find variety?'

CHAPTER XIII

LIFE ON THE PAMPAS

EVERY capital is a world in itself—a world in which national and foreign elements blend; but to understand the life of a nation one must go out into the country. A vast territory, ten times the size of France, extending from Patagonia to Paraguay and Bolivia, will naturally offer the greatest diversity of soil and climate, representing differing conditions of labor as well as of customs and sometimes of morals. Ancient Europe can in the same way show ethnical groups with sufficiently marked features which a long history has not been able to destroy or even to modify.

It is quite another matter when, on a continent with no history at all, you get men of every origin spread over it, brought thither by a community of interest and the hope of cultivating the soil by their labor. I have already said what racial characteristics subsist. The colonist will, of course, at first do all he can to remain what the land of his birth has made him; the first evidence of this is his tendency to fall into groups and form national colonies. But the land of his adoption will in time surely force upon him the inevitable conditions of a new mode of life, the very necessity of adapting himself to changed conditions

making of him a new creature, to be later definitely moulded by success.

The Pampas are not the Argentine. They form, however, so predominant a part that they have shaped the man and the race by imposing on them their organization of agricultural labor and the development of their natural resources. While manufactures are still in a rudimentary state and are likely to remain so for a long time to come owing to lack of coal, the Pampas from the Andes to the ocean offer an immense plain of the same alluvial soil from end to end, ready to respond in the same degree to the same effort of stock-raising or agriculture. An identical stretch of unbroken ground, with identical surface, identical pools of subterranean water, no special features to call for other than the unchanging life of the *Campo*.

Naturally, the first experiments were made in the most rudimentary fashion on the half-wild herds of cattle that could not be improved unless the European market were thrown open. As soon as this outlet was assured, the whole effort of skill and money was directed towards the improvement of stock, and the progress made in a few years' work far exceeded the brightest hopes of those early days. And as at the same time a powerful impetus was given to wheat-growing, the Pampas from one end to the other of their vast extent immediately took on a dual aspect: cattle farms (herds grazing on natural or artificial pastures), and acres of grain (wheat, oats, maize, and flax)—this is the only picture that the Pampas offer

or ever can offer to the traveler. The system of cattle-breeding, primitive in the extreme at a distance from railroads, improves in proportion as the line draws nearer; wherever the iron road passes, there is an immediate development of land under cultivation.

All this goes to make up a man of the *Campo*—the *estanciero*, colonist, peon, *gaucho*, or whatever other name he may be called. Certain conditions of living and working are forced upon him from which there is no escape. Whether landed proprietor, farmer, servant, or agricultural laborer, the vastness of the plain which opens up in front of him, the distance between inhabited dwellings, the roughness of the roads, leave him no other means of communication but the horse, which abounds everywhere and can be unceremoniously borrowed on occasion. The man of the *Campo* is a horseman. He is certainly not an elegant horseman, whose riding would be appreciated at a cavalry school. No curb; only a plain bit is used, whose first effort is to bring down the animal's head and throw him out of balance, while his rider, to remedy this defect, raises his hands as high as his head. To the unsightliness of this picture is added an unstable seat. As very often happens in similar circumstances, instinct and determination more or less making up for all mistakes, the rider manages approximately to keep on his beast's back, thanks partly to the fact that the horse is rarely required to go at more than a moderate pace over level ground. The hoof never by any chance can strike on a stone, though it

may be caught in a hole; the active little *creole* horse excels in avoiding this danger. One can ask no more of him.

On his enormous saddle of sheepskin, the peon or *gaucho*, his hat pulled well down over his eyes, his shoulders draped in the folds of the *poncho*,—a blanket with a hole in it for the head to pass through,—is encumbered with a whip whose handle serves on occasion as a mallet, and a lasso, with or without metal balls, coiled behind his saddle. He makes a picturesque enough figure in the monotonous expanse of earth and sky, where *rancho* or tree, beast or man, stand out in high relief against a background of glaring light. Without sign or syllable, his eyes fixed on the empty horizon, the man passes through the silence of infinite solitude, rising like a ghost from the nothingness of the horizon at one point to sink again into nothingness at another. When riding in a troop, they talk together in low tones. There are none of those outbursts of fun that you might expect in a land of sunshine. It is the gravity natural to men brought face to face with Nature in the pitiless light of sky and earth where no fold or break in the surface arrests the glance or fixes the attention.

Still there are those gigantic herds of horned cattle or horses which fill an appreciable portion of the melancholy plain—"green in winter, yellow in summer." When you talk of a herd of ten thousand cows, you make some impression even on a big farmer. Well, I can assure you that ten thousand head of cattle

is a small affair out on the Pampas. You see a dark shadow on the horizon that might be either a village or a group of haycocks, until the vague shifting of the mass suggests to your mind the idea of some form of life. The lines show clearer, groups break off and stand out, pointed horns appear, and at last you find you are watching the tranquil passage of a monstrous herd, whose outlines are stenciled in black upon the whiteness of the sky-line like Chinese shadow pictures. So distinct are the shapes here that you lose the sense of distance and are astonished at the harmony of nonchalant impulse, as irresistible as slow, which can thus set in movement this huge living mass that makes its pass before us like a vision of Fate. The dream fantasy is the more striking because it changes so rapidly. Withdraw your eyes a moment from the picture, and it is entirely altered. The heavy mass of migrating cattle seem now to have taken root at the opposite extremity of the horizon, while in the depths of the luminous distance shadowy patches of haze more or less distinct betoken further living bodies, some stationary, some in motion. These are mirages of the Pampas of which no one takes heed; but upon me they made a powerful impression, for I saw in them the whole tragedy of this land, from the tuft of grass on which the eyes of the beast first saw the light down to the last step of that fateful journey which ends at the slide of the slaughter-house.

Of Nature's scourges, the drouth is the most to be feared, for it falls with fearful suddenness on great

stretches of the *Campo*. In the absence of rain, neither turf nor forage nor harvest can be looked for; for the cattle, death is certain. Winter in any case is a hard season for them. Their coats lose their gloss, their flanks fall in, and their pointed bones witness to their sufferings, which the icy breath of the pampero does nothing to assuage. With the spring comes the hope of rain. But if this hope is betrayed, nothing can save innumerable herds from starvation and death. Forage is always stored for the more precious of the stock, but to feed the herd is out of the question. The Pampas then becomes one vast cemetery where hundreds of thousands of dead cattle are lying in heaps beyond all possibility of burial. It is the custom to leave the body of the beast that dies by the way to the tender mercies of the wind and the sun, the rain and the earth, into whose wide-open pores the remains are little by little absorbed. The birds of prey and dogs are valuable assistants, but wholly insufficient.

The railways that extend into the Pampas have not materially changed things. True, they have done away with long and tiresome rides, have furnished a means of transportation for the produce of the Pampas, and have made possible more furniture for the ranches. And yet the furniture in the Pampas homes is still meager enough. In the huts of the half-castes near Tucuman, the only piece of furniture I saw was a pair of trestles, on which was laid the mat which served as seat, bed, or table—the kitchen being always outside.

In the Pampas, dwellings that look modest, and

even less than modest, generally boast an easy-chair, a chest of drawers, with a clock, a sewing-machine, and gramophone, which, when fortune comes, is completed by a piano. The gramophone is the theater of the Pampas. It brings with it orchestra, songs, words, and the whole equipment of "art" suited to the æsthetic sense of its hearers. Thus, on all sides, dreadful nasal sounds twang out, to the great joy of the youth of the colony.

The morals of the *Campo* are what the conditions of life there have made them. Men who are crowded together in large cities are exposed to many temptations. When too far removed from the restraint of public opinion, the danger is no less great. In all circumstances a witness, nine times out of ten, becomes an accomplice. Between the menace of a distant and vague police force and the ever-present fear of the Indian, the *gaucho* became a soldier of fortune, prepared for any bold stroke. With his dagger in his belt, his gun on his shoulder, and the lasso on his saddle-bow, he rode over the eternal prairie in search of adventures, and ready at any minute for the drama that might be awaiting him. To his other qualities must be added a generous hospitality, that dispensed to all comers his more or less well-gotten goods; he had in him the material for an admirable leader in revolutionary times. I saw no revolutions and hope that Argentine is finished with them forever; but the periodic explosions that have taken place there are not so ancient but that an echo of them reached my ears

I shall leave out of the question, of course, all remote circumstances that might serve at hazzard to put a body of adventurers in motion. You were on the side of General X or General Z, according to the hopes of the party; but, in reality, that had little to do with it. When the signal was once given, a military force had to be organized and the means adopted were admirably simple. Any weapon that could be of use in battle was picked up, and a band would present themselves at the door of an *estancia*.

“We are for General X. All the peons here must follow us. To arms! To horse!”

And the order would be obeyed; otherwise, the *estancia* and its herds would suffer. With such a system of recruiting, troops were quickly collected, and a few such visits would suffice to bring together a very respectable force of men. My friend Biessy, the artist, with whom I had the pleasure of making the journey, witnessed such a scene one day at an *estancia* which he was visiting. He was chatting with the overseer when the man, hearing a suspicious sound, flung himself down and put his ear to the ground. A moment later he rose, looking anxious.

“There are horsemen galloping this way. What can have happened?” and sure enough a minute later there appeared a band of men so oddly equipped that at first they were taken for masqueraders. It was carnival time. The leader, however, came forward and called on the overseer to place all his peons at the service of the revolutionaries. Biessy himself only

escaped by claiming the rights of a French citizen. And do not imagine that all this was a comedy. The dominant sentiment in their camp was by no means a respect for human life. On both sides these brave peons fought furiously, asking no questions about the party in whose cause they happened to be enrolled. The overseer of the neighboring *estancia*, who was talking with M. Biessy when called to parley with the revolutionaries, was shot dead a few hours later for having offered resistance to them.

