

PAN-HISPANIC PROPAGANDA IN HISPANIC AMERICA

A CAREFUL study of the international inclinations and aspirations of the nations south of the United States will reveal several currents besides the pro-Germanism so much emphasized by the Allies during the recent war and the Pan-Americanism which, since the days of James G. Blaine, has been somewhat conspicuous in the diplomacy of the two Americas. For instance, certain regional alliances among the Hispanic-American states have been talked of from time to time; Francophilism has held sway for more than a century; Hispanic-American solidarity is an aspiration as old as the Hispanic-American nations themselves; anti-Yankeeism has been prominent for some time, especially in literary circles; Great Britain has always had her partisans and friends there; and in recent years Pan-Hispanism has been quite in vogue.

I have recently published a brief survey of the literary phase of anti-Yankeeism in the countries beyond the Rio Grande.¹ I propose here to outline the origin and development of the sentiment of Pan-Hispanism. In the near future I hope to be able to examine the other international political currents whose influence is being felt in these regions.

The growing friendship for Spain in Hispanic America is largely the result of Spanish effort, or, more accurately, of the efforts of a fairly large, intelligent and enthusiastic group of Spaniards who have labored and are laboring for what they conceive to be the welfare of their country and the interest of the Spanish race. Racial and cultural solidarity has been in fact the keynote of their propaganda. Prior to the opening of the present century they were motivated by the idea of rallying around this slogan the kindred nations oversea with the view of winning allies for a prospective struggle with the United States. More recently, other motives have been prominent.

¹ See *The Journal of International Relations*, January, 1922.

In the fifties of the last century, when the remnants of the Spanish empire in the New World, as well as the integrity of the newly-formed Latin nations, were being threatened by the Anglo-American filibusters, Spanish propaganda sought to play upon the note of racial solidarity in order to induce the Hispanic Americans to unite among themselves and with Spain for the purpose of stemming the tide of invasion. Newspapers were established, books were written, and even Spanish diplomats labored to this end. In Mexico City alone at least three newspapers were founded during this period with the avowed purpose of upholding the interests of the Spanish race in America—the *Eco de España*, the *Correo de España* and *El Español*. On January 7, 1852, the last of these declared that the United States had designs upon all of the Hispanic-American republics, and that the latter should pursue a policy of solidarity and alliance with Spain for purposes of actual defense. On July 30 of the following year, the *Eco de España* came out with an editorial calling attention to the consistently aggressive policy of the United States as a source of imminent danger to the Spanish race on this side of the Atlantic. During the month of September, 1854, the *Correo de España* contained several tirades against the colossal invader of the North, which it compared to a Russia unrestrained by the balance of power.¹ But perhaps the climax of this propaganda was reached in a small book published in Cádiz by Don José Ferrer de Couto, who advised an alliance between Spain and Mexico for the purpose of repelling the Yankee invaders, saving Cuba and, eventually, the remainder of Hispanic America from absorption, and effecting a Hispanic renaissance throughout the world!²

And there was some attempt to put this idea of solidarity into practice. Early in 1856 the Spanish minister at Washington held conferences with the diplomatic agents of the Hispanic countries resident in the United States for the purpose of dis-

¹ Incomplete files of these newspapers may be found in Bancroft Library, University of California.

² The second edition, the only one to which the writer has had access, was printed by *La Revista Médica*, 1859, pp. 156.

curring plans of union. A project was drawn up which proposed to bind the nations to the south of the Rio Grande not to consent to the abridgment of the independence or the infringement of the territorial integrity of any of the signatory powers, but to treat the invader or offender of any member of the prospective alliance as a common enemy. No provision was inserted, at the time, that would include Spain in the union, but the action of the Spanish minister was approved and the Spanish secretary of state considered the matter of sufficient importance to communicate it to the captain-general of Cuba.¹

Yet, while certain Spaniards were urging a rapprochement between Spain and Hispanic America, the Spanish government was slow to put aside the resentment caused by the Wars of Independence. Juan José Flores and the Spanish Queen dreamed of reconquering a portion of northwestern South America (1846-1847); vigorous action was taken with reference to obligations and indemnities in Mexico (1856-62), Venezuela (just prior to 1861), and the Pacific States of South America (1865-66);² and recognition of the new republics was long delayed.

In Hispanic America, too, there existed, besides the bitterness which naturally arose from this Spanish stubbornness and these instances of aggression, certain factors which tended to stultify such racial propaganda. In the first place, Cuba and Porto Rico, still under the Spanish yoke, appealed to the sympathy of their Latin brothers in the New World. On at least two occasions—namely, during the celebrated Panama congress of 1826 and while the Ten Years' War in Cuba was in progress (1868-1878)—the Hispanic-American republics entertained designs of snatching Spain's colonies from her grasp; and there was sympathy for Cuba until the last.³ In the second place, there continued to exist a deep current of hatred toward

¹ *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XII (1906), p. 94 *et seq.*

² Rafael María Labra y Cadrana, *Orientación Americana de España* (Madrid, A. Alonzo, 1909), p. 100 *et seq.*; Anibal Maurtua, *La Idea Pan-americana y la Cuestión del Arbitraje* (Lima, *La Industria* 1901), p. 35 *et seq.*

³ Labra, *op. et loc. cit.*; José León Suárez, *Carácter de la Revolución Americana* (Buenos Aires, Juan Roldán, 1917), pp. 191-198.

Spain as an aftermath of the Wars of Independence, just as Anglophobia held sway in the United States for a century after the achievement of nationality.

