

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

DECEMBER 27, 1865.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY,

DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO,

ARGENTINE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

PROVIDENCE:

KNOWLES, ANTHONY & CO., PRINTERS.

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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS
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MR. PRESIDENT :

Some years ago, Col. Mitre and I received, through my friend Mr. Edward A. Hopkins, the diplomas of honorary members of this society. It was my duty on coming to the United States, to occupy the seat you have offered me here, if for no other reason, at least to express my gratitude. My honorable friend, your Vice-President Arnold, has been kind enough to procure me the opportunity of thus doing, by arranging this special meeting. Many years have now accumulated over my head ; and I have travelled some thousands of leagues during a life of almost constant movement, and of too much attrition with men of diverse societies, to yield to the temptation of believing that I have any title to distinction.

Our colleague, Don Bartolomé Mitre, is now a General and President of the Argentine Republic. His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil considers him a worthy ally, and perhaps at this moment the same field tent covers their heads. I recall this fact to justify your election, although this General Mitre is also a historian, a poet and a publicist, the only titles of value in this assembly.

I will not carry the affectation of modesty so far as to insinuate that I have no claim to a similar consideration ; for some of your book shelves contain traces, if not profound, certainly numerous enough, that I also have gleaned in the field of letters, and turned over at least, those materials of which history is formed. Within a few days I have added thereto the “Life of Lincoln” in Spanish, as a proof that I would add my grain of sand to the examination and generalization of those facts which most nearly interest you, because they interest us also. But I do not admit that our election to your society was caused by a previous knowledge of our historical labors. The ocean is a bad conductor of South American thought, which cannot presume to ask, like a cacique of the king of *Bambarra* in Africa, what the queen of England, who probably was ignorant of his existence, said of him. But a few years since, even a grand historian of England, notwithstanding the community of language, asked with disdain, “who reads an American book?”

But even as there can be no effect without a cause, it also happens that extremes meet, and contrasts establish affinities ; and it may be that between the Rio de la Plata and Narraganset Bay ; between Buenos Ayres and Providence ; between the northern and southern extremes of America, those currents and mysterious attractions exist, which science is wont to meet with between different substances. Perhaps it may thus be explained how a South American is found seated among the members of an historical society of one of those states which compose the Pleiades of New-England ;—Danaides whose vase is not bottomless, like that of the ancient ones, judging from the wonderful wealth which their industry and economy have accumulated.

I had hardly visited your picturesque city when I met Mr. George E. Church, whom I knew as a civil engineer in Buenos Ayres, where he was commissioned by the government to inspect our frontiers ; and wrote an important report indicating a simple plan of defense against the savages, based upon the study of our geography. Here, I find him a Colonel of Rhode Island soldiers, who went forth at the call of liberty in danger ; as he has seen us in our country with sword buckled on for the

same cause. Perhaps Mr. Church remembers with sympathy, that people to whom he lent his intelligence, as also, the names of those who knew how to appreciate his talent.

A little later I learnt that Mr. William Wheelwright, the contractor of railways which are carrying to the Pampas the civilizing snort of the locomotive, where formerly the neighing of horses alone was heard, is a native of Newburyport. Then the connection between your republic and ours became more sensible, because the progressive genius of this son of New-England, has made the two countries of Chili and the Argentine Republic, his own field.

The company was formed in Rhode-Island which first attempted to introduce American industry into sequestered Paraguay, where it met the result which was to be feared from the jealousy and suspicion of those gloomy governors, who, from Dr. Francia to the last Lopez, inclusive, have withdrawn it from contact with the exterior world. A government which expelled dentists because the Paraguayans did not require their services, (so says the official decree,) with much more reason would destroy a growing industry in order to monopolize every fountain of wealth. But even this unfortunate result established relations between Rhode-Island and the Rio de la Plata. I witnessed from the smiling shores of the Tigre, in the Paraná, the launch of the first little steamer which navigated its waters, the property of this company; and those who remember that they sent out her engine, belong to Rhode-Island.

It fell to me as a member of the Senate of Buenos Ayres, to grant the charter for the Northern Railway; and he who planned, organized and carried it out, was then the representative of his Rhode-Island friends, to communicate life and movement to those countries. Now, Mr. Hopkins, whom I have already mentioned, is engaged under another grant of the Argentine government, in an enterprize to canalize the Capitan stream, a small outlet of the gigantic Paraná, thus to accelerate and render more secure our fluvial navigation, and accumulate on wharves and in warehouses, situated at the inner terminus of his railway—the only spot on the coast of Buenos Ayres pro-

tected from all gales—the wealth which descends from the torrid zone.

Not long ago, when on board of the steamer which conveyed me hence to New-York, I met with the young mariner Captain T. H. King, who told me that he would soon sail for the Rio de la Plata, in a steamer owned in Rhode-Island, to build there a marine railway for the repair of vessels of all sorts, like those he had constructed already in Shangai, in China, with Rhode-Island capital. I therefore believe it is possible that the country where the engineers, the steamers, the machines, and the capital of Rhode-Island, are the American pioneers, may have made known, for some time back, the names of those Argentine public men who have given the most sympathetic reception to this initiative, and among these names—I am proud to say it—figures my own.

Other bonds between these two countries I met with here, which I ought not to pass by. The attentive hospitality of our Vice-President, the Hon. Samuel Greene Arnold, permitted me to look over numerous Argentine documents in his library; among them almost forgotten writings of my own. And in our familiar conversation I discovered that he has traveled South America from one extremity to the other, visited the Argentine Republic, broken bread with the famous tyrant Rosas, and frequented the society of dear friends of mine. In a book of his notes, I saw mention made of the principal incidents of his travels, together with the names and description of places, and the aspect of society, the government, and contemporaneous events.

But what was my surprise on visiting the library of Mr. John Carter Brown, the distinguished lover of books, to meet in Providence with the most complete, abundant, and instructive collection of Spanish authors, above all, those who have written upon South America, from the first days of the conquest to our epoch. After admiring so rich a treasure I could comprehend the praise of the talented English historian, Helps, author of an excellent history of the Spanish conquest, where he declares, that he procured from this library in Rhode-Island, documents upon Spanish America, which the library of the

British museum could not furnish him. But I do not comprehend, unless we appeal to those mysterious sympathies of which I spoke at the commencement, how it is that this treasure, which South America would envy, is found in Providence. If, for example, it was desired to write about the present war between the Argentine and Uruguayan Republic and Brazil as allies, against Paraguay, it would be necessary to come to Rhode-Island to find in the rich collection of books upon the Jesuit missionaries, and the wars between Spaniards and Portuguese on questions of frontiers, the geographical description of each portion of those countries, as well as the causes of subsequent tyrannies, and of the present war, flowing from the theocratic governments of the Guarani Missions.

In reference to my own country, but little good—save the hospitable reception he met with—was the traveller Arnold able to tell you. He visited it in 1848, during the darkest period of its history, when two decades of an ignorant, cruel and barbarous despotism had already run their course, of which we should have had no example in history, if Philip II. during the term of only one reign had not annihilated a nation for three long centuries—perhaps forever.

Mr. Arnold will remember that upon the front of all the public edifices of Buenos Ayres, and upon a red badge which every citizen bore upon his bosom, he could read *mueran los salvajes, asquerosos inmundos Unitarios* (death to the filthy, obscene Unitarians,) emblem imposed by the tyrant upon a subjugated people, through twenty years of assassinations. A brutal soldiery strutted about, in the midst of a civilized society, in the red chiripá* of the savage indian, as their only uniform. In the place of roads, canals of mud led to the city, in which carts of primitive form drawn by half-tamed oxen, often remained buried forever. The streets, scarcely lit with tallow candles, were pools of stagnant water, with holes and breaks in the narrow sidewalks.

I will not extend this picture of a fossil world, but will ex-

*Waist cloth descending below the knee, used instead of pantaloons.

punge it by substituting the most important lineaments of the present scene, together with some mention of the principal South American cities Mr. Arnold visited, to show him, that whilst passing years whitened our heads as individuals, there, as here, society extended its branches, and like the fruit trees, loaded them with golden harvests. Let us begin on the coast of the Pacific. Not far from the port of Copiapó in Chili, where the English steamers touched in 1848, the port and city of Caldera was founded in 1852. From its wharf the railway starts which, scaling the Cordilleras of the Andes, brings down from the Chañarsilla and Ises Puntas, the silver ore which increases the commerce of the world. One day's sail to the south will bring him to the port of Coquimbo, and another railway, to Serena. On the announcement of the blockade of these two ports undertaken by the Spaniards, copper doubled in price in England.