If men are thus unceremoniously enrolled, it may be imagined the horses are borrowed still more freely. A curious thing is that when the war is over, and these creatures are again at liberty, they find their way back quite easily to their own pastures. The overseer of one *estancia* told me that the last revolution had cost him six hundred horses, of which four hundred, that had been taken to a distance of from two hundred to three hundred kilometers, returned of their own accord. How they contrived to steer their course over the Pampas, with their inextricable tangle of wire fencing, I do not undertake to explain. When I inquired of the overseer whether it were not possible to steal one of his horses without being discovered, he replied, "Oh, it is like picking an apple in Normandy! It often happens that a traveler on a tired horse lassoes another to continue his journey. But on reaching his destination he sets the animal at liberty, and he invariably makes his way back to the herd."

There was a time when the *gaucho* would fell

an ox to obtain a steak for lunch. In some of the more remote districts it is possible that the custom still subsists. But it is none the less true that a growing civilization and the railway, which is its most effectual and rapid instrument, are changing the *gaucho*, together with his surroundings and his sphere of action. The *gaucho* on foot is very like any other man. His flowing necktie of brilliant color, once the party signal, has been toned down. His *poncho*, admirably adapted to the climatic conditions of camp life in the *Campo*, is now used by the townsmen, who throw it over their arm or shoulder according to the variations in the temperature. The sombrero, like the slashed breeches or high boots, is no longer distinctive. There remains only the heavy stirrup of romantic design, more or less artistically ornamented, but now often replaced by a simple ring of rope or iron. The days of roosting glamor are passed. The heavy roller of civilization levels all the elements of modern existence to make way for the utilitarian but inæsthetic triumph of uniformity. Yet a little longer and the life of the *Campo* will be nothing but a memory, for with his picturesque dress the type itself is disappearing.

The modern *gaucho* has preserved from his ancestors the slowness in speech, the reserved manner, and scrutinizing eye of the man who lives on the defensive. But today he is thoroughly civilized, and can stroll down Florida Street, in Buenos Aires, without attracting any attention. It is in vain that the theater seeks to reproduce the life of the *Campo*, as we oc-

asionally see it doing. What can it show us beyond the eternal comedy of love, or the absurdities of the wife of the *gaucho* who has too suddenly acquired a fortune? Both subjects belong to all times and all countries, in the same way as every dance and every song are common to any assembly of young humanity. Long before the gramophone was invented the guitar was the joy of Spanish ears to the farthest confines of the Pampas. Between two outbreaks of the civil war, when men were rushing madly to death, joyous songs and plaintive refrains alternated beneath the branches of the *ombu*, where the youth of the district met, and the sudden dramas of the ranch made them the more eager to drink deep of the pleasure they knew to be fleeting. They danced the *Pericou* and the *Tango*, as they still do today; but the audacious gestures in which amorous Spain gave expression to the ardor of its feelings have now passed into the domain of history. The "Creole balls," where may be seen graceful young girls in soft white draperies, dancing in a chain that resembles the French *Pastourelle*, have been reproduced on post cards and are familiar to all. There are, there will ever be in the Pampas—at least, I fondly hope so—graceful young girls dressed in white and destined to rouse the love instinct which never seems to sleep in an Italian or Spanish breast."

CHAPTER XIV

VENEZUELA AND THE VENEZUELAN

AT Cumaná, in the middle east of Venezuela, is the oldest European settlement in America. The town was founded in 1512 by the Spaniards, but was abandoned when the pugnacious Indians refused to be immediately converted and enslaved, so that Panama, founded in 1519, has been the oldest continuous habitation. But Cumaná was reinvested, and for almost four centuries it has watched the forces of the Western World trying to penetrate the tough crust of tradition brought over by the Spanish along with their search for gold. Past the island of Trinidad, along this coast, Columbus made his third voyage in 1498, and undoubtedly his first glimpse of the mainland, if not the only place where he set foot, was near Cumaná in Venezuela. Las Casas, the one true friend of the Indian, and alas! the reputed father of American slavery, was a priest in Cumaná.

The settlements grew and flourished in the valleys; Maracaibo was founded in 1529, and thereafter were planted interior cities as far as the slope of the Andes at San Cristobal in 1561, but always it was El Dorado that lured. These cities nestling among brown hills, formed the Spanish Main, and when the baroneted pirates of England and Holland were not engaged in

the spiderish pastime of capturing galleons with Pacific treasures, they enjoyed themselves by landing on the coast and sacking the seemingly secure abodes of those who collected gold nearer at hand. Not a league of the two hundred miles east and west of the Silla but has history of battle and wreck, and sunken treasure; not a valley with its cathedral spire but can tell of sack, ambuscade, slaughter, and buried pieces-of-eight.

The Indians, driven to despair by the pious cruelties of the conquerors, revolted when they could stand no more; the *mestizos*, ignored by the overlords of purer blood, revolted when with indignity they were denied the exercise of those very rights which the government of Spain had put on paper for their benefit. The whole colony of Nueva Granada revolted against the mother country when every promise had been denied them, and decency in foreign rule had ceased to be even a phrase in the council of Sevilla.

From the earliest times to the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain had only exploited her colonies; her rulers knew nothing of them except that those who did not die there came home rich after some years of a government clerkship. Misrule and revolt were as familiar in the New Spain as they were in the Old—and then the separation came.

Caracas—Venezuela—is the cradle of South American liberty. Bolivar, Miranda, and Sucre are three truly noble heroes; yet Bolivar died a disappointed man, Miranda's life ended in a Spanish prison,

and Sucre was assassinated after serving three new nations honorably and well. The only practical inheritance they have given to liberty is license and revolt. The lesson Spain had not learned and which Spanish America is so slow to learn, is the simple one of obedience to law. From the day that Bolivar aroused the revolutionary forces in 1810 till the separation of Venezuela from Nueva Granada, history records fighting, dictatorships, and rebellion. There was righteousness in it, too, because the Spanish royalists violated their treaties and so abused the patriots, who were eager to accept a decent peace, that revolt was the only resort.

The first constitution of 1820, for the countries known as Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, was a replica of that of the United States, with a more centralized government. This was soon broken by the military authority of Bolivar himself. Bolivar quarreled with Peru and Ecuador—a logical consequence of the enormous extent of the region his ambition and popularity had placed under his nominal control. The Captain General of Caracas grew jealous of Bogota (Colombia) and in 1829 threatened to withdraw from the federation. Quito did withdraw, and when Bolivar died, in 1830, the inchoate mass fell to pieces, leaving the three nations as we now know them—Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Venezuela dates its independence as a fighting nation from 1831. Paez was its first president. Since then, seventy-six intervening years have seen fifty-

two revolutions and twenty-six presidencies, sometimes called constitutional, sometimes provisional, with a cheerful intermixture of liberators, restorers and dictators for good measures. In this brief chapter we can not follow Venezuela's fortunes of war, rebellion, and intrigue that involved the past three generations. We might give a list of the revolutions and their leaders, but this would be useless unless we could enter into a consideration of the deeper forces that underlay this chaos of militarism out of which came the growth of a people. Besides, there is something more interesting than the past history of this nation and something that we need to know more about, and that is the contemporary life of the Venezuelans. And so for a brief space let us turn our attention to the Venezuela of today, which is still old Spain—the Spain of Washington Irving eighty years and more ago. She has as much beauty, her people have the same Andalusian charm, and she can show as much romance and intricate diplomacy, or as many primitive inns as existed beyond the Pyrenees before guide-books were bound in red.

Venezuela resembles Mexico and the Andean republics of South America, differing from her Atlantic sisters in that she still retains as a working-class a large remnant of the aboriginal population which the earliest Spaniards discovered when they landed. The Indians were not agricultural, although they had all facilities for becoming so; and they left no trace of having been stirred into barbarism or a crude civiliza-

tion, as were the Mexicans and the Peruvians. These Caribs, if they were nothing else, were fighters, and delayed the European attempts at benevolent assimilation. They must have been numerous. They were found everywhere, and even now there are 60,000 unmixed independent Indians and 240,000 who have adopted some semblance of village life—more than remain in Argentine and probably nearly as many as Brazil contains. Upon this primitive stock, uncivilizable by any means within themselves, the Spanish left their stamp. What they did not kill they enslaved. Las Casas, the defender of the Indians, one of the founders, as we have said, of Cumaná, was the instigator of the importation of Africans into Venezuela and the West Indies; blacks and Indians became mixed, and there was soon a subject race working in the mines, in the fields and in the towns.

But Spanish is the dominant stock which has produced the native of Venezuela; he has little blood from elsewhere; neither Italians nor Portuguese have come in sufficient numbers to exert an influence. Germans, when they entered Venezuela, came singly and were absorbed by marriage, or as feeble colonists were lost among themselves. The English, except as adventurers or buccaneers, never hankered after Venezuela as they did for Uruguay and Argentina and parts of Brazil, nor did the French attempt any conquest or settlement beyond their tiny islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The ingredients are altogether Spanish, Indian, and African. This rather pure

Castilian stock spread farther and farther westward, avoiding the coast (contrary to the Brazilian habit), settling deeper inland as far south as Mérida (1558), always seeking gold, but absorbing a certain content from the beauties of the mountains, and deriving profits from agriculture and pasturage when they could not discover precious metals. They differ from the Mexicans, who found riches at hand. The Venezuelans had to be modest in their foundations; the luxurious cathedrals of the City of Mexico and Tula are not duplicated, nor could they populate towns of the greatness of Zacatecas and Guanajuato; El Dorado eluded them, so they had to remain agriculturists. When coffee was introduced in 1784, they were ready for country life, and since then they have become reconciled, rugged and free. Not having been so beloved by Spain as the gold-bearing colonies of Mexico and Peru, they had less intercourse with the world in general, and their Spanish traits remain quite untarnished. "*Quien dice España dice todo*" (Spain is the whole thing). "Venezuela first and last" is the key to their character.