This anti-Spanish propaganda deserves special notice, for it was participated in by many of the leading men of the country. The main thesis of a history of Hispanic America published in 1828 by Simón Rodríguez, the teacher of Bolívar, may be summed up in the assertion that in the fifteenth century Columbus discovered a New World in order to people it with slaves and vassals, but at the opening of the nineteenth century reason reclaimed it in order to found a society of free men obedient to their own laws.¹ Francisco Bilbao, the great Chilean writer, declared in his *American Gospel*² that the formula of Hispanic-American progress could be found in the expression "de-Spanishize yourselves" (*desespañolizarse*). The Peruvian author, Ricardo Palma, and the Chilean linguist, Valentín Letelier, were of the opinion that to accept a rapprochement with unprogressive Spain would be contrary to the very principles of American life.³ Lastly, Domingo F. Sarmiento, the great South-American statesman and educator, returning from a trip to Spain, declared that there had not been introduced into the peninsula in three centuries a single new industry save the manufacture of the sulphur match; that there was no national marine, few highways, no popular education, and no progress in the higher institutions of learning; that the arts of printing and engraving had decayed; that the market places remained as they had been described by Don Quixote; that the hatred for foreigners continued as strong as when the Jews and Arabs had been expelled; that, in short, America had nothing to gain from contact with Spain.⁴

These considerations make the absence of friendly relations between Spain and Hispanic America during the greater por-

¹ Suárez, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

² *El Evangelio Americano* (Buenos Aires, Soc. tip. Bonaerense, 1864).

³ Fernando Ortiz, *La Reconquista de América* (Paris, Paul Ollendorff, 1910), pp. 76-77.

⁴ Suárez, *op. cit.*, p. 21. See also Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Mi Viaje a América* (Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1911), pp. 384-395.

tion of the last century a fact which will be readily understood. But it would be a mistake to suppose that nothing was accomplished. Beginning with the recognition of Mexico in 1836, Spain very slowly extended this favor to the remaining Hispanic states of the New World, completing the process in the early nineties.¹ At the same time numerous treaties relating to extradition, postal and telegraphic communications, literary, scientific and artistic property, and commercial affairs, gave evidence of the abandonment of the policy of aloofness. It was near the end of this period, also, that the Spaniards who were interested in their kinsmen across the Atlantic founded the Ibero-American Union, and by 1892 old grievances had been so far forgotten that the Hispanic-American states joined in the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the discovery of America.²

This celebration, as was natural, gave considerable impetus to the movement towards intimacy. The feasting and rejoicing had scarcely ended when a renewed revolt in Cuba and war with the United States furnished Spaniards further motive for rapprochement with Hispanic America. The approach of hostilities with the Anglo-American republic caused patriots of the Iberian peninsula to subject their country to a process of rigorous inspection and to cast about for possible allies. When the inevitable came, Spain found herself without active friends—unless Germany's demonstration, entitled that country to be considered as such—and pathetically unprepared to meet the foe. In a short time all was over, and the last vestige of a once glorious empire in America had passed from Spanish control. The sense of failure and loneliness which came to Spain could scarcely have been more profound. The defeat was followed by a veritable flood of literature dealing with the domestic and foreign problems of the peninsula, and there was considerable uniformity as to what Spain's international policy should be. Pan-Hispanism must be accepted as one of the

¹ Labra, *op. cit.*, Appendix, contains a list of these treaties with dates. See also W. S. Robertson "The Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Motherland", in *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, I (1918), p. 70 *et seq.*

² Accounts of the juridical, the geographic, the literary, and the pedagogical congresses held on this occasion were published in Madrid in 1892 and 1893.

goals for the future, and in so far as it related to America it was to be forged in part upon the anvil of Yankeeophobia.¹

This anti-Yankee phase of the matter, scarcely to be detected in the more discreet and tactful writers, is clearly seen in such works as those of José F. Gómez and Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide. The former was inspired by the prospect of war with the United States over Cuba. In his *Latin Solidarity*,² he advocates a sort of *Zollverein* as the first step in the formation of a more important union; the pacification of Cuba; and a rapid rapprochement with the peoples of Spanish origin in America. The motives influencing Gómez are very evident in the following passage:

If we know how to take advantage of the situation, our country may yet become the polar star of a Latin Confederation on this continent against the Saxon preponderance represented by this Anglo-American Colossus which we have opposite us, and we may advance firmly and serenely to a league of race, draw the former possessions to the mother country in the interest of all, and give potency, unity, and fire to the idea of solidarity among the peoples who pray, make laws, and speak in the beautiful language of Castile.

While recognizing the wealth and power of the United States, Gómez points out the financial and industrial disturbances and growing anarchism and jingoism as thorns in the side of the Colossus. In view of these conditions, he contends that when fifty millions of Latin Americans join their European mother in a close league of race, there will be little need to fear the outcome of the struggle.

Beltrán y Rózpide wrote a two-volume history of the Hispano-American peoples in the twentieth century. The work is anti-Yankee from beginning to end. The whole American policy

¹ For a partial enumeration of the Spanish writers inspired by the prospect of a war with the United States over Cuba and by the defeat of their fatherland in that war, see Ortiz, *op. cit.*, p. 99. From this group should not be omitted Angel Gani-vet, Juan Valera, and Sánchez de Foca. See also Rafael Altamira, *España en América* (Valencia, Sempere y Compañía, 1908), pp. 179-186.