Another day's sail again to the south brings us to Valparaiso, in its commerce a European city, but American in its activity, its city railways, and its railroad to Santiago. This is a work of American genius, located by the distinguished engineer Allan Campbell, of New-York, who found pleasure in playing with the difficulties invincible to others, of scaling the western chain of mountains parallel to the central Andes. Santiago, which Mr. Arnold knew with all the features of a colonial city, is to-day called the city of palaces, and among them even the Moorish Alhambra has been copied in miniature.

Crossing the solemn Andes, a doleful scene would surprise Mr. Arnold, on his second voyage. The city of Mendoza, of which he retains such agreeable reminiscences, ceased to exist a few years ago. It died a violent death, swept away to its foundation by the most horrible earthquake. I recommend him to preserve the remembrance of the city, as he saw it, because this image is the only monument which remains of its appearance.

Leaving the province of San Juan, my birth-place, distant to the North forty leagues, from Mendoza, with its city somewhat embellished by its "School Sarmiento," the largest and most monumental of all South America; with its silver mines,

worked by English capital, the very existence of which was unknown in 1848; let us follow the road which, by Sauce's stage coaches, conducts us, in eight days, to the shores of the Parana River. Over the *Desaguadero* there is now a fine bridge, which then was wanting. The Pampa thence to the Rio Cuarto has not sensibly changed its aspect, and I leave its description to Mr. Arnold; but from thence onward, he would meet with the Civil Engineer, Mr. Henry Blyth, his compatriot, who, from the track of the Railway to Cordoba, which he is laying at the rate of one mile per week, will show him the tent of Mr. Wheelwright, from whence, with map and compass, he is tracing the prolongation of another one hundred leagues of railroad, even to the torrid Tucuman; that he may shadow himself beneath the matted branches of its orange forests, its jasmines, its cedars and Paradise trees. But now we have arrived at Rosario, which, in the diary of Mr. Arnold, only seventeen years ago, figures as an obscure little village of ranchos and huts. But Rosario is now a port and most beautiful city, the starting point of the Argentine Central Railroad, and the emporium of the products of all the Provinces, and it possesses journals in Spanish and English, as well as all other signs of commercial activity.

In place of buying a coach to cross the Pampa to Buenos Ayres, a steamboat awaits him at Hopkins' Wharf, and, descending the tranquil waters of the Parana, between leagues long of peach trees, he would arrive at San Fernando, almost brushing by the Islands he left as wild habitations of the tiger; but, to-day, covered with delightful gardens, forming, with their numerous canals, a rural Holland, productive of vegetables, delicious fruits and trees for fuel.

The railroad, designed by his friend Hopkins, would carry him from San Fernando to Belgrano, a city born between night and morning, thence through Palermo de San Benito, the former residence of the barbarous tyrant Rosas, now converted into a school of arts and sciences, to Buenos Ayres, a city of at least 150,000 inhabitants. This city increases at the rate of one thousand houses per annum, and its gas illuminated streets contain the sumptuous Hotels de la Paz, the Club of Progress,

of the Plata, the Capitol, the Exchange, the Colon Theatre, the cupolas of ten new Temples, five of them Protestant, and an active people, half European, promenading streets well paved in front of stores and shops of all kinds, which expose for sale the industrial riches of the whole world.

Should he wish to visit the country districts, the railroads to Ensenada, the Southern, the Western or the Northern, are ready for his service at all hours. San José de Flores, whose beautiful temple Mr. Arnold remembers, is already a suburb of Buenos Ayres, and shortly, it will be a ward and parish of the great city. The school house of this town is more sumptuous even than the church. Seeing that, in this direction, we are on the road to Lujan, I will tell him that what was then a simple guard-post is now the noble city of Mercedes, surrounded by beautiful plantations, whose Club-House, opened when the Western Railway arrived at its doors, cost 100,000 dollars. Farther on in the pampa, where the savages yet made their incursions in 1848, the district of Chivilcoy is found, with its forty square leagues of wheat fields, divided by streets into lots of two leagues each; and in the centre of this agricultural region, peopled by emigrants and cultivated by American ploughs and other implements, the beautiful village of Chivilcoy rears its ostentatious edifices, fronting avenues like those of New York; with its park like that of New Haven; with its schools like those of Providence; and, as the Rev. Erastus Otis Haven said, in his lecture upon "the adornment of the school houses, as a desideratum among the indirect benefits of Education, so as to form a national taste by the production of the fine arts," Chivilcoy is the only town of the world, which, to the glorification of its common schools, has charged a sculptor to chisel a group for it. And that group represents the sublime scene from the Evangelists, where the Saviour says to his Apostles, while blessing some children: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me."

This, my Colleagues, is the Buenos Ayres which we, of the liberal Constitutional UNION Party of the Argentine Republic, have made in ten years, after having, in twenty years of hard battling, torn out the indigenous plant of the tyranny of Rosas.

A part of this, the genius, the capital, and the progressive spirit of Rhode Island have done, and all of you ought to congratulate yourselves for it.

If you remark that I note in each country village, or in the Capital, or in some of the Provinces, the existence of fine school houses, I beg my friend, Mr. Arnold, to remember, that it is hardly three weeks since I asked him to accompany me to the Northern Cemetery of Providence, and there, after wandering about its shady streets and roads, ascending its elevations, or going down to the little valleys, which so vary this smiling mansion of the dead, on perceiving two funeral columns, "it is the second," I said, and dismounting from the carriage, we religiously drew near to the tomb of Horace Mann. I had recognized its obelisk, because I knew it was copied from that of the Vatican, the form of which I remembered. This is yet another bond between Rhode Island and my country. Those schools which beautify the pampa of Buenos Ayres, are the effect of the inspiration of that guest of the Northern Cemetery, who reposes by the side of your parents and children. "The school building is the school itself, almost the whole school." This was the axiom which I learnt from the experience of Horace Mann, during our colloquies at West Point, in 1847; for it is proper you should know that at the very time Mr. Arnold was visiting my country, by his capital and his friends, at some future day, to communicate to it a spirit of progress, I was visiting the land of his birth, to carry away from it a little of that sacred fire which gives life to the flame of liberty—the universal education of the people. I have, therefore, one friend more in Rhode Island,—Horace Mann; one bond besides the Historical Society,—the Common Schools.

I will not stop to mention our interior lines of steamers, save to say that at the request of my friend Hopkins, the Argentine Congress passed a law, last August, subsidizing with \$20,000 per annum the United States and Brazil line, so soon as it will extend beyond Rio de Janeiro to the port of Buenos Ayres. This bill passed in the lower house unanimously, and is justly considered as an invitation which your Congress will hardly neglect. Nor will I mention our newspapers and reviews and

other evidences of our advancement, since the dark day of tyranny—which yet stains our national reputation abroad—passed away from us forever. Your mariners can recount you all this and much more. But I can tell you that if some day our ports should be blockaded, as Spain is now doing with those of Chili, you may be prepared to close half your cloth manufactories, because the increase of wool in the Argentine Republic during only the last ten years, is but little less than the production of Australia. In four years more it will exceed that and the product of the Cape of Good Hope united ; and at the rate of our increase, in ten more, as when the United States ceased to provide cotton, the world will tremble with cold during winter, if our sheep pelts should be wanting. This is to show to political Rip Van Winkles, that they have a great and personal interest in permitting the full development of America ; because every government ought to feel to-day what the freedman Terence felt some two thousand years ago. “*Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum puto.*”—Nothing human is indifferent to the modern world.

This causes me to look up from the facts I have partially related, to the principle which ought to govern them. I said before, that there are no effects without causes. Why is Rhode-Island present in the Rio de la Plata? Why am I here? I ask for all your favor, for we ought to leave the field of geography and material progress, to ascend the higher regions of philosophy and history, which it is the object of our society to study : and although we have been detained by considering whence the influence of North America upon South America has emanated, I would desire, on meeting with you for the first time—and counting upon your indulgence—to show how I explain these influences, how they must work harmoniously in a greater degree, and also what is the best channel in which they should be directed.

II.

Except Rome, which, from its foundation upon the seven hills, was conscious of its future destiny, the peoples predestined to influence the institutions and the march of the human race have not understood themselves in their first manifestations. For them, as for the individual, the *nosce seipsum* of the ancient sage has been slow and difficult. A foreign eye sometimes succeeds in comprehending them better, and in this view Anacharsis is not wholly an invention of Barthelemy. The æsthetic observer, without the aid of any artificial lens, exercises his vision over the whole, independent of the movements of the object observed. Thus, the first page of Greek civilization in its native purity comes before his eye ; and thus I am excused for venturing a few remarks.