Democracy is the breath of their nostrils, not so much in politics as in conduct, for your Venezuelan is your true democrat. The traveler needs only to read Ford's *Gatherings from Spain* and our own John Hay's *Castilian Days* to catch the spirit of the transplanted Iberianism in the New World. The alms-seeker is not a beggar here; he is merely the object upon whom you bestow your good-will and who gives

you his blessing, and he loses none of his dignity by the exchange; he carries his cane with the grace of an *hidalgo* and has as much right to the sunshine and fresh air as the owner of cattle on a thousand hills. Poverty makes no caste distinction; if the poor man can not offer you a banquet with red wine, he is quite as cordially hospitable with his simple beans, his banana and his cup of coffee; he will take a light from your cigarette or give you one from his, with no thought but that you are both on the same highway, though one may be afoot, the other on horseback. Even in Caracas there is no tinge of servility, and the coachman or the flower-seller instinctively proffers and expects an equality of intercourse, with no patronage on the one side or humbleness on the other. Caracas is not yet modern, not at all industrially advanced; the old graces, the old ease, the old charm of manners are practiced today. This epitomizes itself into courtesy and kindness.

A distinguished diplomat, visiting Caracas for the first time and on an unpleasant errand, once exclaimed in his astonishment at the genuine hospitality of his reception, "Are they all so kind; do they really mean it?" He had been brought up in the school where there was a suspected ax-to-grind under all politeness. But in Venezuela there is no undermotive and their kindness has not crystalized into a form in which punctiliousness is of equal virtue with cordiality. In Spain they use words of welcome which are merely phrases; in Venezuela these have not lost their mean-

ing. "*La casa es la suya, señor*" (This is your house, sir) is literally true for as long as you wish.

The pride, the honor of a Castilian, goes with this kindness. It is the honor which John Hay so ridicules, which has impoverished Spain, made the nobility lazy and out of pocket and unable to care for anything beyond the blueness of their blood.

Another Spanish trait, even more evident here than elsewhere in Latin America, is the love of militarism. They take great pride in titles, these democratic Venezuelans; generals are thick in Caracas, or would be if they did not have to flee to exile, while judges and doctors are plentiful. This signifies that it is easier to hold office, to decree a new constitution and to organize a revolt, than it is to work patiently from year to year, watching crops, improving agriculture and following the markets. The Spaniard was born to command, to ride a horse—is he not a *caballero*?—and to build—republics; yet he can not acquire the routine life by which alone material progress is accomplished. When coffee sold much higher than it does now in Venezuela, the country was rich in consequence; when, shortly before and after our Civil War, cotton and sugar were exported from Venezuela, money was plentiful and Caracas was called Little Athens. But that was luck quite as much as industry, so when luck departed, industry died also. They can talk of work, but the Venezuelans do not know how to work. Their talk, too, is inherited along with their literature, and both lead them into that

exuberant language which so abuses and, I am sorry to say, disgusts the Anglo-Saxon. It is only verbiage; it is chivalry gone to seed. Their culture is Spanish, theoretic, idealistic. Nowhere else, unless it be in Bogota, can such delightful society be found or such poetic conversation be enjoyed, as in Caracas.

I went one afternoon to a *tertulia* in the house of a modest family in Caracas. The ladies, young and old, acted as hostesses and served the light refreshments as informally and as daintily as would be done in England. Some of them had been to school in England, France, or the United States, and the conversation was indifferently carried on in Spanish, French, or English. After the usual small talk about the weather, music at the opera, and the game of baseball, which at present is the fashionable outdoor amusement of the young men of Caracas, we drifted unconsciously into a comparison of national literatures, and I was impressed by the remarkable familiarity shown by these ladies with our poets. Poe seemed particularly to have touched the melancholy temperament of the Spanish, but other poets and novelists were mentioned with such freedom that I had to confess my ignorance about some of them. I went away feeling that in culture and profound appreciation of many of the deeper emotions of the human soul, an American could learn much from the simpler aristocracy of Venezuela. The dress, the manners, the elegance of diction and suavity of conduct, would be admired in any capital of Europe; here

in America it seems artificial, however charming. The family life, too, when it retains its old-fashioned savor, is intimate and quite patriarchal, though I fear that recently it has become tainted by *fin de siècle* cynicism; but in the country on the *café fincas* or large *haciendas* the simple life can be found in as pure a state as in Old or New England.

These conditions will not at first be noticed by the stranger, especially if he does not speak Spanish and is unacquainted with the mother country. His observation will be chiefly attracted by the neglected streets, the quiet life, the lack of the hustle and noise by which he usually gauges a country's activity. If he goes to Valencia or Cumaná or up on the mountain in Tachira to San Cristobal, his first impression is one of decay, though here, too, he will find the same manners and the same philosophy. He can not fail, however, to be struck by the courtesy and kindness of the people, high and low. The culture will pertain to the aristocracy, the other characteristics are general, even to the lowest peon.

As he descends the social scale the traveler notices more and more negro blood, and the student will declare that within recent years this miscegenation has increased; it is difficult to draw today the line between *mestizo*, that is, half-Spanish and half-Indian, and *negrito*, in whose veins there is African blood. Yet this impurity is evident only near the seaports, diminishing farther inland; it seems therefore to differentiate these people from those in Spain who still pre-

serve their race unalloyed since they mixed with the Moor. The Venezuelan peasant is the democrat, though he have a touch of the conquered in him; and if one word describes him it will be "docile." He has been led since he was conquered, and is still subject to the commands of the aristocracy and guided by the ambitions of those superior to him; he has never known another impulse. He is no fool; he is no more stolid than is the Spaniard; his wit may not be violent, but he can take a joke and give one with true Celtic enjoyment.

There is an old but good anecdote of a priest, recruited from the peasant class, who was driving over one of the mule-paths so pathetically called a royal road. He himself had been a muleteer in his youth, but his sacred office seemed to compel him to protest against the language commonly used in profane life to encourage the steps of the lagging beast. At last he said to the driver: "Not so much, my son," referring rather to the words than to the severity of the untiring whip in the hands of his guide. "Let me try my way," he said at last; and the driver gladly relinquished his whip and his function to his superior, of whose early expertness he had often heard. But the good father forgot his office as he warmed to his work, and the old zeal of whip and tongue came back to him. He plied both with a vigor born of thorough training, but his muleteer, who imagined that he had assumed sacerdotal authority when he changed his seat, in his turn murmured: "Not so much, *Padre mio*, not so

much." The father saw the joke and the reproof, but he answered with a sigh, "Ah, but it was good while it lasted!"

If the peon could be removed from the influence of the priesthood and given that true liberty for which he has always been so ready to fight, there would be much hope for him; if he were stirred by a tide of migration which would threaten him with extinction if he did not work, he would enjoy his country as he sings about it; for, contrary to superficial judgment, the Venezuelan is not lazy; he simply does not know how to work. He must be impelled by some exterior force. The Jamaica negro is lazy, the southern black is lazy; most residents of the tropics are indolent, but some will work of themselves if they are only shown how. The Venezolano is now as the Mexican was fifty years ago—inert.

This is applicable not only to the lower peasant class, but to the whole nation. There may be certain energies displayed at times and a mental or even physical activity latent, but there is no mainspring; the whole nation is unproductive, overcome by the sterility of the artistic temperament. Their civilization is worn out.

I am making no exhaustive comparison between their civilization and our own, or between that of Brazil and Argentina. Our own has defects; we might be better off if we lost the vices of commercialism and replaced them by Latin graces, yet ours breathes of the twentieth century, while their civili-

zation is on dead models. If no substitution is possible, ours is still better because we produce; the habits of production we insist on, trusting that the faults will be checked; they in Venezuela are sterile; with the richest land in the world, they import foodstuffs to feed their scanty wants.

Over both aristocracy and peasantry has fallen the Moorish-Spanish mantle of fatalism; since revolution and lawlessness have always been, they assert that therefore they must always be. The *non sequitur* of the argument does not strike them, for out of it grows a certain content which we can not understand. Ambition is not toward accomplishing more—they are satisfied that their country has produced a Bolivar; beyond this, imagination can not go except in their oratory. This shows all the bloom of Castilian poetry. Their country is great and glorious, their deeds immortal, their generals conquerors and heroes, their battles the clash of Titans; but most of it is mere oratory, however beautiful and classic.

Their civilization is finer than ours, less gross, less sordid; or, to use a word which brings out the feature of greatest importance, less material, therefore unproductive. It is a relic of the time when an aristocracy was real and deported itself as such, when culture belonged to the upper class and labor to the lower, when breeding and pedigree signified everything, and politics was the sport of those who held the office for the sake of the money it brought and the power it gave. But it is a civilization obsolescent if not dead. We

see the same in Spain today, where it has withered for fifty years; in Italy, where it is giving place to a sturdier culture whose sign is deeds, not words; in our own South, where oratory and southern chivalry were coexistent. But in this South, as well as in Mexico, it is receding before the activity of that civilization which materially develops a country for the man who works, although it may appear for a time to crush out the more delicate instincts of a race by the struggle to give nourishment to both body and brain.

Venezuela, strange to say, with her nearness to the eastern world and her early start in history, is the last to yield to the forces of industrialism. In fact, she has not yet yielded and may not yield for years to come. The ethnographic rule of Humboldt that "the accidents of climate and configuration are felt in all their force only among a race of men . . . who receive some exterior impulse," can, at the end as well as at the beginning of her life, be applied to Venezuela. Her people are of healthy stock; they are not irredeemably tuberculous, and, preserving the temperate habits of the Latins, have escaped the dangers from alcohol which threatens to destroy the West Andean natives. If the Venezuelans have one vice it is gambling; but that, while discouraging thrift, never impoverishes a race; they love the excitement of the hazard, whether at the card-table of an aristocratic club, the official lotteries supported by church and state, or the crap games of the village urchins;

and they still love the bull-fight. In Caracas the *quadrilla* is as ceremonious as at Madrid; but Mexico has not abandoned bull-fights, and we admit that her virtues have carried her safely beyond medievalism.