² *La Solidaridad Latina en América* (Habana, "Los Guayabitos", 1897, pamphlet, 22 pp.).

of the United States is painted in blackest terms and the Yankee peril is constantly held up before the Hispanic Americans with the view of persuading them to enter into a confederation. Rózpide expresses the hope that after such an organization has been formed Spain and her kinsmen in the New World may enter into a profitable alliance which will give her the position of "*Presidencia de Honor* in the great association . . . of the Hispanic-American peoples."¹

Thanks to the efforts of an able group who, under the name of "Americanists", have rallied around the ideal of Hispano-American friendship, the accelerated movement of the nineties has continued. From the beginning the program set forth by these so-called Americanists embraced three closely related phases: the racial and cultural, the economic, and the political. In approving the idea of calling a congress of all the Hispanic peoples at Madrid in November, 1900, the Spanish minister of state declared that the "social and economic future" of his country depended to a large extent upon the growth of "those racial sympathies which Spain has in America"; and that now was an opportune time to cultivate the spiritual affections of the Hispanic-American peoples and to prepare for the inevitable contest for their markets. Again, the formal invitation sent to Mexico, which was probably typical, spoke of racial and cultural bonds, mutual economic interests, and the advisability of "a common action" which would result in the well-being of the world. Among the themes to be discussed at this assembly were to be: "means for the creation of a great current of public opinion which would lead the governments of Spain, Portugal and the Ibero-American peoples to effect an intimate alliance"; the harmonization of the civil, penal and administrative laws of these countries; the unification of educational plans; the modification of commercial agreements; the improvement of communications; the establishment of international expositions; the creation of banks; and the study of the

¹ *Los Pueblos Hispanoamericanos en el Siglo XX* (Madrid, Imprenta del Patronato de Huerfanos de Administración Militar, 1907).

problem of emigration.¹ These ideas, of course, were in harmony with those of the Americanist group who sponsored the congress.

The success of this congress encouraged the calling of others. In 1908 the Hispanic-American states took part in the celebration of the Centenary of the Spanish liberation from the Napoleonic yoke;² in 1911 a Hispanic-American congress was held in Barcelona;³ in 1912 the Centenary of the meeting of Cortes at Cádiz was celebrated by another Hispano-American Assembly;⁴ in 1914 a Hispano-American Historical and Geographical Congress was held at Seville in order to commemorate the Fourth Centenary of the discovery of the Pacific.⁵

Moreover, statesmen, merchants and intellectuals have founded numerous organizations, which have occasionally received subsidies from the government, for the purpose of cementing relations of cordiality with the Hispanic Americans. In fact some forty⁶ of these institutions have been founded since the opening of the century, and many of them are organizations of considerable influence and dignity. Such, for instance, are the *Casa de América* and the Center for the cultivation of Hispano-American intimacy in Barcelona; the Center of Americanist studies in Seville; the Hispanic-American Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences at Cádiz; and the Hispano-American Royal Academy, the Ibero-American Institute of Law, and the Center

¹ Probably one of the most convenient sources for a general survey of the correspondence connected with this conference as well as its program is the *Boletín Oficial de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México*, vol. X (September, 1900), p. 269 et seq. For a more complete account, see *Congreso Social y Económico Hispano-Americano*, Madrid, 1900 (Madrid, Hernández, 1902).

² Labra, *América y España en el Centenario de 1908* (Madrid, Hernández, 1909).

³ *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, vol. IV (1921), p. 567.

⁴ See the reports and bulletins of the various states of Hispanic America for the years 1912 and 1913.

⁵ *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*, vol. IV (1921), p. 504, note. For the proceedings and reports of this congress see Congreso de Historia y Geografía Hispano-Americana de Seville de 1914, *Actas y Memorias* (Madrid, Jaime Ratés, 1914).

⁶ Carlos Badía Malgrida, *El Factor Geográfico en la Política Sudamericana* (Madrid, Jaime Ratés, 1919), p. 101.

of Hispano-American Culture, all three of which are in Madrid. At the same time, some of the most important Spanish universities have created professorships devoted to the study and teaching of American history, law and politics; and several journals and publishing houses have been established primarily for the purpose of distributing literature and information with reference to Hispanic America.¹

Such organizations have carried their propaganda across the Atlantic. Spanish students have been encouraged to pursue their studies in Hispanic America, Hispanic-American students have been offered inducements to come to Spain, and professorial interchanges have been arranged; some of the leading Spanish Academies, as those of Languages, of Sciences, and of History, have established branches, correspondents and interchanges in and with Hispanic America; ² the some four millions of Spanish immigrants in the Hispanic-American states have been organized with solicitous care as one of the best means of fostering friendly relations; and numerous expeditions for the purpose of propaganda have been undertaken.

The manner in which Spanish immigrants may cultivate the sentiment of racial solidarity is well illustrated by the celebration of the anniversary of the discovery of America by the Spanish Center at Carácas in 1918. On this occasion the orator, Manuel Díaz-Rodríguez, spoke in a fashion highly laudatory of Spain and urged more intimate relations with the mother country. He declared, *inter alia*, that the people of Venezuela had "committed the error of supposing that the revolution at the opening of the century had destroyed every bond connecting them with Spain and that their political destiny might be achieved by adopting and implanting the institutions of the United States or those of the radical period of the French revolution." He repeatedly lamented the fact that "guileless bachelors and unripe doctors", would-be-statesmen of the cloister, kept declaring that the Hispanic Americans must not

¹ Altamira, *Mi Viaje á América*, pp. 601-606; Labra, *Orientación Americana de España*, *passim*.

² Labra, *Orientación Americana de España*, *passim*; Ramon Orbea, *La Reconquista de América* (Madrid, V. Suárez [1905]), *passim*.

resign themselves to the fate of being Spaniards in the New World and insisting that they imitate the United States, France, England, Germany, or some other large state, or else maintaining that they must not be Spaniards but Latins. "As if, disregarding Spain, we should be able to boast of being Latin! As if the . . . drop of Latin blood which circulates in our veins did not come to us through that Romanized Spain which made illustrious the annals of early Latinity with a goodly phalanx of moralists, poets, and emperors!" Away with such an idea! The sooner these people give up this mistaken notion and strive to make themselves *Hispanic Americans*, the better; for they can never accomplish anything by seeking unnatural affiliations and trying to fasten upon themselves a civilization to which they are not adapted. Such was the burden of the orator's eloquence.