So long a time transpires before enterprising nations feel themselves to be artificers of the work which others see them executing from the beginning, because those permanent associations which connect us with the past, instinctively direct our looks behind us instead of along the route marked out for us to follow. The chosen people of God every moment fall into that idolatry which it was their mission to dissipate in the future : the Greeks assemble to avenge upon Asiatic Troy the injuries done to their ancestors ; and centuries later Alexander with all the Hellenic civilization, countermarches to the east to ruin it, and to die himself, instead of following on westward to Latium where his vanguard was. He would then have surprised the sons of the Etruscan she-wolf and have softened their natures with the arts of Phidias and the science of Aristotle. If it had not been for this ambitious display of the son of Philip, our women might now be modeled like the Venus de Medici ; the civilized world might have spoken the idiom of Demosthenes, and the barbarians might not, for twelve centuries, have disturbed and retarded the march of civilization, paralyzed the fine arts, and delayed the triumph of the democratic republic.

France in 1790, yielding to this fatal propensity of the hu-

man mind, looked back into history to seek in Greece and Rome the liberty and the republic which Lafayette could teach her, and which he carried to her with the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. Truth, which, always rich in actual facts, and the only caryatide which sustains the entablature, or carries authority with it, appears to be ignorant of its own force or the light with which it illuminates others. Will the United States escape this historic fatality?

Let us look at the Monroe doctrine with which the atmosphere seems to be impregnated, rather like a dark cloud than a bright light. Some hope to see rays emitted from its bosom; others hope to see it resolved into a fixed and resplendent aurora borealis, into that northern light which Webster pointed out, destined to guide the magi of the south to the cradle of American liberty. It is rather a cause of perturbation to the world.

Yet the Monroe doctrine has its example in history, and its prepared place in the law of nations. Christianity has its Monroe doctrine, accepted by Islam, and the western powers. France has for centuries exercised the moral protectorate of the holy sepulchre, and intervenes with the consent of Europe in favor of the Christians in the East, on condition of not putting a profane hand upon the sacred deposit, for her own benefit.

A nation like the United States, which, in less than a century, has established the Republic as a stable form of government, upon a virgin soil, freed geographically and politically from the roll of the traditional governments of the rest of the world, has a right to guard the environs of the Holy Cradle of the new world, and to protect these Christians of the West, who, also freed from every fetter, are attempting the organization of Republics. South America assails no European or dynastic right upon her soil, but there is European aggression intent upon recolonizing it with a principle of government which its first settlers did not import. South America is too low down in the human current for any one to be able to pretend that she has disturbed the waters of the dynastic governments.

The Monroe doctrine was, in its origin, the protest of England and the United States against all European intervention which might have, for its object, as the Holy Alliance proposed, the proscription of the principles of free government in South America, even as they had been proscribed in Europe since 1815.

All Europe assented to it by recognizing the Independence of these Republics, and maintains it in the diplomatic protestations which she makes before or after hostile acts, that she has no design against the independence of any of their States. The Monroe doctrine, not only secured the Independence of the Colonies, which were independent, *per se*, but also the right to emancipate themselves, which the United States had proclaimed in its Declaration. It did not compromise English Sovereignty, because it came into the world in agreement with England, and by the initiation of Mr. Canning.

The United States, on presenting itself on the scene of the modern world, put on trial a constitution without precedent in the history of governments; and the very men who launched this ship, constructed upon no tried models, feared every moment to see it dash itself to pieces upon unknown sands. The ship traversed the seas impelled by propitious airs; a prophecy of the age of steam applied to human development. The event was due precisely to the plan of the structure, which was founded on the simple notion of justice. But the subsequent introduction of an old material, heretofore repudiated, which is the conquest and absorption of peoples and territories by arms, was to turn back to two thousand years ago, and utterly to renounce the initiation of the new reconstruction of human society. It was rechanging Americans into Europeans and Asiatics, as General Bonaparte descended from the height of the Egyptian Pyramid, where the future contemplated him, to disguise himself in the polluted and discolored purple, of Marcus Antonius, which the simoom of revolution brought rolling at his feet.

What an eclipse of history by clouds of dust.

The federal system is the most admirable combination which chance ever suggested to the genius of man.

Greece would have saved herself, if she had seen it, for she held it before her eyes, and in her hands, in her Achæan and Amphictyonic Leagues. Rome would have saved herself, if she had conceded to the allied Italiots, the equality which they claimed. France would have saved herself, if in republicanizing the works of Louis XI, Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV, she had not effaced from the map, Guienne, Brittany, Languedoc, Artois, Picardy, &c., and cheated and ground them to powder, as departments, making their territories like a checker-board, in order to deliver them to the Faubourg Saint Antoine, or to some lucky general in the game of political chess. But it is dangerous to convert the Federal System into an invading republic, swallowing ever, without being able to digest. The experiment has never succeeded. Even England saved herself only when she prepared her colonies to emancipate themselves, thus giving to the world the legacy of her free institutions, unfettered by her own domination, and creating a New England, without imposing upon it her fatal destiny. The republic, crowned with laurels and displaying trophies, is the death of the inebriated inhaler of oxygen, which fills the mind with glorious illusions, whilst the body dies in ineffable convulsions of joy. The Monroe doctrine must be purified of all the stains with which the hand of man has dimmed its lustre.

The Republic of Chili put at the head of its constitution this declaration: "Chili is the country comprised between the Andes and the Pacific; between Cape Horn and the desert of Atacama." The United States ought to say that it is the country which lies between the two oceans and two treaties, and the day after it has said so, the Monroe doctrine will be accepted by the international law of Europe, thus removing the greatest source of present peril.

III.

The government of society is like the *morale* of the individual ; of divine origin, and every ray of light which is emitted by this fire will illuminate all around it and spread over the whole earth and into the depths of futurity, as far as the intensity and brilliancy will permit. Under despotism it will be the moon whose faint light displays the dark objects on its surface, be they caused by slavery or ignorance. But it will be the resplendent sun whenever the strong currents of true liberty shall vivify its flame.

Who would have feared that the United States was only to throw shadows round about it? slavery toward the south, conquest on the west, threats to the north, and a challenge to the world, even like France, which at one time sounded the Marseillaise on the balconies of all Europe, in order to give to it a new and still greater Louis XIV.

Fortunately, the American Republic, retracing its steps, has undertaken to purify its wheat from the tares which bad principles had introduced from the old world.

It is not for us to point out the path which the modern republic must take if she will not be misled by the fatuous fires which have ruined so many others. But we may be permitted to examine the language, the history and the progress of South America, in its connection with America of the north, and perhaps we can point out half effaced traces, and some that are imperishable, which reveal the transit of the pioneer exploring the country and opening the way for future movements.

The United States, from afar, hurried on the independence of South America. The Anglo-American colonies on declaring themselves independent, established certain truths as self-evident, which had not been so to all the peoples of the world, until the dawn of this happy experiment in the Constitution of the United States, but which were proclaimed in the name of humanity as Lincoln expounded it in his immortal interpretation

of the Declaration, in Independence Hall. Yet there are others, which apply to peoples placed in certain circumstances with relation to others. "When in the course of human events," it says, "it is necessary for a people to break the bonds which have bound them to another." &c.

This was the proclamation of the right of colonies to emancipate themselves wheresoever the laws of nature hold sway, and the nature of God is comprehended by the human conscience. South America felt itself evoked by this herald, and in San Martin and in Bolivar, found Washingtons and Lafayette's who secured by the sanction of victory, the independence which its Congress declared; and like the North Americans she took her seat in the family of nations.

Her recognition was not obtained without conquering determined opposition. When the new republics were ushered into existence, Napoleon, the prodigal son of the republic, had just been finally conquered. The Bourbons had been restored as the safe representatives of the divine right to govern, and the holy alliance made itself a political inquisition to burn all constitutions which invoked the will of the people.

England and the United States, forgetting past dissensions, agreed this time that they alone were left in the world to preserve English liberties exposed to isolation and proscription; the one dependent upon the popular origin of its kings, sustaining the principles of the declaration of independence, the other asking and obtaining justice for the emancipated colonies, declaring them their equals. The Monroe doctrine, which was born then, had a more elevated origin than a proper name, and like the metrical decimal systems, it is founded in the laws of nature and in the nature of God, and is in so far not French, but human.

What the cabinet of Washington did then was to send a diplomatic mission to the Rio de la Plata in the frigate Congress, in order to examine into the condition and probabilities of the war of the colonies against Spain. It wished to survey the land in order to proceed to the recognition according to the capacity of the colonies to triumph definitely.

The result of this exploring commission was published in

1819, in Baltimore, in two volumes, and was reprinted in London in 1820, and dedicated by the secretary of the commission, Mr. H. M. Breckinridge, to Sir James Macintosh, as to one "who comprehended fully the future destinies of both Americas, North and South," so that thus the two cabinets marched in accord, and thus the two continents were united in sympathy and opinion.