Thus the unavoidable comparison comes up again. Mexico, too, was Old Spain before Diaz, foreign capital and American enterprise changed her from a land of gilded romance into an enterprising, producing nation, recognizing the need of material industrialism. So it must be with Venezuela. Her agricultural riches can never be exhausted, but they must be drawn out by foreign brains, northern money and perhaps by Teutonic energy."

CHAPTER XV

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN

UNTIL very recently, the average newspaper article and the talk of the average person, so far as it went, took it for granted that South America was a region devoted to revolutions and fevers, where individuals called South Americans spent their time in a cheerful state of anarchy. There are novels and plays that still maintain this pleasing fiction, although, thanks to a recent enlightened secretary of state and an energetic director of the Bureau of American Republics, we know much more about South America than we did. In fact, we are beginning to distinguish to a certain extent between the stable republics of Argentina and Chile and the troublesome ones like Venezuela, but we still speak of the people as "South Americans," and it is fair to do so.

A race is rising in South America that is different from anything that the world has yet seen. It is a hybrid product composed for the most part of the blood of Spaniards and South American aborigines, such as Quichuas, Araucanians, and Abipones. There is also an infiltration of various European stocks. It is true that there are differences between the peoples of the several South American republics, just as there are differences between the aboriginal Indian tribes.

At the same time, there is so much of the blood that came from the Hispanic peninsula and this has been for so many generations the dominant factor, that it is possible to consider the people of South America more or less as a whole.

It must also be admitted at the beginning that there are many South Americans who can not be included in any general criticism. There are many families of pure Castilian ancestry who rightfully resent any implication that they are hybrids because they are South Americans, although the latter constitute a majority of the population in the several republics, notably Bolivia and Peru. We ought easily to be able to appreciate the fact that such a broad term as "South American" must include many diametrically opposite types, for foreigners are finding it increasingly difficult, nay, almost impossible, to define and fix the limit of our own characteristics as "Americans." A hundred years ago it was simple enough. People of English descent dominated things everywhere. Today we are a mixture of fifty races, and it is hard to say who has the right to be considered the typical Bostonian or New Yorker, he of English or Dutch extraction, or he of Jewish or Irish ancestry.

Things are not quite so bad in South America, for the most of the republics have seen but comparatively little immigration and the politics of South America are today directed by men of Spanish and Indian descent. Even in Argentina, where the census shows a more cosmopolitan population than in any other re-

public, the game of politics is controlled almost exclusively by Argentinos whose ancestors were Spaniards and Indians. In another generation this may be changed, for thanks to an increasing and extensive immigration, the Argentine type is becoming more and more Europeanized. In Bolivia and Peru, on the other hand, owing to scarcity of available and accessible agricultural lands and the consequent lack of immigration, the typical politician is nearer a simple cross between Spaniard and Indian. In Chile there is more Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic blood, while in Venezuela and Colombia there is very much less. In Brazil there is more African. In fact, one is almost inclined to leave the Brazilians out of the case, for their ancestors have been of a very different stock from that in the Spanish-speaking republics; Portuguese instead of Spanish, Amazonian Indian instead of mountain Indian, and far more African blood than in any other republic. Nevertheless, they, too, by the very fact of their being a mixture of Caucasian, American Indian, and African, living under similar geographical conditions, have many of the same traits that are found elsewhere on the continent.

Making due allowance for the exceptions, what are the characteristics of the South Americans of today?

As one travels through the various South American republics, becomes acquainted with their political and social conditions, reads their literature and talks with other American travelers, there are a number of adverse criticisms that frequently arise. I shall at-

tempt to enumerate some of them, to account for a few, and to compare others with criticisms that were made of the people of the United States fifty years ago. The period of time is not accidental. The South American republics secured their independence nearly fifty years later than we did. Moreover, they have been hampered in their advancement by natural difficulties and racial antipathies much more than we have. Although the conditions of life in the United States as depicted by foreign critics seventy-five years after the battle of Yorktown, were decidedly worse than the conditions of life in South America seventy-five years after the battle of Ayacucho, the resemblances between the faults that were found with us fifty years ago and those that are noticeable among the South Americans of today are too striking to be merely coincidences. It is surely not for us to say that there is anything inherently wrong with our southern neighbors if their shortcomings are such as we ourselves had not long ago, and possibly have today.

The first criticism that one hears and the first one is likely to make after getting beyond the pale of official good breeding in South America, is that the manners of the ordinary South American are very bad. Let the traveler who is inclined to take such a state of affairs too seriously, read what Dickens wrote about us and our ways in 1885 in *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. It was a faithful picture of a certain phase of American life, and, furthermore, it paints a condition of affairs worse than anything seen in

South America. It must be remembered, too, that these criticisms had to do only with certain phases of American life, and when Mr. Dickens, the traveler and incidental observer, applied the description to the whole of American life, there was naturally an indignant protest from the better bred class, just as there is today from the cultured, refined class of pure Castilians in South America, when adverse criticisms are made to apply to South Americans in general.

It is hard indeed to overlook the table manners of the average South American. But how many years is it since North Americans were all reading and conning *Don't! A Guide to Good Manners?* To one inclined to criticize the speed with which a company of South Americans will dispose of their food, let me recommend a reference to Dickens' description of an American boarding-house table, where "few words were spoken; and everybody seemed to eat his utmost in self-defense, as if a famine were expected to set in before breakfast-time tomorrow morning."

The conversation of a group of young South Americans is not such as appeals to our taste. There is usually too much running comment on the personal qualities and attractions of their women acquaintances. To them it seems doubtless most gallant. At all events, it is not sordid, as was that conversation which Dickens describes as "summed up in one word—dollars."

Another one of Dickens' criticisms of North Americans was the frequency of the expression *Yes, sir*, and he made a great deal of fun of us for our use of

it. Singularly enough, the Spanish "Yes, sir"—*Si señor*—is so extremely common throughout South America as to attract one's attention continually.

Another thing that Dickens notices was our tendency to postpone and put off from day to day things that did not have to be done. Yet there is no more common criticism of Spanish-Americans than that known as the *Mañana* habit. You will hear almost any one who pretends to know anything at all about Spanish-America say that the great difficulty is the ease with which the Spanish-American says "*Mañana.*" Personally, I do not agree with this criticism, for I have heard the expression very seldom in South America. It is true that it is hard to get things done as quickly as one would wish, but I believe the criticism has been much overworked. Dickens was undoubtedly honest in reporting that the habit of postponing one's work was characteristic of the "middle west" as he saw it, but such remarks would be greatly resented today and would be untrue. So we should use care in accepting criticisms made on South Americans by travelers of a few years ago as being true today.

In many South American cities one is annoyed by the continual handshaking. No matter how many times a day you meet a man, he expects you to solemnly shake hands with him just as did those western Americans who so annoyed "Martin Chuzzlewit."

We also dislike intensely the South American habit of staring at strangers and of making audible com-

ments on ladies who happen to be passing. Unfortunately, this is a Latin habit which will be hard to change. The South American has a racial right to look at such customs differently. But if some of his personal habits are unpleasant and even disgusting from our point of view, there is no question that we irritate him just as much as he does us. Our curt forms of address; our impatient disregard of the amenities of social intercourse; our unwillingness to pass the time of day at considerable length, and inquire, each time we see a friend, after his health and that of his family; our habit of elevating our feet and often sitting in a slouchy attitude when conversing with strangers are to him extremely distasteful and annoying. Our unwillingness to take the trouble to speak his language grammatically and our general point of view in regard to the "innate superiority" of our race, our language and our manufactures are all evidences, to his mind, of our barbarity. We care far too little for appearances. This seems to him boorish. We criticize him because he does not bathe as frequently as we do. He criticizes us because we do not show him proper respect by removing our hats when we meet him on the street.

Furthermore, he regards us as lacking in business integrity. We are too shrewd. Our standard of honor seems low to him. In fact, a practical obstacle with which one accustomed to American business methods has to contend in South America, is the extreme difficulty of securing accurate information as to a man's

credit. Inquiries into the financial standing of an individual, which are regarded as a matter of course with us, are resented by the sensitive Latin temperament as a personal reflection on his honesty. It seems to be true that the South American regards the payment of his debts as a matter more closely touching honor than we do. He is accustomed to receiving long credits; he always really intends to pay sometime and he generally manages to raise installments without much difficulty. Yet when pressed hard in the courts, he is likely to turn and resent as an intentional insult the judgment which has been secured against him. I have known personally of a case where a debtor informed his creditor that it would be necessary for him to come well armed if he accompanied the sheriff in an effort to satisfy the judgment of the court, for the first man, and as many more as possible, that crossed the door of his shop on such an errand would be shot. This we criticize as defiance of the law. To the South American, the law has committed an unpardonable fault in venturing to convict him of neglecting his honorable debts.

It is unfortunate that the South Americans themselves are generally quite unaware of their failings—a species of blindness that has frequently been laid at our own doors. It is due to a similar cause. South American writers who have traveled abroad and seen enough to enable them to point out the defects of their countrymen, rarely venture to do so. The South American loves praise, but can not endure criticism.