In conclusion, Díaz-Rodríguez counseled a tightening of the bonds of respect and love for the mother country and presented a vision of the day when there will spread from the Pyrenees across the Atlantic and from "Mexico to the polar limits of South America, with a glory that will make the earth tremble, the announcement of a simultaneous and manifold renaissance of race."¹

Of the expeditions sent out to America for the purpose of propaganda, that of the distinguished historian, Rafael Altamira y Crevea, who was dispatched as the agent of the University of Oviedo, deserves special mention because of its importance and because of the clear and eloquent statement of Pan-Hispanic ideals issued by this university while preparations were being made for the expedition. Altamira spent several months in Hispanic America where he visited the important intellectual centers of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Mexico and Cuba, and aroused general interest and enthusiasm. The "Address to the Spaniards and Brothers of America" sent out by the University of Oviedo, contained the following interesting statement of the purpose of the expedition:

¹ *Motivos de Meditación ante la Guerra y por Hispanoamericana Una* (Caracas, El Comercio, 1918, pamphlet, 24 pp.).

On the noble eve of the Centenary of the Independence of America the University of Oviedo . . . desires that the affectionate voice of Spain pronounce a benediction upon her emancipated daughters; it desires to unite its song to the chorus sung by those peoples in commemoration of that memorable date when, eager for life, they went out from their paternal home (*dejaron los patrios lares*); it desires, above all, to bear to these puissant nationalities vigorous shoots of our spirit in order to plant them in these fertile lands bathed by the Gulf, enriched by the Plate, and shaded by the lofty Andes; it desires to send to America flames of our fire in order that our souls may be welded into one, and, the people who on both sides of the sea form the Great Iberia thus having been united, we shall be able to fulfil the high civilizing mission which destiny has confided to us.¹

This intensified Spanish interest in the Spaniards residing overseas was further stimulated by the World War. This great catastrophe seems to have stirred Spain as profoundly as the defeat of 1898. Spaniards were made to feel the loneliness of their situation, to doubt the efficacy of international law and agreements, and to consider the future of their nation in a world order where force was likely to be dominant for some time. Moreover, the war resulted in the improvement of Spain's commerce and finances² and gave impetus to her industries so that the importance of Hispanic-American markets was appreciated as never before.

In 1916, considerable discussion of the proposed American policy of Spain was begun in the Spanish Senate. One senator demanded more favorable commercial treaties and careful direction of Spanish emigration to America; another believed that a customs union should be negotiated with the Hispanic-American states in order that Spain might secure the markets which had formerly been supplied by the nations of war-swept Europe; others, in addition to these proposals, demanded numerous reforms connected with steamship, postal and telegraphic communications; and one of the members of this body went so

¹ Altamira, *Mi Viaje á América*, p. 11.

² For discussions of Spain's commercial and financial conditions, see U. S. Dept. of Commerce, *Special Agents Series*, No. 202, and the *Commerce Reports*, 1917 et seq.

far as to advocate the establishment of an "Ibero-American Confederation." In response to these discussions the president of the council of ministers declared his conviction that the time had come to advance beyond the period of "romantic propaganda" and enter upon the "road of realities."¹

Once more, too, able writers, for the lack of whom Spain has never suffered, put forth programs and abundant propaganda. Rafael María Labra y Cadrana, who for many years had been vitally interested in America, published numerous pamphlets and made vigorous lecture tours in Spain;² Altamira issued his *Spain and the Americanist Program*;³ Frederica Rahola, prominently identified with the *Casa de América*, a center of commercial information, formulated his *Americanist Post-War Program*;⁴ and Edmundo González-Blanco included a discussion of what should be the American policy of Spain in a book dealing with Spain and the World War.⁵

Altamira's proposals differed from those of the earlier publications with which he had been identified in placing somewhat more emphasis upon the political and economic phases of the matter. He advocated such reform of the diplomatic and consular service as would insure a supply of able men for the American field; such a following-up of the emigrant as would insure his preservation as a force making for the perpetuation of Spanish culture and the achievement of Pan-Hispanism; such economic arrangements as would promote the growth of Hispano-American trade; the defense of the Spanish language in all its purity; the fullest and freest intellectual cooperation

¹ Altamira, *España y el Programa Americanista* (Madrid, Editorial-América, [1917?]), p. 69 et seq.

² Among Labra's recent works, the most important bearing on this theme are his lecture read before the Athenaeum of Madrid in October, 1915, entitled *Problema Hispanoamericana*; his *La Campaña Americanista de D. Rafael M. de Labra en Galicia; Julio y Agosto 1916*; and his introduction to Rodrigo Zárte's, *España y América: Proyecciones y Problemas Derivados de la Guerra* (Madrid, Casa Editorial Calleja, 1917).

³ *Supra*.

⁴ *Programa Americanista Post-Guerra* (Barcelona, Casa de América, 1919).

⁵ *Iberismo y Germanismo. España ante el Conflicto Europeo* (Valencia, Editorial Cervantes, 1917).

and interchange.¹ Such a program evinces considerable supplementation of his proposals at the opening of the century, when he took occasion to remark that the policy of the group of which he was a member might be summed up in the phrase "pedagogical politics."²

Rahola gives much more emphasis than Altamira to the commercial and political items of the program, although he does not neglect the intellectual and the cultural. He points out the commercial significance of the Yankee phrase, "America for the Americans", calls attention to the recent marvelous growth of the trade of the United States with Hispanic America, and urges that Spain collect and launch all her commercial forces while the United States is in the midst of the war and its consequent readjustments. He expects the Ibero-American states to be the scene of a titanic commercial struggle in the near future, but in this struggle he believes Spain will be placed at an advantage because of her geographical position and ethnical affinities. Moreover, if any sort of international concert is to be hoped for, he believes that the mysterious force of racial and spiritual attraction ought to render possible a political union.