This work, by its official character and origin, and by the documents which accompanied it, diffused much interest in favor of South America, both in England and in the United States. Accompanying the work of the secretary was the report of Mr. Rodney, chief of the expedition, dedicated to Mr. John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State. Mr. Graham, another of the commissioners, gave a separate report—a complement to that of Mr. Rodney—which went to confirm both. The work terminates with a letter dedicated to James Monroe, by an American citizen, pleading warmly for the independence of the Spanish colonies, and thus preparing public opinion for the recognition. The conclusion to which this writer arrived, after having sustained the right and the justice of the colonies to emancipate themselves, was this: "*It is very evident that we must be, and should be proud to be, the first to acknowledge the independence of South America, or one part of it, whenever it be achieved, now or ten years hence.*" Mr. Breckenridge's book, the official reports and the letter to Monroe, breathe the same interest for the cause of South America; the same approbation of its motives; the same confidence in the results. Prominent in them is a profound sympathy for the people who inhabit the margins of the Rio de la Plata, explaining their situation, and submitting animated notices upon their resources, commerce and present civilization, and hopes of development, with such a faithful relation of the antecedents which produced them, that later Argentine historians* have recurred to these fountains as to a daguerreotype of their juvenile condition, in order to verify the historic facts comprised in that epoch.

The public of the United States knew at that time, through

* Historia Argentina, by Domínguez.

this voyage of their commissioners, the geographical and chronological contemporaneous history of those countries, watered by the Rio de la Plata, and was then interested in their independence, which was soon recognized by the United States. Since that act and the book of Breckinridge, no work has been published in the United States, of such intelligent and appreciative sympathy with the republics of South America, whose independence was secured by Generals and battles which yield, in important results, to nothing which history relates.

In 1826, in the discussion upon the Panama mission in Congress, Webster was heard to utter these feeling words from his lofty seat in that body, against the indifference which already began to insinuate itself into all minds.

“Sir, what is meant by this? Is it intended that the people of the United States ought to be totally indifferent to the fortunes of these new neighbors? Is no change in the light in which we are to view them to be wrought by their having thrown off foreign dominion, established independence, and instituted on our very borders republican governments essentially after our own example? Sir, I do not wish to overrate, I do not overrate the progress of these new states in the great work of establishing a well secured popular liberty. I know that to be a great attainment, and I know they are but pupils in the school. But, thank God, they are in the school. They are called to meet difficulties such as neither we nor our fathers encountered. For these we ought to make large allowances. What have we ever known like the colonial vassalage of these States? When did we or our ancestors feel, like them, the weight of a political despotism that presses man to the earth, or that religious intolerance which would shut up heaven to all of a different creed? Sir, we sprung from another stock. We belong to another race. We have known nothing, we have felt nothing of the political despotism of Spain, nor of the heat of her fires of intolerance. No rational man expects that the South can run the same rapid career as the North, or that an insurgent province of Spain is in the same condition as the English colonies when they first asserted their independence. There is, doubtless, much more to be done in the first than in the last case. But on that account the honor of the attempt is not less, and if all difficulties shall be in time surmounted, it will be greater. The work may be more arduous; it is not less noble, because there may be more of ignorance to enlighten, more of bigotry to sub-

due, more of prejudice to eradicate. If it be a weakness to feel a strong interest in the success of these great revolutions, I confess myself guilty of that weakness. If it be weak to feel that I am an American, to think that recent events have not only opened new modes of intercourse, but have created also new grounds of regard and sympathy between ourselves and our neighbors; if it be weak to feel that the South, in her present state, is somewhat more emphatically a part of America than when she lay obscure, oppressed and unknown, under the grinding bondage of a foreign power; if it be weak to rejoice when, even in any corner of the earth human beings are able to rise from beneath oppression, to erect themselves, and to enjoy the proper happiness of their intelligent nature,—if this be weak, it is a weakness from which I claim no exemption.”

The history of the United States shows that Webster was the last statesman who felt that weakness.

Who has read an American book? asked the English historian. Washington Irving replies by writing the *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, and England and the world read a book of North American birth but of South American and Spanish descent.

Ferdinand and Isabella, monarchs of Aragon and Castile, Columbus and the discovery of Hispaniola are the first page of the history of North America, and every time the North American mind has to recur to its origin, it must return to the Spain of Charles V. and Philip II.; and there meet the historian of another language, of another nation, and of other colonies. Washington Irving, in following Columbus, pointed the way to Spanish and South American chroniclers and historians, and to the dusty documents hoarded in the archives of Simancas, for the guidance of the whole school of North American Spanish historians who followed in his footsteps. Prescott first penetrated the Spanish conquests in Mexico and Peru, in the reigns of the Catholic monarchs and of Philip II., in order better to explain the historic meaning of the events he narrates; as Le Verrier remade and rectified all existing astronomical calculations, before commencing the search for his planet.

Prescott is a South American historian, and in the history of the colonies shows himself fully at home. Prescott is also

a Spanish historian by his profound erudition, and by that moral indifference which Webster saw in the future, and impugned in reference to the consequences of the errors and perversities of Spanish colonization in South America. It is the rule of the plastic art of historical composition, that the historian shall show himself to be impartial, and shall transport himself in imagination again to live over the life, the pre-occupations, and the ideas of the times which he describes. But there is great danger of touching the extreme, of losing, by too great an effort for impartiality, all consciousness of good and evil, making himself an accomplice of the vices of his heroes. I have wished to discover in what country and in what age the works of Prescott upon Spanish colonization in South America were written, and sometimes it has seemed to me that it must have been in Spain, in the midst of the eighteenth century.

Quite another thing is Motley in his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, another arm of Spanish domination which went to the pools of Holland to stifle in its cradle—the native country of the degenerate Philip II.—the germs of modern liberty. Motley is North American in body and soul. An impartial historian, he exercises the historical power of doing justice, calling to his tribunal the illustrious criminals who have no other judge on earth but the historian, who, after having listened to the witnesses and exhumed the corpses to verify the wounds, or the presence of poison, delivers them up, with his sentence, to the execration of future ages. Motley, without failing in his impartiality, fought by the side of William the silent, interpreted his taciturnity, and executed his orders. The history of the wars of Flanders, is the beginning of North American history, for there those principles of government were tried which have been developed in the United States. It is also the beginning of the history of South America, because the Spanish captains who from there passed to South America, learned to harden themselves to crime and to the violation of divine laws, in the name of a God served by pillage and extermination. Motley's history has not yet been translated into Castilian, because the malefactors in it have kindred and friends who feel themselves

to be *ensanbenitadas** in that *auto da fe* celebrated in expiation for the ills done to human liberty and conscience. Would that the courageous and generous Motley may go to South America, to scourge with his historical lash, all that remains of the work of Philip II. which Prescott left in unmolested and tranquil possession of the soil.

North American historic art having referred to the original sources of the history of South America, it was necessary to penetrate farther into Spanish literature and fine arts, and Ticknor, of Boston, wrote a complete *History of Spanish Literature*, by the aid of five thousand volumes written in that language, as the English studied the Sanscrit, forgotten by India, in the Vedas and Paranas. Strange to say, the printing offices of the Spanish language are in Paris, Brussels and New York. The best speaker of the Castilian language,—Andres Bello, a Venetian resident in Chili,—has never been in Spain, yet he has been made a member of the Royal Academy of Madrid, which like the Tribunal of Rites, in China, has the function, in the name of an inert and congealed civilization, of rejecting all those words, which, with the objects and the ideas of modern progress, ask to be nationalized. In New-England, Mr. Ticknor, the most learned living *litterateur* of the Spanish language,—which is treated by foreigners as a classic but dead language,—cannot speak it any more than he can speak Greek or Latin.

Spain is a subject worthy of study in its artistic manifestations, which, notwithstanding some collateral influences, are its own, without the inheritance of ancient art which was not revived for it as for the rest of Europe, with the fall of Constantinople. To this day, in the Peninsula, and in Spanish America, Sophocles and Homer are not used for Greek readings in their universities. Velasquez, Murillo, Surbarán, are not,—like Michael Angelo and Raphael,—disciples of Phidias and Praxiteles. The model of Velasquez is the shepherd of old Castilla, elevated to the rank of Patriarch; the virgin of

* The Sanbenito is a gown marked with a yellow cross behind and before, and worn by penitent convicts of the Inquisition.

Murillo is the Andalusian of undulating outlines as the curvilinear beauty of the human ideal requires. Calderon de la Barca invented a dramatic art from top to toe, and carried it to greater perfection than that mysterious people did their statuary, who have left their monuments in Nicaragua. His merit does not pass beyond these, however; although it is so great that humanity owes him an *accessit*. It is a prodigy to create an art without the aid of human tradition, but such attempts cannot serve for models, and after being admired, they pass into museums of curiosities.