It makes him fairly froth at the mouth, as it did the Americans in the days of Charles Dickens' first visit. So the pleasant-faced gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Bevan, told young Martin Chuzzlewit:

If you have any knowledge of our literature, and can give me the name of any man, American born and bred; who has atomized our follies as a people, and not as this or that party; and has escaped the foulest and most brutal slander, the most inveterate hatred and intolerant pursuit; it will be a strange name in my ears, believe me. In some cases I could name to you, where a native writer has ventured on the most harmless and good-humored illustrations of our vices or defects, it has been found necessary to announce, that in a second edition the passage has been expunged, or altered, or explained away, or patched into praise.

There is a story in Santiago de Chile of a young American scholar who spent some time there studying localisms. When he returned to New York he ventured to publish honest but rather severe criticisms of society, as he saw it, in that most aristocratic of South American republics. As a result, the university from which he came received a bad name in Chile, and his visit is held in such unpleasant memory that his welcome, were he to return there, would be far from friendly. This seems narrow-minded and perverse, but is exactly the way we felt not long ago toward foreigners who spent a few months in the States and wrote, for the benefit of the European public, sincere but caustic criticisms. American sensitiveness became a byword in Europe. Possibly it is growing less with us. However that may be, South

American sensitiveness is no keener today than ours was fifty years since.

It is particularly important that we should realize that the political conditions of the larger republics are very much more stable than our newspaper and novel-reading public are aware of. Lynchings are unheard of. Serious riots, such as some of our largest cities have seen within the past generation, are no more common with them than with us. It is true that the Latin temperament finds it much more difficult to bow to the majesty of the law and to yield gracefully to governmental decrees than the more phlegmatic Teuton or Anglo-Saxon. But the revolutions and riots that Paris has witnessed during the past century have not kept us from a serious effort to increase our business with France. The occasional political riot that takes place, of no more significance than the riots caused by strikers with which we are all familiar at home, is no reason why we should be afraid to endeavor to capture the South American market.

Climatic conditions and difficulties of rapid transportation have had much to do with the backwardness of the South American republics. With the progress of science, the great increase in transportation facilities and the war that is being successfully waged against tropical diseases, a change is coming about which we must be ready to meet.

There is not the slightest question that there is a great opportunity awaiting the American manufacturer and exporter when he is willing to grasp it with intel-

ligent persistence and determination. South America is ready to take American goods in very large quantities as soon as we are ready to take time to give attention to her needs. Germany teaches her young business men Spanish and Portuguese and sends them out to learn conditions in the field. American universities long ago learned the advantage of adopting Germany's thoroughgoing methods of scientific research. American business men have hitherto failed to realize the importance of adopting Germany's thoroughgoing methods of developing foreign commerce.

There is one characteristic of the South American that is to be deplored, and that is their disregard of accuracy in giving information. This has been attained by their seven centuries of association with the Arabs and Moors. The student of the East realizes that Orientals, including Turks and celestials, have no sense of the importance of agreeing with fact. They have, furthermore, a great abhorrence of a vacuum. If they do not know the reply to a question, they answer at random, preferring anything to the admission of ignorance. If they do know, and have no interest in substituting something else for what they know, they give the facts. When they have no facts to give they give something else. They not only deceive the questioner, they actually deceive themselves. The same thing is true to a certain degree in South Americans. Sometimes I have thought they are too polite to say "I don't know."

In South America, as in the East, it is of primary

importance to reach the men who know and to pay no attention to any one else. No one really knows, who is not actually on the spot, in contact with facts. The prudent observer must avoid all evidence that is not first hand and derived from a trustworthy source.

I do not bring this as a charge against the South Americans. I state it as a condition which I have found to be nearly universally true. So far as the South Americans are concerned it is an inherited trait and one which they are endeavoring to overcome. They are not to be blamed for having it any more than we are to be blamed for having inherited traits from our Anglo-Saxon ancestors which are unpleasant to our Latin neighbors and for which they have to make allowance in dealing with us.

In offering these adverse criticisms of the South American as he appears to me today, I must beg not to be misunderstood. There are naturally many exceptions to the rule. I know personally many individuals who do not have any of the characteristics here attributed to South Americans in general. I have in mind one South American, a resident of a much-despised republic, whose ancestors fought in one of the great battles of the Wars of Independence, who has as much push and energy as a veritable New York captain of industry. He has promoted a number of successful industrial enterprises. He keeps up with the times; he meddles not in politics; he enjoys such sports as hunting with hounds and riding across country. The difference between him and the New

Yorker is that he speaks three or four languages where the New Yorker speaks only one or two, and he has sense enough to take many holidays in the year where the New Yorker takes but few. I know another, a cultured young Chilean lawyer who gives dinner parties where the food is as good, the manners as refined, the conversation as brilliant and the intellectual enjoyment as keen as any given anywhere. He, too, speaks four languages fluently and could put to shame the average New York lawyer of his own age in the variety of topics upon which he is able to converse, not only at his ease, but brilliantly and with flashes of wit. I know another, a distinguished historian, who has been described by a well-known American librarian, himself the member of half a dozen learned societies, as the "most scholarly and most productive" biographer in either North or South America.

The South Americans of today have so many of the faults of the Americans of yesterday that all our dealings with them should be marked by appreciative understanding and large-minded charity. Any feeling of superiority, like that "certain condescension" which we have noted (and hated) in foreigners, will only make our task the harder, and international good-will more difficult to achieve.^o

CHAPTER XVI

THE TWO AMERICAS AND THE RELATION OF SOUTH AMERICA TO EUROPE

ALLEXANDER HAMILTON bade his fellow citizens to think continentally; and Herodotus, in the short introduction prefixed to his history explains its theme as being an account of the relations of two great continents, that is, Europe and Asia, and of the reasons which produced such recurring strife between them. Let us attempt to think a little of the southern part of the western world as a whole, in its relations as a continent to the other continents, and especially to that other continent with which it is connected by a narrow neck of land, the Isthmus of Panama, and which has also drawn its name from the same navigator. The series of incidents by which the name of a Florentine was given, first, to a continent he probably did not discover, and then to another which he never saw, is a curious one.

Everybody knows Christopher Columbus sailed out into the west in search of new lands, expecting them to be a part of Asia, and that to the day of his death, after four voyages, he believed that he had found India. In the last of those voyages, when he was wearily beating up along the coast of Darien against the currents, he fancied himself near the

Straits of Malacca. It is natural, therefore, that neither he nor his first successors in exploration should have given a name to the new western land south of the Caribbean Sea, even when they had explored enough of it to know it was a continent. They named particular regions, but a general name was not needed because it was expected that the parts seen would turn out to be parts of Asia. Then in 1497 other voyagers who sailed forth to explore said that they found a new land, far off in the ocean to the southwest of the Canary Islands. Next year Columbus discovered on the south side the Caribbean Sea the "Terra Firma," which we call Venezuela. Americus Vespuccius of Florence, one of the ship's company of the 1497 voyage, wrote letters, giving an account of this (and of a later voyage, also) to the new land far to the southwest in which he described it as "a New World, a New Fourth Part of the Globe," Europe, Asia, and Africa, being the other three. The letters made a great sensation; and one of them was made the basis of a book called *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, published in 1507, at St. Dié in France, by a certain Waldseemüller (Hylacomylus), a professor there, who suggested that as Americus was the discoverer of this fourth part of the world, it should be called after him. The book was read far and wide; the name took. It was not intended to be applied to the lands west and south of the Caribbean Sea, which between 1497 and 1507 had been discovered by Columbus and others; still less to the lands discovered by

John Cabot in the far north, but to an entirely different piece of land much to the south and east of what Columbus had discovered. But when all the lands bordering on that part of the Atlantic had been sufficiently explored and the records of the voyages compared, it appeared that the lands lying in the part of the ocean to which the descriptions of Americus referred, were, in fact, continuous with the coasts of the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico. Thereupon all the land from the Rio de la Plata (discovered in 15) northward to the Isthmus of Panama, came to be included under the name America, just because there was no other general name for what had been, at least till 1513, when the Pacific was discovered by crossing the Isthmus at Darien, still believed to be part of Asia. When the Pacific had been reached, and still more when the ever-famous voyage of Magellan had shown that Asia lay thousands of miles further away beyond the Pacific, a general name was badly wanted. Much later, and again, just because there was no other competing name, the word America was extended to include everything north of the Gulf of Mexico up to the Arctic regions, and when the need was felt for distinguishing the two parts,⁸ the words North and South were added. Although applied earlier to the southern than to the northern continent, the name when used alone, denotes, to most Europeans, the latter.

How much simpler and better it would have been if each continent had received a name of its own.

South America might have been called after Columbus, as the first man who saw its *terra firma*; and North America might have received the name of Cabotia or Pinzonía or Ponceana, whichever navigator may be best entitled to be deemed its first and true discoverer. How much trouble would have been saved and how many mistakes avoided! Italian peasants would not have fancied that a cousin who had gone to Buenos Aires was the near neighbor of another who had gone to New York. Similarities would not have been imagined where differences exist. The South Americans would not have resented the assumption by the people of the United States of the name to which they claim an equal right, and the people of the United States would not have formed the habit of believing that the Spaniards of the southern continent are their affectionate relatives, because they share in the same family name.

These, however, are vain regrets. The names have long been fixed, though for a great while the Spaniards declined to talk of North America. The thing is one instance among many to show how much may flow from a name which is itself the result of a mere accident.

Now let us turn from names to things, and consider in what respect the two Americas, and their peoples, resemble and differ from one another, and how far they constitute, politically or otherwise, one whole world apart, and what are the relations of the southern, or Spanish and Portuguese, continent to the

other, now mainly Teutonic, continent, and to the countries of Europe. Some points in the history of each continent may come out more clearly, and become more significant when the two are compared. The history of each illustrates that of the other.