Writing in 1917, González-Blanco expends a great deal of effort in order to show that the British and the Yankee peril should be met by Pan-Hispanism. He urges the denunciation and the abrogation of the treaty of Algeçiras with the aim of recovering the Strait of Gibraltar, and the consolidation of the Iberian peninsula by a federation with Portugal, in order to render the holding of that strait by another nation perilous in the future. When the geographical integrity of Spain is thus restored, the Hispanic-American states may be invited to enter what is destined to be the great "Iberian United States". Will they refuse to accept this invitation? "What overseas peoples whose sons have not lost the ethnical sentiment and the consciousness of that community of customs, of language, and of civilization which perdures between Spain and Latin Amer-

¹ *España y el Programa Americanista*, p. 62 et seq.

² See Altamira's *Cuestiones Hispano-Americanas* (Madrid, E. R. Serra, 1900), *passim*.

ica, would reject this superb ideal, pledge of great destinies for the future? Who does not see that its realization is the only recourse of which the Ibero-American world can avail itself in order to oppose Yankee imperialism? . . . The immediate subjugation of Central and South America by the syndicates of North America is the future which awaits our brothers of the New Continent if there is not found in union a competent force for resistance." At last, when Pan-Iberianism has realized its ideal of unity, it may ally itself with Germany in order that *Iberismo* and *Germanismo* may wrest from the Anglo-Saxons "the palm of victory in the fight for the direction of humanity."¹

Since the outbreak of the World War there have been published, also, works of a supposedly scholarly nature which reveal this same Pan-Hispanic aspiration of the Spaniards. Portions of two of these, at least, will be read with considerable interest in connection with the matter now under consideration. In 1917 Juan Ortega Rubio, an aged professor of the Central University at Madrid, issued the *magnum opus* which had cost him much labor, a three-volume *History of America*.² Two years later a student of the diplomatic and consular institute of Spain published under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation an excellent study entitled, *The Geographical Factor in the Politics of South America*.³

Some twenty-seven pages of the prologue of Ortega's ambitious work is given to a discussion of the American policy of Spain. Here the author declares that he has been moved to undertake the task while under the weight of age and infirmities because he has felt that he would thus be rendering a service to Spain and also to her former colonies. He then sets forth his viewpoint. He begins with the affirmation;

Our old and beloved Spain does not desire, nor is she able, nor ought she, to think of exercising any hegemony over the Ibero-American peoples. We desire, and we aspire, only to a fraternal communion.

¹ Gonzalez-Blanco, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-108.

² *Historia de América* (Madrid, Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1917).

³ *Supra*.

. . . Spaniards and Americans of the Iberian race, forgetting old grievances, should in the future think only of living the life of culture and of progress. . . . At the same time that we ask those sons of the republics of our race that they do not forget Spain and that they honor the memory of the discoverers and the colonizers of the Indies, we shall also declare to them that we are admirers of those brave heroes who proclaimed their independence and their liberty. In the accomplishment of such ends we believe that there is fulfilled an historical law that colonies when they reach a certain age, that is, a certain grade of civilization and culture, separate from the metropolis.

Ortega turns toward America because he has despaired of Europe: "We do not hope, nor do we desire anything from the egoistic nations of Europe; we place all our confidence in the generous peoples of America." The end toward which he strives is both conciliatory and politic: "The work which we desire to realize is not only peaceful but also political, for we shall endeavor to foster the union of the Latin Republics with the mother country." And in accomplishing this twofold mission he desires to avoid striking the note of racial hatred and rivalry, but he nevertheless admits that he has at times sensed the Yankee peril and he cannot refrain from quoting a few Spanish authors who have taken a fling at the Colossus.¹

The main contentions of the brilliant monograph of Badía are that there exist in Hispanic America strong supernatural aspirations; that these are prevented from being realized by geographical absurdities in the present national boundaries, which furnish the motive for unnecessary squabbles regarding territory; that there are six geographical unities in Hispanic America—the *La Plata Confederation*, embracing the present republics of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and a portion of Southern Bolivia; the *Confederation of the Pacific*, made up of the central portion of Bolivia, Chile, Peru and southern Ecuador; the *Colombian Confederation*, composed of Colombia, most of Venezuela and the northern part of Ecuador; the *Brazilian Confederation* with the present territory of Brazil, plus the northern portion of Bolivia, the eastern sector of Ecu-

¹ Prologue, pp. v-xxxii.

ador, some districts in the south of Venezuela and the Antilles; and the *Mexican Confederation*—which when accepted in the political organization of the republics, will eliminate strife and pave the way to Hispanic-American harmony and solidarity; and that after their normal life has thus been restored these American states and Spain will find it natural and easy to form a society of nations, for, aside from the grandeur of such an organization of peoples of the same race and with similar culture and aspirations, the Yankee menace will constitute a powerful force impelling them in this direction.¹

In view of this array of evidence—and it could be made more formidable if space permitted—there seems little room to doubt the existence in Spain of a strong desire for intimacy with Hispanic America.² The motives behind such a desire are racial and cultural as well as political and commercial, but the former seems to have been most emphasized. In writing of their aspiration Spaniards sometimes express, and probably more often feel, opposition to the United States, and the Yankee peril is therefore frequently held up before the Spaniards overseas.

What progress has Pan-Hispanism made in Hispanic America and what are its prospects in the future?