In Spanish literature, Mr. Ticknor must have stumbled upon that great aerolite which fell from heaven upon the soil of *la Mancha*, (Don Quixote) and have halted to contemplate it with the same admiration and stupor as all the literati of the world have done. Human genius is independent of the influences of race and atmosphere. Cervantes found the foreign legend of Amadis de Gaul and the profession of knight errantry rooted in Spain, and undertook by strokes of genius to expel the worthless idlers who were perverting the common sense of the nation. But that evil weed of the middle ages being extirpated, nothing grew in its place, the inquisition taking good care to root out every new plant germinated by the winds which agitated modern Europe.

Cervantes knew little of the history of Spain, and what Ticknor points out as his carelessness proves it in numerous and essential particulars. For this reason he belongs to no nation. He is the exalted glorification of the human race and all nations claim him. By his stepping upon the earth he created a language; for the angels of heaven perfect all that they touch. This idiom has been called the idiom of Cervantes, and it has been embalmed in honor of him.

From the time that their country ceased to be English, in order to be AMERICA in the history and progress of the human race, another current of their own history was to carry the North Americans to South America. Beyond the frontiers and the present, are the monuments of a civilization which has had its dark age but not its *renaissance*. America has her petrified cities, the abode of a great people who flourished in

them, pyramids which rival those of Egypt, temples and palaces which now fertilize the trunks of trees centuries old. The architecture of Satir reveals a civilization anterior to that of Egypt, yet a branch of the same human family, as is manifested by the pyramidal construction, and by the mummies which are found in Thebes and in Peru, with the same *canopo* or idol, with the same name and located in the same place. When these monuments, which begin with the mound and end with enormous masses of hewn stone, sculptured with a thousand hieroglyphics, have been studied, classified and compared, the history of *both Americas* will begin upon the same page, will be illustrated with the same lights from the time of their origin to that of Columbus. Here it divides into two great chapters, Cabot and Pizarro, who terminate in Washington and San Martin, and then their peculiar institutions and successive developments evolve the common history of the great American family.

For a long time there has been no hope of critical history applied to the raw materials collected by plastic historians and observing travellers.

"A new History of the Conquest of Mexico, in which Las Casas' denunciations of the popular historians of that war are fully vindicated, by Robert Anderson Wilson," has just opened a new epoch in the history of the most ancient world. This historian shows, by a critical examination of the ruins of thirty cities in Central America, that, before the appearance of the Greeks and Romans, India, Phœnicia, Egypt, Yucatan in Central America, Mexico in the north, and Peru in the south, were leagued together by navigation, religion and the arts; for the Peruvian ruins do not yield in importance to those of the other countries named, nor in evident indications of the common origin of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and the ancient American civilizations. "The labor necessary," says Wilson in his work, "for the production of this chapter, has not only carried conviction to the mind of the author, but has brought together a mass of testimony beyond the reach of doubt—testimony sufficient to prove a traditional title in a court of justice—an Egyptian title to Central American civilization, and a Phœnician title

to the religion that at that early period was dominant on this continent, under the influence of the eastern colonies, while it fully explains the necessity the Romanists were under of inventing the fabulous mission of the apostle Thomas, to account for the religious emblems which they recognized as belonging to their own superstitions.”

That study of ancient arts and monuments has begun in North America; but following the traces of the people who left them in their migrations to the south, Stephens found them approximating to Greek art in the statues of Nicaragua, and Norman relates the same as discovered in the pyramids, palaces and temples of Yucatan, in the solemn ruins of Chiheu, Rabah, Tuzi, and Uxmal, even as the Spanish explorers had found them in great numbers in Palenque, in Cusco, and through all Peru, where there are signal marks of not merely one but various monumental civilizations, anterior to the epoch of the Incas, who found them in ruins. While these labors of antiquarians are in process of completion, let us follow the steps of other explorers who are examining the territory of the future scene of human movements.

The exploration of the valley of the Amazon, made under the direction of the Navy Department, by Lewis Herndon and Lardner Gibbon, published by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, has exposed to the contemplation of the world, that most wonderful estuary of rivers, which, like the veins of the body, give life to the whole South American continent, for they are connected with the bottom lands of the Orinoco, and may without a great effort be made to communicate with the Rio de la Plata. Perhaps the Amazon is destined to be the means of restoring the countries of the torrid zone to the negro race, to whom God has adjudicated it, raising up punie nations along the course of that powerful river, by the freedom of Brazil and the United States.

La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay, being a narrative of the exploration of the tributaries of the river La Plata and adjacent countries, under the orders of the United States' Government, by Thomas Paige, U. S. N. Commandant of the Expedition, is a work of exploration of the

course of the South American rivers, next in size to the Amazon, and the continuation in 1865 of the mission of 1817 in the frigate Congress, by the Water Witch.

The work upon Chili published by Lieutenant Gillis, late superintendent of the Washington Observatory, completes,—although with little judgment in this part,—the North American study of the principal points of South America—the work of Mr. Squier upon the ancient monuments of Yucatan and Peru, being still anxiously hoped for. To these may be added, as a scientific complement of those explorations of South America, the astronomical observations of the southern skies, executed by the same Lieutenant Gillis whilst in Chili. These have not yet been published, but will be so under the patronage of the government of the United States. The scientific expedition undertaken by the learned Agassiz, and paid for by the citizens of Massachusetts, for the purpose of studying the geology, botany and mineralogy of Brazil, and the basin of the La Plata, is destined to illustrate with new data, the views which are entertained upon those countries; and if the idea of the astronomer Gould, of Cambridge is carried out, of erecting an observatory in Cordova, to complete what is wanting to a full catalogue of the stars, the United States will have put the final touch to the work of taking an inventory of that creation, of which our globe forms but a small and humble fraction.

A more influential part in the material progress of South America is due to those who have extended to it the benefits of rapid locomotion, which has come to remedy so many evils of bad Spanish colonization. Panama, the central point of Spain in her occupation and conquest of the coasts of the Pacific, was at one time the official and inevitable route of commerce, until contraband trade opened a new route to Peru, by the Rio de la Plata and Chili. The revolution for Independence set free Cape Horn, and after its terrors were dissipated, Panama fell to ruin like Palmyra of the desert, when the commerce of the east abandoned the route of the Persian Gulf.

The North American Stephens undertook to connect the two oceans by the Panama railroad,—a dangerous work which only the American *go-a-head-ism* could attempt, calculating before-

hand,—like the general who wishes to take possession of a strategic position,—the number of victims he would have to sacrifice to the infernal gods. Panama has again become the centre of the commerce of both seas, and will be so of the east and of the west, with the archipelagoes of the intermediary oceanic world.

Thus the history of the Spanish colonies and the literature of their language, the monuments and vestiges of other ages which cover their soil ; the exploration of the great rivers and their tributaries ; the geology and nature of the lands which bathe them ; the modes of terrestrial communication to accelerate motion, and the constellations of the southern sky, have for half a century excited the activity of the North Americans, as if those items were an integral part of their own history, geography and sky, and that world a natural prolongation of their own, a vast field for their activity and industry ; the nature of things, rather than a recognized homogeneity, drawing them on to extend their action over those countries, and to advance human knowledge in those badly explored regions. Are there not in this movement instinctive laws which direct and impel them, as water finds its level ?

The actual political world presents many of the features of those initial epochs in which spontaneous societies attempted systems and principles of government according as historical or geographical accidents determined their internal development, combatting among themselves for external dominion, till weak organizations succumbing;—as Darwin supposes in the natural selection of the species,—a current was set in motion, which drew into it other tendencies imposing itself for centuries upon humanity. The Egyptians with their sacerdotal castes ; the Persians with their Dariuses ; the Spartans with their laws of Lycurgus ; the Athenians with their fine arts ; the Phœnicians and Carthaginians with their commerce and colonies ; the Romans with their legions and their legislation, each one for his own, comes struggling and contending to establish himself as model and universal ruler, until the Greeks eliminate the Persians and Egyptians ; the Romans the Greeks and Carthaginians ; and Rome at last makes herself the current which

remoulds the East and the West, absorbing them into her bosom.

In America, the United States have succeeded by means of an internal social war, in taking a definitive position in the political world, passing from an attempt at institutions to an initial civilization, armed at all points, and in order to serve as a rule and model, necessarily prepared for one of those general conclusions on which humanity is anxious to repose after each one of its fractions has maintained some separate truth.

More space and meditation would be necessary than that which an introductory address admits, in order to determine,—the necessities of the epoch being given,—what are the elements which constitute North American civilization. We will indicate those which enter into our purpose—Intellectual aptitude generalized for the whole nation and for all generations, by a plan of universal education, so as to appropriate to itself every new progress of human knowledge in all countries. Preparation of the soil determined by railroads, canals, rivers and seas to a rapid movement and circulation; and all this conjunction of natural and acquired advantages, impelled and governed by a system of political instruction which has the sanction of time, of fruitful and happy experience, and what is more, the moral sanction of the human conscience in all countries, supposing that the right to civil and religious liberty of action and of thought is indeed an unquestionable truth in the conscience of men.