The physical structure of the two continents shows certain similarities. Each is traversed from north to south by a great mountain chain, sometimes breaking into parallel ridges and sometimes widening out into high tablelands. In each this chain is much nearer to the western than to the eastern coast, and in each there are volcanic outbursts at various points along the lines of elevation, these being more continuous and on a vaster scale in the southern continent. In each there is, moreover, an independent mountain mass on the eastern side, the Appalachian system in North America, the Brazilian highlands in South America. Each has, nearer to its western than to its eastern coast, a desert, and in that desert an inland river basin with lakes, Great Salt Lake in Utah corresponding roughly to Lakes Titicaca and Poopo in Bolivia. Each has two gigantic rivers, though the Mississippi and St. Lawrence are not equal in volume to the Amazon and the Paraná. The shores of both are washed by mighty ocean currents, but while the Gulf Stream warms the east coast of the northern, the Antarctic current chills the west coast of the southern continent. Their climates are so far similar that in both the east side of the continent receives more rain than the west. South America, however, having its greatest breadth in the

tropics, lies more largely within the torrid zone.

It is, however, with the settlement and subsequent history of the two continents that the real interest of this comparison begins. There are three remarkable points of similarity, but the points of difference are more numerous and instructive, since, in noting them, we see how potent each difference has been in directing the course of events and forming the character of the communities that have grown up.

The points of similarity are these. Both continents were inhabited by races entirely unlike those of Europe, who over the greater part of this area were in the savage state, but had in a few regions favored by nature made some progress towards civilization. Both were conquered by Europeans, and easily conquered, owing to the superiority of the invaders in arms and discipline. The peoples of both (with one important exception in the northern and three unimportant exceptions in the southern continent) ultimately revolted against the kingdoms whence the European part of their population had come and have ever since managed their own affairs as republics, seven republics in North, eleven in South America.

Having noted these general resemblances in the fortunes of the two, let us inquire what were the differences, natural and political, which made the lines of their subsequent development diverge.

At this point, however, it is proper to leave off talking of North and South America, for the southern part of the former continent belongs historically and

to some extent physically also, to the latter continent. As Alexander Dumas said in his book on Spain, "Africa begins at the Pyrenees,"—it is a saying which the Spaniards have never forgiven,—so we may say, "South America begins at the Rio Grande del Norte." Mexico and the states of Central America down to the Isthmus of Panama were parts of the Spanish colonial empire, conquered, settled, and administered in much the same way as the still larger part of that empire which lay farther south. We must, therefore, group the regions that once belonged to that empire under the general name of Spanish, or, when it is desired to include Brazil (a Portuguese country), "Latin" America, referring to the other parts of the northern continent as "Teutonic America."

The aboriginal tribes with which the English and French came in contact when they settled the Atlantic coasts of North America were scattered over a vast wooded region, lived mainly by the chase, and had formed no habits of regular industry. They were mostly fierce fighters, proud and dogged, unwilling to bear any control, and it was found impracticable to make slaves of them, or use them for any kind of regular labor. They were unfitted for it, and it would have cost the settlers more effort to compel the Indians to cut down trees and till the ground than to do the same things themselves. There was, accordingly, never any question of Indian slavery or serfdom, either on the Atlantic coasts or further inland, as the march of colonization advanced to the Mississippi,

and across the plains, and mountains to the Pacific, nor was there more than a very little intermarriage between the settlers and the natives.

Other reasons besides those connected with labor prevented any admixture in these regions of the white with the native races. There was little social intercourse, because the Indians, even the majority of the less warlike tribes of Virginia and the regions south of Virginia, were driven out, or retired, or died out. Their barbarous way of life drew a sharp line between them and the white intruders. The latter, moreover, brought their women with them, and had less temptation to seek wives among the Indians. Thus it was only among the French voyagers and trappers of the region round and beyond the Great Lakes that any mixed race grew up, half white, half Indian, and this race has now almost disappeared.

In Spanish America, the case was quite different. Both in Mexico, in parts of Central America, and in Peru there was a large sedentary population of aborigines, cultivating the soil and trained to industry during many generations. The conquerors immediately turned them into serfs, parceling them out among the persons who received land grants, and who therefore lived on the produce of this semi-servile labor. The result was that whereas in Teutonic America there grew up, slowly at first, a white agricultural population and ultimately a white manufacturing population also, in Spanish America agriculture was left almost entirely to the aborigines, the pure white popu-

lation increased hardly at all, and because few new settlers came. There appeared, however, and that within two or three generations, a considerable half-breed, or mestizo, population, which has come, after three centuries, to constitute most of the upper class and practically the whole of the middle class in all but two of the republics.

This was the beginning of the divergent careers of the two sets of European colonists, Spaniards and Englishmen, a divergence which ultimately gave to the social system of each set its own peculiar structure. Two other circumstances helped to deepen the divergence. One was the hot climate of most parts of Spanish America, which made field labor, or, indeed, any kind of manual labor, more distasteful to men of European stock than such labor was in the northern parts of Teutonic America. The same cause, it need hardly be said, had much to do with the importation of negroes on a vast scale into the southern parts of the British North American colonies. Such an expedient was less needed in Mexico and Peru, because they possessed (as already remarked) a native population that could be reduced to serfdom. In Spanish America, accordingly, all forms of labor connected with land were left by the European settlers to the natives, and no white peasantry grew up.

The other circumstance was that whereas in Teutonic America few or no mines were discovered or worked for a long time after the country had begun to be occupied, the Spaniards, having hit upon regions

rich, some of them in gold, many of them in silver, began greedily to exploit this natural wealth and forced the natives to toil for them in this (to the native particularly odious) kind of work. The destruction of human life was terrible, but in those days life was little regarded. The development of mining in Spanish America, immense for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, when comparatively little was going on elsewhere, had many effects for Spain and for the world. For Mexico and Peru the most direct effect was to enrich a good many persons without any industrial efforts put forth by themselves, and to lead the colonies as a whole to rely less upon agriculture than men did in the English colonies. A luxurious style of living established itself in the city of Mexico and in Lima, most unlike the frugal simplicity of Boston or Providence, or even of Philadelphia or New York in the eighteenth century.

It has often been observed that whereas the men who went to the northern English colonies were mostly small farmers or townsmen of the trading or artisan classes, the Spanish emigrants were mainly adventurers, making gold and silver their first object, the acquisition of plantations or mines to be worked by natives the second. This stamped on Spanish colonial society what can hardly be called an aristocratic character, for many of the emigrant-adventurers, like the Pizarros brothers, sprang from a humble social stratum, but yet a character which lacked both the sentiment of equality and a respect for industry.

Not less marked than these social differences were those which belonged to the sphere of government and administration. The English colonies were for the most part left to govern themselves. Each had not only its colonial assembly, but also local assemblies for towns and counties, along with the English arrangements for securing justice in civil and criminal matters by juries. Even the governors sent out from England, where such there were, interfered but little with the power of the colonists to regulate their own affairs. The Crown did occasionally interfere, but these instances and the resistance which arbitrary interference evoked bear witness to the general adherence to the principles of local self-government. In the Spanish colonies, on the other hand, all power remained in the Crown, and was exercised either directly from Spain by ordinances made or orders issued there, or else through the viceroy or captain-general of each colony. Much to the disgust of the *criollos*, or men born in the colonies, nearly all lucrative posts were reserved for persons of Spanish birth, who obtained them by court favor at home, or perhaps from a viceroy, who had brought them out in his suite. In the field of religion the contrast was even greater. Ecclesiastical power had in Spanish America been almost equal to civil. Although the Crown of Spain yielded less authority to the Pope in its transatlantic than it did in its European dominions, the church as a whole, archbishops and bishops, the orders and the holy office, were, in America, an immense and omni-

present force, with whom even viceroys had to reckon, for their influence was great in the court at home as well as over the minds and conduct of the colonists. Society was saturated with clericalism, and a taint of heterodoxy more dangerous than one of disloyalty.

Putting all these things together, it can be seen how little in common Teutonic America and Spanish America had when the colonial period ended for each of them by its severance from the mother country. They were, in fact, unlike in everything, except their position in the Western Hemisphere. Few, and far from friendly, had been their relations. There had been very little commercial intercourse, but a great deal of fighting. English and American buccaneers and pirates,—the two classes were practically the same,—had been wont to prey upon Spanish colonial commerce and pillage Spanish colonial cities. There probably remained more aversion between the two races in America than in Europe, for in their hostility to France during the eighteenth century the people of Britain had forgotten their hostility to Spain. To the New Englander or Virginian the colonial Spaniard had been a Papist and a persecutor, to the colonial Spaniard his neighbors on the north were pirates and heretics.

What change was made by the two wars against the two mother countries and the independence which followed? It might have seemed likely that now, when both parts of the New World were disconnected from the Old and both had republican forms of gov-

ernment, they might begin to draw together. Independence, though it came nearly forty years later to Spanish America, made more difference there than it had done to the English colonies. Those who had been kept in leading strings by Spain were now left to their own devices. Ill-built and ill-steered had been the vessel that carried their fortunes, but now they were left to drift and be tossed about with neither compass nor pilot. An era of civil wars and military revolutions set in, which lasted in Mexico nearly half a century, in Peru and Argentina still longer, and which seems to have become chronic in some of the more backward states. While Teutonic America was making enormous strides in population and prosperity, intestine strife checked all progress, educational and material, in the Spanish lands during two generations. It is to the last thirty years of the nineteenth century that the development of Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay belongs. After the Latin-American countries had become independent, there was no more commercial intercourse between them and the United States than there had been in colonial days and no more community of feeling. Much sympathy had been expressed by the latter with the colonies in their struggle against Spain, and the declaration made by John Quincy Adams in concert with the English George Canning against any interference by the Holy Alliance to support the cause of monarchy in the New World, was gratefully welcomed by the insurgents. But no friendship between English-speaking and

Spanish-speaking men grew up, and the war of the United States against Mexico in 1845, undertaken not so much because there were grievances against Mexico as from a desire to extend the area of slavery in the United States, and strengthen the slave power itself, exposed United States policy to suspicions that sank deep into the Spanish-American mind.