The revolt in Cuba and the so-called Spanish-American War furnished the people south of the Rio Grande an opportunity to express their sentiments toward the mother country before the enthusiasm aroused by the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the discovery of America had died away. For instance, in the spring and summer of 1897, some of the leading newspapers of Mexico carried on a spirited discussion regarding what should be Mexico's attitude toward the prospective independence of Cuba. Francisco Bulnes seems to have been one of the important champions of Cuban liberation, but he

¹ *El Factor Geográfico en la Política Sudamericana*, pp. 3-135, 553 *et seq.*

² Other evidences of Spanish interest in rapprochement with Hispanic America are revealed by the Second Congress of Hispano-American History and Geography, which met in Seville in May, 1921, as well as by the plans for a general Hispano-American Congress to be held in Spain in 1926.

met with several able opponents, of whom Don Carlos de Olaguíbel y Arista, Don Francisco G. Cosmés and Trinidad Sánchez Santos may be taken as typical. Bulnes attacked Spain's colonial policy severely, defended the Cuban cause as analogous to that of Mexico in 1810, spoke disparagingly of the value of Spanish immigration to Hispanic-American republics, and gave evidence of a friendly disposition toward the United States. His opponents, first and last, defended the Spanish colonial régime and Spanish culture, declared that the Cuban separatist movement was similar to the "infamy of Texas" and not to the action of the Spanish colonies at the opening of the nineteenth century; that it would be a mistake for the Hispanic-American states which were trying to preserve the integrity of their national domain under the federalist system to champion the cause of separatism; that in case Cuba achieved its independence from Spain the island would not have the elements and the power to maintain such independence, but would fall, like Texas, into the clutches of the Yankees; and, lastly, that Mexico, and the other Hispanic-American states for that matter, could ill afford to place obstacles in the way of the ever-increasing flow of Spanish immigrants which, "identified with us by all those bonds which attach a human group to the spirit and the characteristic tendencies of race", can alone "bring industry, prosperity, order and civilization to the deserts of our domain."¹

This sympathy for Spain seems to have been somewhat general at the time, in spite of the widespread desire to see Cuba freed from Spanish control. The Chilean writer, Alberto del Solar, pronounced a terrible tirade against the rudeness, the grossness and the greed of the United States, and concluded his address with a hymn to Spain;² the young Argentinian statesman, Roque Sáenz Peña, expressed the fervent hope that

¹ A convenient compilation of the articles published in this connection was issued by Frederico de Pedro under the title, *La Independencia de Cuba en Relación con el Criterio Americano y los Intereses de México* (Mexico, Avenida Juárez 624, 1897).

² *La Doctrina de Monroe y América Latina* (Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1898).

the Spanish forces might be victorious; and numerous others revealed similar sentiments.¹

The Hispano-American Congress which, at the instance of the *Union-Iberoamericano*, convened in Madrid two years after the close of the war, gave further evidence of the growing feeling of solidarity between Spain and her erstwhile colonies. This feeling was particularly noticeable during the inaugural session of the congress, when Don Justo Sierra, the distinguished Mexican author and statesman, speaking for the entire Hispanic-American delegation, delivered an address which breathed Pan-American sentiment from almost every sentence.²

The intellectuals of the countries south of the Rio Grande have continued to cultivate this attitude. Such important writers as Rubén Darío, José Santos Chocano, Gómez Jaime, Andrade Coello, Rufino Blanco-Fombona, José M. Vargas Vila, Eliseo Giberga, J. Francisco V. Silva and José León Suárez are champions of Pan-Hispanism in one form or another. There is, in fact, a considerable group of Hispanic-American idealists who express the conviction that the only means of saving their nationalities from deterioration and chaos within, and absorption from without, is a return to the law of their origin, their historical past, their maternal traditions, their primal racial heritage. In the opinion of this group the Hispanic-American nations are threatened with racial deterioration, hybridism, spiritual mystification, the disappearance of historical consciousness, in a phrase, denationalization and annihilation, unless they avail themselves of every opportunity to promote a vigorous revival of Hispanism in its fullest and most glorious sense.³ The significance for Pan-Hispanism of this idea, if it is generally accepted as a working hypothesis, needs no comment.

As revelations of Pan-Hispanic sentiment in the countries

¹ *Escritos y Discursos* (Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1914-15), vol. I, p. 429 et seq. For brief mention of other champions of Spain see Altamira, *Cuestiones Hispano-Americanas*, *passim*.

² For an account of this episode, see Ecuador, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Informe* (1901), pp. 43-46.

³ Carlos Badía Malgrida, *op. cit.*, p. 48 et seq.

south of the Rio Grande, recent productions of two historians of the Argentine are particularly worthy of note. Late in 1916, or early in 1917, a distinguished professor of the University of Buenos Aires published a booklet¹ on the character of the Hispanic-American revolution, in which he maintained, among other things, that it was unjust to blame Spain for not extending liberties to the colonies when despotism held sway in the peninsula, and for exploiting the riches of the New World when such exploitation accorded with the general colonial concept of the age; that Spain's treatment of the indigenes was not as cruel as it had been represented; that many Spaniards in Spain who were also seeking larger liberties sympathized with the colonials in their struggle for independence; that the real nature of the revolution can only be grasped when it is considered as a "*crisis fatal* in favor of liberty and of human rights, which was produced as a consequence of the revolutions of the United States and of France at the end of the eighteenth century"—all of which seems to be well-founded; but the author makes it very clear that he is highly elated at being able to champion such a viewpoint and takes great pains to set forth the significance of his work for the Pan-Hispanic movement. In fact, the author's intense fervor for Spain is evident on almost every page; and what is more significant, his booklet seems to have aroused widespread interest and met with much commendation in all parts of Spanish America.²

Just as this booklet was going through its third edition, another Argentinian, J. F. V. Silva, published a much more radical work.³ Silva went so far as to lament the separation of the Spanish colonies from the mother country, declaring that Hispanophobia and a slavish imitation of the United States had been the capital error of the Latins of the New World. He

¹ José León Suárez, *Carácter de la Revolución Americana* (Buenos Aires, Juan Roldán, 1917).

² See appendix of the 1919 edition for evidence of the impression made by this work in Hispanic America and elsewhere.