As may be seen by this address, none of the actual powers of the earth holds in its bosom or in its essence, all,—although each one may have some,—of these elements of present greatness and of future development.

On the other side, only England and the United States have fundamental institutions to offer as models to the future world. England because she propagates hers with her commerce, industry and language, to her numerous colonies, not exporting from her own territory her monarchy or her nobility; the United States because they have fertilized and diffused them upon their own territory which is exempted from the traditions of the past. Aristocratic England may be proud of having

produced the democratic United States, as the patrician Cornelia was proud of her Gracchi of the Tribune ; but she fails to see whether the modern Gracchi understand better how to direct the popular forces, and saving themselves for themselves, save the world from one of those retrogressions which follow the wanderings of the initiators.

IV.

Imagine an immense mass detaching itself from the solar matter, and, obeying Bode's empiric law, taking position between Mars and Jupiter, in the hiatus where a hundred asteroids are now wandering ! What confusion in the orbits of the solar world ! What oscillations while the equilibrium between the old and the new attracting forces could be established ! And in the interior of the planets, what unseen commotions ; what violent rising of the seas, causing change of their beds, deluges and disorder ! How long before the new, regular, harmonious and equally balanced order could triumph over the universal confusion !

Such was the situation of South America at the beginning of our century. The United States detached themselves, at the end of the last century, from the mass of the European world, and took a position among the ancient nations, filling the hiatus which separated the ancient East from the modern West. The commotion was soon felt throughout the whole earth. South America felt herself irresistibly impelled to become independent also ; she struggled and battled from one extremity to the other, severed her chains and won her independence. " And it was the evening and the morning of the first day." On the following day she had still another task ; to organize a Government. Should they be Republics ? The French Republic of 1793 had fallen. Should they be Mon-

archies? One of the kings of Spain was an imbecile, the other was a captive. Should they be Empires? The great emperor, as a warning, was bound to the rock of St. Helena. The European storm having cleared away in 1819, and the chaos illuminated, the political world appeared in three groups—Continental Europe under the Holy Alliance; liberal and monarchical England; the Republican and Federal United States. Which of these types shall South America take as a model?

The Liberator Bolivar extends his powerful influence over Venezuela, New Granada, Ecuador, and the newly made Bolivia. Bolivar, according to one of his eulogists, *imagined* an adaptation of the English government, “free without tumultuous excesses, *strong* without the risks of despotism, with popular legislation, a President for life, and between these extremes, -a hereditary Senate.

But between imagining and realizing there is an immensity! What have not the French imagined, from Sièyès, Robespierre, Fourier and Napoleon the Great! Through all South America, from the depths of society, in spite of the judicious algebraic combinations of statesmen, there arose from the very struggle, from the partial emancipation of the people, the dissolution of the former Vice-Royalties, with the name of *federation* rather than with its form, the intuition rather than the idea. Such a form of government, said Bolivar, “is a regular anarchy, or rather the law that prescribes dissatisfaction and ruin to the state. I think it would be better for America to adopt the Koran rather than the government of the United States, *notwithstanding it is the best in the world.*” And yet, the great centralization which he labored for from the Orinoco to the Desaguadero, became dismembered, while the Federal Republic, similar to the United States, was established, or is still struggling to establish itself.

At the same time, the Liberator of the extreme south of America, General San Martin, whose life and public acts I have had the honor to offer to your library, said: “I feel sick at heart whenever I hear federation spoken of. Can it be realized?” And, nevertheless, he lived to see the intuitive federa-

tion established in his country, in spite of the Congress of 1818, which accepted monarchy ; in spite of the Congress of 1826, which constituted the Unitarian Republic. After his death, the very persons who, like himself, felt sick at heart when they heard the word federation, constituted the United Provinces of the River Plata, submitting to the popular vote, and Mexico has struggled for twenty years to be called the United States of Mexico.

Why this general persistency to adopt a form which had no precedent in their history ? Because the only existing Republic, the United States of America, presented itself in this form, powerful, happy and free ; because the people do not accept abstract ideas without the form which practical facts give to them. However fit or unfit those countries may be for a federation, however well or ill prepared for self government, they adopted the republican form of government for the same reason that they struggled for their independence ; and it is the Federal garb which clothes the model Republic, the great Republic, the Republic of our age.

Here, then, is another influence of the United States on South America ; an unconscious, latent, permanent influence, the cause of many changes and revolutions. One half of the disturbances of Mexico, of Colombia, and of the Argentine Republic, which have lasted for half a century, demolishing the colonial system, and destroying the imitations of the Roman and the French central Republics, have been caused by the indirect but powerful influences of the United States.

As to the direct influences of the great Republic, a single fact will serve to give an idea of them. In 1848 a traveller returned from the United States, where he had obtained an insight into the admirable working of the Federal Constitution of the United States, and, to the surprise of his former co-politicians, he initiated a movement in the press, which spread thence to public opinion, to parties, to wars and to institutions. His reasoning was simple : " The will of the people, violence and the course of events, have given to the State the federal form. Constitutions are nothing more than the proclamation of the rights and obligations of man in society. In this view

all the constitutions of the world might be reduced to a single one. As to the Federal mechanism, we have at present no model except the Constitution of the United States. We are determined to be Federals ; then let us be so after the manner of the only people who have this form of government ! Do we care to invent some other Federal form hitherto unknown in the world ? Take the name of the United States of South America, and the sense of human dignity and a noble emulation, will conspire to preserve from reproach that name with which great ideas are associated." In 1859, after ten years of fluctuations in events and ideas, the *United Provinces of the River Plata* were proclaimed, and Story dethroned Rosas, who was the fruit of the doctrine of free and uncontrolled will in constitutional matters ; as were also the works of Rousseau, Sièyès, Robespierre, Napoleon, and the disasters of the French revolution, which decapitated Louis the XVI. in the name of liberty ; thus reviving the times of Julius Cæsar, or, in other words, going back two thousand years in the science of government.

The liberty of conscience, the equality of religions, the general disarming of religious creeds which have steeped the earth in blood, from the Arians down to the thirty years war, are North American principles. The world owes the existence of the United States to religious persecution ; to Roger Williams, history owes the treaty of alliance between the persecutors and the persecuted, and the human race its present enjoyment of liberty of conscience. Strauss, Colenso and Renan, unlike Luther, Calvin, Torquemada, and Thomas of Canterbury, can examine the bible anew without plunging the nations into war, and seeing their works committed to the flames, as in the times when men submitted religious truth to the judgment of fire and sword, which they called the judgment of God.

South America, peopled by religious exterminators, having the law and fanaticism in the laws of the Indies united with the State Inquisition, has struggled heroically to free itself from this element which constitutes part of its very essence, and which clings tenaciously to a dominant church, with immense wealth, with an exclusive, pre-eminent, influential, all powerful

clergy. The liberty of worship has been the point of contention in all Spanish America ; the temporalities of the clergy, the target of the struggle of parties. The ignorant multitudes, superstitious, indifferent as to liberty, to well-being, to nationality, were sensible, only, when the chord of the dominant, exclusive, and intolerant religion was struck ; and the United States is now witnessing the lot which fell to Mexico in its efforts to sever the secular chain. Juarez secularized the properties of the church ; and the bishops delivered the country to foreigners. Maximilian, in the name of great principles, justified Juarez, and took possession of the Republic. Is there so much cause to blame the many struggles of South America ? Is the soldier who comes out of the battle covered with wounds less glorious than he who comes out of the struggle safe and sound ? North America reaped the fruit of the blood which their fathers had shed in England, when the Pilgrims, Lord Baltimore, Penn and Roger Williams, came to its shores. It is but forty years since, in Lima, the people scattered the firebrands of the Inquisition, and destroyed the instruments of torture. South America is still passing through her thirty years war, to enter into the conditions of the modern political world ;—bleeding, in order that English and American protestants and dissenters may have the right, there, as here, to worship God according to the faith of their fathers.

The first constitution of the Provinces of the River Plata, said, in 1815 : “ the *Roman Catholic Apostolic* religion, is the religion of the State.” The second, of 1819, added : “ to which the inhabitants shall pay the greatest respect, *whatever their opinion may be.*”

That of Buenos Ayres, promulgated in 1834, with a State religion, said : “ nevertheless, *the right which man has to worship God according to his conscience, is inviolable.*” The last one, of 1852, suppressing the religion of the State, says : “ the **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT** *sustains the Catholic worship.*” It has taken forty years to modify the colonial exclusiveness to the suppression of the State church ; but each of these amendments has cost much disturbance, and many battles. Perhaps many others may be required before we can arrive at true North American principles.