From this consideration of the past relations of the two American continents, let us return to the divergence of their fortunes. At the time of the discovery, the regions which passed under the rule of Spain were richer, more advanced in the arts of life, and far more populous than those whose settlement began with the expeditions of Champlain and Raleigh. We have no data for guessing at the population of the New World either in 1500 or in 1600, but evidently there were in Mexico and Central America far more inhabitants than in all the rest of the northern continent taken together. As regards South America, the empire of the Incas alone probably contained from nine to eleven millions of persons, a number many times greater than that of all the aborigines that at any one time dwelt between the Arctic Circle and the Gulf of Mexico. Even in 1800 the population of Mexico alone, without counting South America, was far larger than that of the United States and Canada. But from 1810, when the revolt of the Spanish colonies began, down till 1860, the growth of those colonies was slow, and in some there was even retrogression. Meanwhile the United States, and

latterly, Canada also, have been advancing with unexampled speed, so that now their population, about 108 millions, far exceeds that of all the Spanish republics in both continents. Their hotter countries were at one time more populous than the temperate; now the reverse holds. If we regard wealth, there is, of course, no comparison at all between Teutonic America, as it stands today, and the southern regions. Yet Spain was long supposed to have got by far the best parts of the New World, not so much because they had tropical productiveness, as in respect of the quantity of the precious metals they contained. The economic change from the sixteenth century to the twentieth which the progress of natural science and mechanical invention has brought about can hardly be better illustrated than by the changed importance which coal, iron, and copper have for our time when compared with that which gold and silver had in the days of Charles the Fifth.

When the North American colonies separated from England, they were a small nation of less than three millions on the Atlantic Coast. Thence they spread out over the vast spaces beyond the Alleghany Mountains, then across the Mississippi, finally over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, remaining one nation over a territory thirty times greater than that which had been actually settled at the time of the Revolution. The same process happened later and on a smaller scale in the dominion which remained to England in the north. The Canadians have spread out from

the banks of the St. Lawrence to Vancouver Island, also remaining one people. Thus Teutonic America now consists of two nations only. How different the fate of the Spanish colonies. Scattered over a space nine thousand miles long from San Francisco to Magellan's Straits, in days before railways existed and with even steam navigation in its infancy, they did not think of trying to maintain political connection across vast distances, and naturally fell apart into many independent states, roughly corresponding to the administrative divisions of colonial days. The number of these states has varied from time to time. At present there are six on the North American continent, and ten on the South American, without counting Portuguese Brazil and the three island republics of Cuba, San Domingo, and Hayti. Out of the lands that obeyed Charles the Fifth, nineteen states have grown, all (except Hayti) speaking Spanish, while the English-speaking peoples are but two.

They are alike in being (always excepting Canada) republican in the outward forms of their governments; that is to say, there is nowhere any official called a king. How far the governments of most Spanish-American states are from being republican in spirit and working everybody knows. To most men's minds, however, the form means a great deal. So, too, in Spanish America people who acquiesce in transitory dictatorships would be horrified at the idea of a hereditary sovereign, however constitutional.

Latin America consists of two separate state-sys-

tems. One includes Mexico and the five small Central American republics, two of which, Costa Rica and Salvador, are peaceful within and seldom embroiled abroad, while the other three have had more chequered careers. Members of this group have had a good deal to do with the United States, but seldom come into contact with the South American countries. The little state of Panama, which is virtually under the protection of the United States, may now be deemed a "buffer state," and no Central American republic has a navy. The larger group is composed of the eleven South American states. It presents some analogies to the Europe of the eighteenth century in which there were several great powers "playing the great game" against one another and against the smaller powers, nominally in the interest of that so-called balance of power which was to prevent any one from dominating the others, but often in reality for the sake of appropriating territory, whenever a dynastic pretext could be found. In this group there are three great powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile; and when these three stand together, they can keep all the rest quiet, especially if (as they may usually expect) the United States throws its influence into the scale of peace. At present these three are tolerably friendly, and there is no reason why they should not remain so. Between them there exists no longer such territorial controversies as disturb the repose of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.

Some publicists have suggested that troubles might

arise to affect South America from without if Japan or China were to insist on flooding her with their emigrants, and that if this were attempted against one of the weaker South American republics, either the greater South American powers, or the United States, or both, might be tempted to intervene. There are at present some Chinese and a very few Japanese on the Pacific coast, but no more were arriving in 1910. Any danger of this nature seems remote and improbable.

With these three things, however,—republican forms, social equality, and detachment from European politics,—the list of the things which the two Americas have in common ends. Far more numerous and more important are the points in which they stand contrasted.

Many causes have gone to the making of the contrast. Race and religion, climate and history have all had their share. The contrast appears both in ideas and in temperament. The Spanish American is more proud and more sensitive to any slight. He is not so punctilious in his politeness as is the Spaniard of Europe, and is, indeed, in some countries a little brusque or offhand in manners and speech. But he feels a slight keenly; and he knows how to respect the susceptibilities of his fellow-citizens. I will not say that he is more pleasure-loving than the North American, for the latter has developed of late years a passion for amusement which would have startled his Puritan ancestors. But he is less assiduous and less strenuous in work, being, in this respect, unlike

the immigrant who comes from Old Spain, especially the Gallego, who is the soul of thrift and the steadiest of toilers. He is not so fond of commercial business, nor so apt for it, nor so eager to "get on" and get rich. The process of money-making has not for him that fatal attraction which enslaves so many capable men in the United States and (to a less degree) in England and Germany, leaving them to forget the things that make life worth living, till it is too late in life to enjoy them. In South America things are taken easily and business concerns are largely in the hands of foreigners. The South American—and here I include the Mexican—is an excitable being and prone to express his feelings forcibly, having absorbed from the Indians none of their stolid taciturnity. He is generally good-natured and hospitable, and responds quickly to anything said or done which shows appreciation of his country and its ways. Private friendship or family relationship have a great effect on his conduct, and often an undue effect, for one is everywhere told that the difficulty of securing justice in these republics lies not so much in the corruptibility of judges, as in their tendency to be influenced by personal partiality. Everything goes by what is called favor.

These contrasts of temperament between North and South Americans give rise to different tastes and a different view of life, so that, broadly speaking, the latter are, accordingly, not "sympathetic" either to the former or to Englishmen. To say that they are

antipathetic to the people of the United States would be going too far, for there is nothing to make unfriendliness, nor, indeed, is there any unfriendliness. But both North Americans and Englishmen are built on lines of thought and feeling so different from those which belong to South Americans that the races do not draw naturally together, and find it hard to appreciate duly one another's good qualities.

The use of nicknames has a certain significance. In South America a North American or Englishman is popularly called a "Gringo," as in North America a person speaking Italian or Spanish or Portuguese is vulgarly called a "Dago."

Thus we return to the question when we started, and ask again whether there is any sort of unity or community in the two Americas. Are the peoples of these continents a group by themselves, nearer to one another than they are to other peoples, possessing a common character, common ties of interest and feeling? Or does the common "American name" mean nothing more than mere local juxtaposition beyond the Atlantic? Is it, in fact, anything more than a historical accident?

The answer would seem to be that Teutonic Americans and Spanish Americans have nothing in common except two names, the name American and the name Republican. In essentials they differ as widely as either of them does from any other group of peoples, and far more widely than citizens of the United States differ from Englishmen, or than Chileans and

Argentines differ from Spaniards and Frenchmen.

Nevertheless, juxtaposition has induced contact, though a contact which we shall find to have been rather political than intellectual or social. It is worth while to examine the attitude of each to the other.

When the Spanish colonies revolted against the Crown of Spain, the sympathy of the United States went out to them profusely, and continued with them throughout the war and long after. Their victories were acclaimed as victories won for freedom and for America, and children were called after the name of Simon Bolivar, whose exploits in Venezuela had early fixed upon him the attention of the world, and have given him a fame in excess of his merits.

The struggling colonists were cheered by this as by the similar sympathy that came to them from England. They were, as already observed, grateful for the support given them by the diplomacy of Canning and John Quincy Adams, and when they framed their constitutions, took that of the United States for their model. Their regard for the United States, and confidence in its purposes, never quite recovered the blow given by the Mexican War of 1846 and the annexation of California; but this change of sentiment did not affect the patronage and good-will of the United States, whose people, and for a time the English Whigs also, manifested their touching faith that countries called republics must needs be graced by republican virtues and were entitled to favor whenever

they came into collision with monarchies. This tendency of mind, natural in the days when the monarchies of continental Europe were more or less despotic, has begun to die down of late years, as educated men have come to look more at things than at names, and as United States statesmen found themselves from time to time annoyed by the perversity or shiftiness of military dictators ruling in some Spanish-American countries. The great nation has, however, generally borne such provocation with patience, abusing its power less than the rulers of the little ones abuse their weakness. For many years after the achievement by the Spanish colonies of their independence, a political tie between them and the United States was found in the declared intention of the latter to resist any attempt by European Powers either to overthrow republican government in any American state or to attempt annexation of its territory. So long as any such action was feared from Europe, the protection thus promised was welcome, and the United States felt a corresponding interest in their clients. But circumstances alter cases. Today, when apprehensions of the old kind have vanished, and when some of the South American states feel themselves already powerful, one is told that they have begun to regard the situation with different eyes. "Since there are no longer rain-clouds coming up from the east, why should a friend, however well-intentioned, hold an umbrella over us? We are quite able to do that for ourselves if necessary." 'in a very recent book

by one of the most acute and thoughtful of North American travelers, there occurs a passage which presents this view:

“Many a Chileno and Argentino resents the idea of our Monroe Doctrine applying in any sense to his country and declares that we had better keep it at home. He regards it as only another sign of our overweening national conceit; and on mature consideration it does seem as though the justification for the doctrine both in its original and in its present form had passed. Europe is no longer ruled by despots who desire to crush the liberties of their subjects. As is frequently remarked, England has a more democratic government than the United States. In all the leading countries of Europe the people have practically as much to say about the government as they have in America. There is not the slightest danger that any European tyrant will attempt to enslave the weak republics of this hemisphere. Furthermore, such republics as Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, Chile and Peru, no more need our Monroe Doctrine to keep them from being robbed of their territory by European nations, than does Italy or Spain. If it be true that some of the others, like the notoriously lawless group in Central America, need to be looked after by their neighbors, let us amend our outgrown Monroe Doctrine, as has already been suggested by one of our writers on International Law, so as to include in the police force of the Western Hemisphere those who have been able to practice self-control.”