³ J. Francisco V. Silva, *Reparto de América Española y Pan-Hispanismo* (Madrid, Francisco Beltrán [1918], xv + 511 pp.).

urged the formation of a vast empire including Portugal, Brazil, Spain and the Spanish-American Republics. The capital of this great organization was to be in Spain and full local autonomy was to be preserved for each of its parts. In support of his plan of union Silva held up the English, the German, and the North American perils, but he placed main emphasis upon the last of these. Nor were his ambitions confined merely to matters of defense. The new empire would have its *irredenta*. In Europe there would be Gibraltar and Morocco; in America, Porto Rico, the Falkland Islands and the Panama Canal must be regained. The integrity of Mexico must be guaranteed. Yankee influence must be counteracted in Cuba, Santo Domingo and Central America. Indeed, the new Hispanic nation should control both the Panama Canal and the Strait of Magellan, as well as the Caribbean area, and all the islands adjacent to the Central and South American coasts!

This Hispanic friendliness of the intellectuals, and of a large group of the upper classes in general, has been revealed frequently by the enthusiastic receptions given to such Spanish scholars as Altamira and Adolfo Posada,¹ and such statesmen and financiers as Rahola and Cavestany. The Pan-Hispanic note was particularly prevalent in the numerous addresses given during the extended tour of Altamira already mentioned. The president of the University of La Plata declared that the unanimity of sentiment and opinion which had greeted Altamira lovingly as a friend and admiringly as a teacher was "nothing more than the mysterious and recondite salutation of blood to blood across an ocean which separates two continents and across a century of history which separates two hearths which once were one." He expressed his conviction, also, that the currents of natural rapprochement and cohesion would overcome the divergencies caused by political vicissitudes and "reconstruct the primitive unity, the inherent affinity, the indestructible consubstantiality"; and closed his address with the prediction that the Spanish race "would be the arbiter in the

¹ See Posada's *En América una Campaña* (Madrid, F. Beltrán, 1911); and *Para América desde España* (Paris, P. Ollendorff, 1910).

future of a vast portion of human destiny.”¹ The rector of the University of Chile hoped that there would be established across the Andes and the Atlantic “a great intercourse of merchandise and of ideas, of manufactured products and books, of things and men, of students and teachers”; for, whether “liberals or conservatives, Catholics or rationalists, the Hispanic Americans are not able to renounce either the traditions of Spain which constitute the foundation of our culture, or the rich Castilian language which serves us as the medium of appropriating all the treasures of classic antiquity and all the promises of the new spirit, or much less the warm blood . . . which stirs our hearts.”² The speaker chosen by the “University Center” of Lima to express its sentiments to Altamira declared that both reason and racial attraction made for Pan-Hispanic solidarity, and that union with the peninsula could be predicted with mathematical certainty.³ In Mexico the distinguished lawyer, Rodolfo Reyes, declared that the preservation of the characteristics of the mother race and relations of cordiality with Spain should be the Mexican ideal, and he asked the assistance of the thinkers of Spain in the solution of the problem of protecting Hispanic America from the disintegrating and absorbing influence of extraneous forces, the North American influence being one of the most dangerous of these.⁴

In Uruguay and in Cuba Pan-Hispanic expressions were hardly so numerous and emphatic. In the educational centers of the former republic there was evident some of the coldness and objectivity of the scientific attitude,⁵ while in Cuba, as Altamira had possibly anticipated, he found himself somewhat on the defensive. And yet, his visit to this republic so recently emancipated from the Spanish yoke did not meet with an entirely unfavorable response. Most conspicuous proof of this fact is found in the expressions coming from the noted writer, Eliseo Giberga, from the head of the Institute of Secondary

¹ Altamira, *Mi Viage á América*, pp. 125-139.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 254-261.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-383.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 231-249.

Education, and from the veterans of Cuban independence. It must be noted, however, that most of the documents which Altamira produces as evidence of the nature of the Cuban attitude toward his mission were inspired by the celebration given by the Spanish colony of Cuba.¹

More significant than this evidence of growing friendliness between the intellectuals of Spain and Hispanic America are the accumulating indications of increasing intimacy in official circles. In recent years October 12 has been set apart as a national holiday in virtually all of the Hispanic-American republics. This, however, is apparently not to be taken as evidence of a growing desire to honor the great Italian who, sailing under the Spanish flag, discovered America. Its significance lies rather in the fact that this great event is celebrated as *Fiesta de la Raza*—Racial Day—and not Columbus Day. The Pan-Hispanic note is universally sounded.² Moreover, one who takes the trouble to search through the published correspondence exchanged between Spain and the states of Hispanic America during recent years will discover many documents expressing mutual admiration, confidence and good will. This attitude appears to be quite general, but space forbids the presentation of more than a few illustrations from the official correspondence of Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and the Argentine.

In his *Informe* for 1910 the Colombian minister of foreign relations took occasion to remark that, "Colombia, one of the American countries which has shown itself most friendly to the mother country, has been especially careful to cultivate with all cordiality and to make day by day more intimate its relations with the noble Spanish people." The minister in charge of the same office remarked in 1919, while lamenting the failure of the Spanish government to participate in the celebration of the centenary of the battle of Boyacá, that this could in no way break the "bonds which unite us with the mother country or extinguish racial affections."³

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 401-492.

² *Current History*, vol. XV (November, 1921), p. 363.

³ Colombia, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Informe* (1910), p. 25, (1919), p. 91.

In 1903, the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs noted that his government had participated in the celebration of the arrival of Don Alfonso XIII at his majority and expressed gratitude to the Queen Regent for the generous consideration she had given Venezuela.¹ The dispatch by the government of Spain of a descendant of Don Pablo Morillo, the distinguished general who sought to put down the Venezuelan movement for independence, for the purpose of taking part in the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of efforts looking toward emancipation, aroused marked enthusiasm in Venezuela. This act signified forgiveness and the forgetting of past injuries. Venezuela, accepting it in good faith, reciprocated. President Gómez and his government went so far as to lay the corner-stones of what were to be two monuments, one to Simón Bolívar and the other to Pablo Morillo, Count of Cartagena.² A year later, in receiving the new Spanish Minister, the Venezuelan chief executive referred to these events, speaking of the love and esteem of his constituency for the mother country in the following terms:

Señor Minister: you well know that there is ineradicable in the Venezuelan people the tradition of respect and endearment toward noble Spain, glorious creator of these American nationalities. . . .