Four years of war, the loss of a million of men, and three thousand millions of debt, it has cost the United States to be the last on earth which has abolished slavery. Their own experience has taught them to be indulgent with those audacious and determined South American patriots, who, since 1810, undertook at the same time to be independent, give liberty to their slaves as they wished it for themselves, and give themselves a form of government which, unlike that of the United States, had no precedent in the colonies ;—without being like France, twice discouraged, nor abandoning its fate to the tutelage of one man ; as neither the influential Bolivar, nor the sanguinary exterminator Rosas, could succeed in vanquishing the indomitable purpose of South America, to learn to be free at its own cost, risk and peril ; for one generation after another offered its blood to irrigate each new principle introduced into the country. So it was that when they had gained one point and had established it, they left it to the care of the women,—and by penance and fastings prepared themselves to conquer another ; and a new civil war commenced, and after the battle, the *Magna Charta* is signed : after another, the bill of rights ; after another, the liberty of worship for foreigners ; because we, the Catholics, have it, Holy Pilgrim Fathers of South America, justice will yet be done to you by the sons of the Plymouth Pilgrim Fathers of Rhode-Island and of Massachusetts Bay !

I will not attempt to conceal the fact that the ignorance of three centuries, the ignorance of the Spaniards of the fifteenth century, perpetuated in a savage land, the abject condition of the rude Indian incorporated into colonial society, fanaticism and the loosening of every moral bond, have produced in South America greater depravity than slavery in the south, here. There is no company of apostles without a Judas, without a Peter, who denies his master thrice. You have seen by the impartial historian, Macauley, how it was in the most corrupt times and by the most depraved men of England, that English liberty was definitely constituted.

What we ask for South America is not indulgence, but justice. We ask merely for the time needed for each cause to

produce its effect. Let us compare South America with your country. The United States occupied ten years in the war of Independence, and four years in the war against slavery. We fought for both causes at the same time, and won them both in fifteen years. So far we are equals. But you have not had to wage war to establish liberty of conscience, that having already been done for you by England at a time of persecution, banishment and bloodshed. You are, in fact, the result of that epoch—of that struggle. Give us but twenty years to extinguish the fires of the Inquisition, which are continually breaking out in different parts, throughout the vast extent of Spanish America. You have not been exposed to the dangerous influences of France from 1810 to 18— and I know not what, disturbing you with pernicious writings and evil examples, holding up alternately, as the *maximum bonum* of governments, first the Republic, then the Empire, next the restored monarchy, again the popular monarchy—then throwing down monarchy and restoring the Republic—crushing the Republic and establishing the Empire. . . . You have not had, as we have, a more fortunate republic, such as the United States, as a neighbor, tantalizing you by holding up as examples, its liberties, its wonderful progress and its federation. How many years will you allow us to experiment with these several models of human perfection? Not even twenty! Why, twenty years hardly elapse after we achieve our independence, and commence to put in practice the theories recommended by different authorities, some good and some spurious, before discord reigns again throughout our land; Europe intervenes; war is again kindled in Mexico, in Chili, in St. Domingo, in Peru; the Guarani Indians, tutored by the Jesuits, enter the arena, attempting to put over us a savage chief whom they consider of Divine appointment, and you have the field of Agramante.

But, in the mean time, do you imagine that those countries have been ruined? Mistaken notion of old fashioned common sense! There was a time when the United States, which now clothe the world with their cotton, sent the first seven bales to England. You well remember how long ago that was. Well, in less time, the Argentine Republic has become the chief

market for hides and the second for wool—Chili holds the highest rank for copper and silver, and her coal supplies the entire Pacific coast. Without the saltpetre of Peru, fewer cannon shot would be fired in Europe, and without her guano the European soil would be less fertile. Quinine is exclusively the production of Bolivia, and indigo and cochineal form the riches of Central America ; Ecuador and Colombia participating in a greater or less degree in each of these productions ; and we must not forget to mention Coffee, which constitutes the wealth of Brazil. All these great and growing industries commenced with the revolution, and have since been developed, Spain having been ignorant of the capacity of American soil. There is not among them a single State which is not constructing railroads, or has not had them in operation for some time past ; and while the press here has but recently announced the project of a code of civil laws of New-York, we have already had commercial, civil and criminal codes in force in different sections of South America, from five to ten years back. I think we shall have to fight once more to establish the system of public schools. We will fight, and it will be established. Look at the following statement of a newspaper, “The Standard,” of Buenos Ayres, published in your own language.

THE PROGRESS OF FIVE YEARS—1860—65.

When we look back only five years, and compare the Buenos Ayres of 1860 with that of to-day, we find a wonderful improvement, and persons who have returned hither after that short interval confess the change almost similar to that observed among British Colonies. It may form a just motive for pride with our countrymen, that this great progress has been mainly owing to English enterprise and the increased influx of capital and emigrants from the British Islands.

In 1860, there were but 15 miles of railway in the River Plate. In 1865, we have over 200 miles open to traffic, as many more actually in construction, besides concessions granted for 500 miles not yet begun.

In 1860, the only steam communication with Europe was by the Royal Mail. In 1865, we count four lines of steamers plying monthly with Europe, and before the year is out we shall probably have a steam-line to the United States, and two more to the Old World.

In 1860, Buenos Ayres could hardly boast a dozen private edifices worth £10,000 or over. In 1865, there are more than 200.

In 1860, the only Bank was the Casa de Moneda. In 1865, we have, three in the city, four branches in the country districts of Buenos Ayres, and a score in the Provinces, besides several in formation on both sides of the La Plata.

In 1860, the Wool-exports of Buenos Ayres amounted to the value of £1,000,000. In 1865, our clip is estimated at £2,500,000.

In 1860, the Custom-house of Buenos Ayres yielded a revenue of \$3,000,000. In 1865, it gives nearly six millions hard dollars.

In 1860, the number of emigrants arrived was 6000. In 1865, it exceeds 12,000.

In 1860, the price of good land in this Province averaged £3000 per square league. In 1865, it is about £6000.

In 1860, the city had but two markets and two theatres. In 1865, we have six markets and four theatres.

In 1860, the newspaper circulation of Buenos Ayres amounted to 2000 copies (of which 300 English.) In 1865, it exceeds 10,000 (of which 1700 English.)

In 1860, Fire and Life Insurance was a thing unknown. In 1865, we have a dozen English Insurance agencies, and every second house is insured.

In 1860, there was not one British enterprise or joint-stock company in the River Plate. In 1865, we have the following :

London and River Plate Bank	-	-	-	£2,000,000
Great Southern Railway	-	-	-	750,000
Northern Railway	-	-	-	160,000
Central Argentine Railway	-	-	-	1,000,000
Boca and Ensenada Railway	-	-	-	150,000
San Juan Mining Co.	-	-	-	100,000

Beside several projects, many of undoubted realization :

London, Brazilian and Mauá Bank	-	-	£5,000,000
Eastern Argentine Railway	-	-	1,000,000
Dolores extension [G. Southern]	-	-	600,000
Cordoba Land Company	-	-	1,000,000
Morgan Beef Packing Company	-	-	150,000
River Plate Steamboat Company	-	-	150,000

And many others which do not at present occur to us. Here we have an aggregate of £12 000,000 of British capital, without taking account of the immense fortunes belonging to British residents, all of

which is being actively employed for the industry and progress of the country. We doubt if there be any other part of the globe, not a British colony, in which so much English capital has been invested, and without any vain glory we may lawfully say that the advancement of Buenos Ayres dates from the same epoch—1860—as when British public enterprise first appeared in the River Plate.

But I invite you to cast a glance upon the actual situation of South America, over which the conflagration of war has spread almost from one extremity to the other, and you will see that she is not to blame for one half of her misfortunes. What do you see in fact? The island of St. Domingo occupied by Spain, who imagined that the people were clamoring to resume the broken chain of colonization; and after three years of war with that people, we see Spain herself confessing that she had been mistaken. Do not the pious hear the bells say just what they wish to hear? In the “*Revue des deux Mondes*,” of 1861, it is explained how Spain caused herself to be called there by the treaty of 1856, and how quickly she answered to her own call.