As regards the United States there is a balance between attraction and suspicion. The South Americans desire to be on good terms with her, and their wisest statesmen feel the value of her diplomatic action in trying to preserve peace between those of their republics whose smouldering enmities often threaten to burst into flame. More than once in recent years this value has been tested. On the other hand, as has already been observed, they are jealous of their own dignity, and quick to resent anything bordering on a threat, even when addressed not to themselves, but to some other republic. It is as the disinterested, the absolutely disinterested and unselfish, advocate of peace and good-will, that the United States will have most influence in the Western Hemisphere, and that influence, gently and tactfully used, may be of incalculable service to mankind.

The matters in which these republics are wont to imitate or draw lessons from the United States are education, especially scientific and technical education, and engineering. Of the influence upon their constitutions of the North American Federal Constitution I have already spoken. Their publicists continue to follow with attention the decisions given upon the application of its principles to new conditions as they arise, and attach value to the opinions of North American international jurists. Otherwise, there is little intellectual affinity, and still less temperamental sympathy. The South Americans do not feel that the name "American" involves any closer community or

co-operation with the great Teutonic republic of the north than it does with any other people or peoples. They are just as much a race or group of peoples standing by themselves as if the lands they occupy had been that entirely detached continent out in the southern seas, supposed to lie far away from all other continents, to which the name of Amerigo Vespucci was first applied.

With whom, then, have the Spanish Americans real affinities of mental and moral constitution? With the peoples of southern Europe. If any one likes to call them the "Latin" peoples, there is no harm in the term so long as it does not seem to ignore the fact that there exist the greatest differences between Italians and Frenchmen and Spaniards, for whoever has studied the history and the literature of those peoples knows that it is only the existence of still more marked differences between them and the Teutonic peoples that makes them seem to resemble one another.

It might be supposed that the relations of the Spanish Americans would be most close with their motherland, Old Spain. But these relations are not intimate, and have never been so since the War of Independence. Even in those old colonial days, when the ports were closed to all but Spanish vessels, in order to stop all trade, export and import, except with the mother country, the days when Englishmen and Dutchmen were detested as heretics, and Frenchmen as dangerous rivals, there was an undercurrent

of anti-Spanish feeling. It was chiefly due to the practice of reserving all well-paid posts for natives of Spain. The *criollos*, as they were called, men born in the colonies, were naturally envious of the strangers, and resented their own exclusion and disparagement. They suffered in many ways, economic as well as sentimental, both from laws issued in Spain and from authority exercised on the spot by men from Europe who did not share their sentiments and flouted their local opinion. Accordingly, when the separation came, there was less sense of the breaking of a family tie than there had been among the North American colonists in the earlier stages of their revolution. This antagonism to Spanish government was, of course, accentuated and envenomed by the long duration of the struggle for independence which in Peru lasted for fifteen years, and in the course of which many severities were exercised by the governors and generals who fought for the Crown. As for the Indians, the oppressions they suffered and the memory of the hideous cruelties with which the rebellion of Tupac Amaru was suppressed, made the name of Spain hateful to them. After the flag of Castile had ceased to fly anywhere on the continent, and the last Spanish officials had departed, there were few occasions for communication of any kind. Spain herself was in a depressed and distracted state for many years after 1825. There is today little trade between her and the New World, nor is there, except to Mexico and Argentina, any large Spanish immigration.

Where it does exist, it is valued, for the men who come from northern Spain (as most settlers do) are of excellent quality. Family ties between colonists and the motherland have become few or loose. Seldom in Spanish America does one hear any one speak of the place his ancestors came from, as one constantly hears North Americans talk of the English village where are the graves of their forefathers. Seldom do South Americans or Mexicans seem to visit Spain, either to see her ancient cities and her superb pictures or to study her present economic problems. They do not feel as if she had anything to teach them, and her modern literature has apparently little message for them. In all these respects the contrast between the position of Spain towards South America and that of Britain towards North America strikes an Englishman with surprise. If that revival in Spanish literature and art, of which there have recently been signs, should continue, and if Spanish commerce should develop, the position may change, for the tie of language will always have its importance.

I may add in this connection that among the educated classes of Spanish America one finds few signs of interest in the history of Old Spain which the North Americans take in the history of England. The former have no link of free institutions brought from the old soil to flourish in a new one. Is it because the Conquistadores were Spaniards, or because many of their deeds shock modern consciences, or be-

cause it is felt that to honor them would be an offense to Indian sentiment, faint as that sentiment is in Mexico and still fainter in Peru, that there are no statues or other honorific memorials of these brilliant and terrible figures? Even the statue of Queen Isabella the Catholic, which stood in Havana, was shipped back to Spain, after the independence of Cuba had been declared in 1899. There is no monument to Cortez in Mexico, nor to Pizarro in Lima, nor (so far as I know) any statue of any of his companions except one of Pedro de Valdivia, set up on the hill of Santa Lucia in Santiago. where he built his fort and founded the capital of Chile. On the other hand, Cuahtemoc or Cuatemozin, the last of the Aztec kings, has a statue in the park between the city of Mexico and the castle palace of Chapultepec, and the name of Caupolican, the Araucanian chieftain whom the Spaniards shot to death with arrows, like St. Sebastian, is about to be commemorated by a charitable foundation at Temuco in Chile.

Between Italy and Latin America there never were any direct relations except, of course, ecclesiastical relations with Rome, until in recent years Italian immigrants began to pour into Argentina and southern Brazil. As many of these go backwards and forwards, and as swift lines of ocean steamers have been established between Buenos Aires and the ports of Italy, there is now a good deal of intercourse, but this has not so far led to any closer connection either political or intellectual. The Italian immigrants be-

long almost entirely to the scantily educated classes, and have brought with them little that is Italian except their language and their habits of industry.

But are the South Americans really to be classed among south or west European peoples? May they not be—if one can speak of them as a whole, ignoring the differences between Chileans, Argentines, and Brazilians—a new thing in the world, a racial group with a character all its own?

This is their own view of themselves. It would need more knowledge than I possess either to deny or to affirm it. They are all, except Argentines and Uruguayans, largely Indian or (in Brazil) African in blood. Even the Uruguayans and Argentines strike one as differing at least as much from Spaniards as North Americans differ from Englishmen. They give the impression of being still nations in the making, whose type or types, both the common type of all Spanish America and the special types of each nation, will grow more sharp and definite as the years roll on and as life becomes for them more rich and more intense.

When this happens and the world of A.D. 2000 recognizes a definite South American type (or types), may there be thence expected any distinctively new contribution to the world's stock of thought, of literature, of art? Each nation is in the long run judged and valued by the rest of the world more for such contributions than for anything else. There is a sense in which Shakespeare is greater glory to England than

the empire of India. Homer and Vergil, Plato and Tacitus are a gift made by the ancient world to all the ages, more precious, because more enduring, than any achievements in war, or government, or commerce.

That there is vitality and virility in the Spanish-American peoples appears from the number of strong, bold, forceful men who have figured in their history, including one, the Mexican Juarez, of pure, and many of mixed, Indian blood. Few, indeed, have shown that higher kind of greatness which lies in the union of large constructive ideas with decisive energy in action, the Napoleonic or Bismarckian gift. In most of the republics, political conditions have been so unstable as to give little scope for constructive statesmanship. Still there is no want of vigor, and it is something to have produced in San Martin one truly heroic figure in whom brilliant military and political talents were united to a lofty and disinterested character.

If Latin America has not yet produced any thinker or poet or artist even of the second rank, this will not surprise any one who knows what was her condition before the War of Independence and what it has been from that time till now. Could any one of those ancient sages whom Dante heard in Limbo, speaking with voices sweet and soft, have been brought back to earth and permitted to survey Europe as it was in the welter of the tenth century, such a one might have thought that art and letters, as well as freedom and order, had forever vanished from the earth.^p

AUTHORSHIP OF CHAPTERS

- a*, Compiled by the editor.
- b*, Compiled by the editor.
- c*, Robert E. Speare's *South American Problems*, and Thomas C. Dawson's *The South American Republics*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- d*, Thomas C. Dawson's *South American Republics*.
- e*, Albert Edwards' *Panama*, published by the Macmillan Co., New York.
- f*, Albert Edwards' *Panama*.
- g*, Dawson's *South American Republics*.
- h*, Robert E. Speare and Charles M. Pepper.
- i*, Charles M. Pepper's *From Panama to Patagonia*, A. C. McClurg, Chicago.
- j*, Charles M. Pepper, *From Panama to Patagonia*.
- k*, Adapted from Pepper's *From Panama to Patagonia*.
- l*, George Clemenceau's *South America Today*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- m*, Clemenceau's *South America Today*.
- n*, From Albert Hale's *The South American*, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.
- o*, Hiram Bingham, in *Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1910.
- p*, Honorable James Bryce.

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