Mexico, also, clamored for an Emperor, to insure to the church its own property. This is the official truth, the probable truth, the truth but not the whole truth, as Lincoln said. The whole truth, is, that for some time back the era of the Cæsars has been revived in Europe, the political principles which are the basis of the United States government have been opposed, and, in their stead, the method employed for the regulation of nations is the calculation of the parabola described by the cannon ball. What fault is it of Mexico, that this or the other political theory has been tried in Europe where so many have been under proof without success, and that the war of the United States gave to European power the opportunity of bringing her imperial theories to their very doors, as a stumbling block to their advance. Nevertheless, Mexico is suffering the consequences. But yet, Mexico, so undervalued, so incapable of government, so demoralized as it is thought to be, did not succumb in Puebla, as Rome did at Pharsalia; and tiring out her detractors, and would-be subduers, she begins to interest the world by her courage, her constancy in misfortune, and her love for Republican institutions. If Tallyrand still lived, he

would say to the present emperor what he in vain said to the first: "Your majesty will never hear the last shot fired in a war with a people who have fought eight hundred years with the Moors." South America consummated her independence by defeats, until, from the confusion, came forth the Grants and the Shermans, the Bolivars and the San Martins, who end in one campaign a struggle of four years. If the saying of Paul Jones, "I have just begun to fight," when his vessel was sinking and he was told to surrender, is North American, South America is a colossal Paul Jones who makes the same heroic speech from the River Plata and Conception to Central America and Mexico. Colonel Pringles, my compatriot, hemmed in on the sea coast by the Spaniards, plunged into the sea with his detachment of cavalry, and continued fighting among the waves without surrendering. The enemy respected that heroism, and not only allowed him to pass, but escorted him to his army.

A so-called Spanish diplomatic agent presents himself in Peru, claiming to establish a treaty of independence, and without awaiting a reply, a Spanish scientific commission declares the guano islands of Chinchas annexed to the Museum of Madrid. America is indignant at the *recovery*; the press of Chili laughs a little at the joke; the queen disapproves the *recovery*, and nevertheless retains the islands. The Government of Peru wishes to overlook the grievance, but the people rise up, and civil war breaks out. Spain increases her squadrons,—not satisfied with the three millions which her agent had demanded as an indemnity,—and picks a quarrel with Chili on the absurd plea that she had omitted to salute her flag! It would scarcely be more ridiculous for any one of us to confront an English Lord in his own country, in his own house, and exact from him a well bred salute under pain of instant chastisement if he does not understand what is required of him. And although Spain was *mistaken* with regard to St. Domingo, and disapproved the acts of her agents in Peru, and of her ministers in Chili,—as his majesty the emperor may have been *mistaken* in Mexico,—we being all liable to err,—America is none the less accused of disturbing the stream, as in the fable of the wolf

and the lamb,—and if, in her innocence, she protests that she was not even born at the time of the offence, they reply that it then must have been her AMERICAN COUSIN, which, for the purpose, amounts to the same thing.

Another American war is raging over half the American continent,—the war of Paraguay with Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Uruguay.

Here, in Providence, in Mr. Brown's library, you will find four hundred volumes written on that war, commencing by a bull of Pope Alexander VI. I will give you an appendix to those books. You will remember that in Massachusetts the Puritans attempted to put in practice the laws of Moses. In Paraguay, the Jesuits attempted to prove certain theories of government deduced from the Epistles of St. Paul and the traditions of the primitive times of the church. They instituted a paternal theocratic government, with all the peculiar characteristics of their order: abnegation of the individual, passive obedience *perinde ac cadaver*, community of property, poverty of the individual and wealth of the State. They made their experiment *in corpore vili*, on conquered Indians; and were successful so long as there was a Father jesuit to ring the bell for the people to go to their work, to go to meals, to go to prayers, to perform drills, to extinguish their fires at bed-time, to rejoice when the bells rang merrily or be saddened when they tolled solemnly for the dead. So successful was their experiment, and so advantageous,—not for the paternally governed Indians but for the governing Fathers,—that the Catholic kings, whose authority the Indians of the Paraguayan missions did not recognize, save through the missionaries, made a general onset upon the jesuits throughout the whole extent of Spanish America, and, in one night, had them all expelled. After this exodus, the consequences of the paternal government were evident. The Fathers had been taken away; hundreds of bee-hives had been bereft of their queens; confusion reigned over the whole land; the human bees, educated to obey another's will, dispersed and wandered helplessly for the want of the regulating power which had thought for them and given them life. The revolution came next, and a political disciple of the jesuits

established his government upon the basis of the passive obedience of the human bee, and thus for half a century was the Guarani State, peacefully governed. He was succeeded by the first one who happened to turn up when the tyrant died, who, in his turn, appointed by testament his son as his successor, only two or three years ago. Here we see a Republic (?) that in fifty-four years has had but two dictators. Few monarchies in the world can point to such long reigns. Since the time of the jesuits, the government carries on, for its own account, all foreign commerce ; it sells the tobacco, the yerba maté, the timber of the forests. The citizen of that model republic has the right to work, and that of selling to the government at the price designated by it. The second of the Dictators, putting himself in contact with the external world, provided himself, in England, with arms, steamers, machinists, engineers and captains, and one day, to the surprise of all Paraguay,—which had been shut up within itself for half a century, indifferent to the war of independence in which it took no part,—his son invades Mattogrosso on one side, and Corrientes on the other, without giving notice to Brazil or the Argentine Republic thus assaulted, until after the attack was made.

This war is now raging because two centuries ago, certain worthy priests imagined they had invented a government adequate to the condition of their savage neophytes, and *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. But whatever the result of that war may be,—and what it will be is hardly doubtful,—Paraguay will remain open to commerce and the civilized world, and the rich gifts of the torrid zone will descend, by our majestic rivers, to the mouth of the Plata, to unite with those brought from temperate climes ; and perhaps, we may even realize the idea of traversing by canals the land which divides the Araguaí,—a branch of the Plata,—with the Madeira, a branch of the Amazon, which, by nature is connected with the Orinoco ; thus presenting to astonished mankind, that part of the world which has been held fast in reserve for the development of its resources—the world of the Amazon—with a fluvial navigation of one thousand two hundred tributary rivers crossing the im-

mense valley of the Amazon, which, of itself, is a world, and emptying their waters in the Caribbean Sea at the North ; in the River Plata at the South ; and in the Amazon on the East.

To return from the imagined future to the realities of the present. Your undertakings in the River Plata, and the enterprise set on foot by you in Paraguay, will receive a new impetus, and the cannon which now thunder in the solitudes of Paraguay, the armies which penetrate in the villages and missions, surrounded as far as the eye can reach by immense orange groves, may be the precursors of American industry, removing the obstructions which checked the passage of your river steamers to the centre of America, where the cotton plant grows spontaneously in its native soil, where iron ore stains the ground with its red oxide, where the palm and date trees waive their stately branches, while gaily colored birds feast unmolested on their fruit.

Having shown the good and evil influences which affect us, I will close this long exposition by pointing out one North American influence which is still wanting. Man does not live by bread alone ; and we have New-England to prove it for the honor of the human race, and in compliance with the precept, I have already shown you how the spirit of Horace Mann colonized South America, raising excellent schools wherever his doctrines are known. This moral action should be continued, spread abroad, strengthened. Your philanthropy is so great that even after shedding its influence all around you, applying balm and healing to every wound, you have still enough to spare. The Bible Societies annually expend a million and a half of dollars, to take the light of Christianity to the most remote portions of the globe. But South America does not participate in these gifts, nor would she yet accept them in that form. She needs to be instructed, not in the written word, but in the practical Christian spirit. You have founded a normal school, in Providence, to prepare teachers to take to the South and bestow the bread of morality on the freed people, by cultivating their minds. Governor Andrew has already sent six hundred teachers to Washington Territory, to prepare it to assume the dignity of a State. This is the crowning form for

propagating the principles of the gospel, together with freedom and free labor. This is what South America needs and would accept. In the schools which I have visited, French is taught in some, German in others, Spanish in none. Are your teachers preparing to go to France to teach the principles of American liberty? The Spanish language is the key of South America. Your great historians owe to it their fame; your navigators, engineers and builders require it whenever they travel; on either side of Cape Horn, from California to Havana, their vessels touch the coast or penetrate to the interior. In the olden time, when nations looked back into the past while advancing, the Greeks learned the Egyptian language, the Romans learned Greek, the barbarians Latin. They feared to go astray. Now, however, that the nations are self-reliant and progressive, it is the language of the future which they should learn, and English is the language of the oceanic world, as Spanish is the language destined to spread itself in continuity with the English throughout the vast extent of South America. The Castilian language lies before the North American people like a conducting wire, and should be the language taught in the schools where any other language is taught besides English. Your teachers will then open colleges in twenty South American States, in two hundred capitals of Provinces, in a thousand towns and villages, and with advantage to themselves, will prepare the ground for the plough, the cultivator, the sowing and reaping machines, and the six thousand six hundred patents of invention granted by your patent office this year, which are not now used among us, because the understanding of the people is not prepared to appreciate them.

This is the only conquest really worthy of a free people; this is the "Monroe Doctrine" in practice; this the initiatory part opened to Rhode-Island in the River Plata; this my title to accept a place in the Historical Society, which has honored me by making me one of its members.