This tradition was exhibited in its highest relief on the occasion of the Centenary of our Independence, when by joining in these commemorative festivities, Spain gave added strength to the bond of blood and of the common glories of the race. And Venezuela knows how to appreciate these demonstrations of cordiality which respond perfectly to the intimate sentiments which here are guarded as the treasure of the Venezuelan hearth.³

Lastly, in 1913, another Spanish minister was received with the cordial assurance that he was coming into the midst of a people "who do not renounce their origin, but who see in the Mother Spain the glorious fountain of their life and are delighted with the spectacle of her resurrection under the reign of a great monarch."⁴

¹ Venezuela, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, *Informe* (1903), p. xv.

² *Idem*, *Boletín* (1911), p. 643 *et seq.*

³ Venezuela, *Boletín* (1912), pp. 110-111.

⁴ *Ibid.*, (1913), p. 196.

Mexico's response to the invitation to attend the Hispano-American Congress of 1900 was one of the most cordial of all those given by the American states.¹ In 1901 the Spanish Minister to Mexico was assured that the fraternal sentiments of Spain toward Mexico were fully reciprocated "by the government and people of this Republic. Nor is it possible for less than this mutual and vehement sympathy to exist between two peoples united by tradition, . . . by the blood which courses in their veins", and above all by a similar civilization.² The presence of the Spanish representative at the celebration of the centenary of Mexican independence elicited from President Díaz words of rejoicing at this indication of complete reconciliation between mother and daughter. He declared that had Spain been absent a painful void would have been felt, but with Spain present, the occasion possessed all that was necessary to render "unforgettable . . . the annals of a people who do not disdain their origin."³

The diplomatic correspondence between Spain and the Argentine Republic indicates that the two countries are on terms of complete and mutual cordiality. The Minister sent by the Roca administration (1898-1904) to Spain was reminded that Argentinians "have the duty of maintaining, at all costs, intimacy with the mother country."⁴ During this same administration certain expressions which gave offense to Spain were suppressed from the Argentinian national hymn.⁵ A few years later the Argentine Minister of War gave an extremely fervent address on the occasion of the departure of the Spanish delegation which had been present at a magnificent horse show. In one of the most eloquent portions of his speech he sounded the Pan-Hispanic note in the following fashion:

When you return to the old land of Iberia, say that if, in conform-

¹ Mexico, Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, *Boletín Oficial* (1900), p. 269, *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, (1901), p. 260.

³ *Ibid.*, (1910), pp. 292-293.

⁴ Labra, *Orientación Americana de España*, *passim*. See also Ramón Orbea, *La Reconquista de América*.

⁵ León Suárez, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

ity to the universal law of life, the mature fruit has fallen from the branch that nurtures it, if the eaglet leaves its nest when its wings are able to sustain it, Spain should not consider lost the hive whose swarm populated America and which for a time she deemed lost, but which today is found again in the flourishing magnificence of her race and her genius. . . . Say that here we call ourselves Hispanic Americans; that if we receive all men fraternally, your race is ours and into its modernized mold we shall pour the human bronze which must form the determinate race of our people. Say that her Castilian language, sonorous and virile, which she gave us, will in the future be spoken from our lips so emphatically that no other language shall be able to sound above it. Say that here we shall work with enthusiasm, being anxiously desirous that the victories of peace, of prosperity, and of human improvement may succeed in placing our race in the lead of the world. Then Spain, the common mother of all these peoples, shall march triumphantly with an escort of children at her side and look with pride upon her issue in the new lands [across the Atlantic].¹

Special consideration given by Spain to the Argentine nation in the celebrations connected with its independence met with every token of fullest appreciation. The mother country's proposal to erect a monument to the Argentine nation evoked fervid expressions of friendship in the La Plata congress;² the visit of the Princess, Doña Isabel de Borbón, in 1910 was greeted with profound and sincere enthusiasm; the raising of the Spanish diplomatic representation in Buenos Aires to the category of an embassy in connection with the celebrations of 1916 was reciprocated by a similar step with reference to the Argentinian legation in Madrid, and all was accompanied by frequent and fervent protestations of admiration.³

If words and international courtesies count for anything, surely the Hispano-American rapprochement has made much progress since the early days of the nineteenth century! In the field of the immediately practical no astonishing results

¹ Quoted in Labra, *Orientación Americana de España*, pp. 45-46.

² Argentina, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, *Memoria* (1915-1916), pp. 215-217, (1916-1917), *passim*. See also Joaquín V. González, *La Argentina y Sus Amigos* (Buenos Aires, J. Lajouane y Cía., 1919), p. 7 *et seq.*

³ Argentina, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, *Memoria*, (1915-1916), pp. 215-217, (1916-1917), *passim*.

have been achieved, although some progress has been registered. Arbitration treaties and various pacts relating to commercial, industrial and cultural matters have been signed, and there has been a growing tendency to refer matters of dispute between American states to the arbitration of the Spanish government. The movement of trade between Spain and the Hispanic-American countries will prove disappointing to those who are searching for this supposedly solid basis for intimacy. Spain's commerce with these states in 1907 was only half what it had been in 1897. This was due largely to the loss of Cuba. But no remarkable increase has been recorded since 1907. In 1913, Spain furnished only three and one-half per cent of the total commerce of Hispanic America, while she purchased from it a still smaller portion of its exports. By 1918 these percentages had risen to about four and one-half and a little more than two and one-half, respectively, while in 1919 the relative percentages decreased, although the absolute bulk increased.²

One's estimate of the importance of this Pan-Hispanic movement in Hispanic America will depend, however, upon his theory as to the forces determining national policies and national action. Those who are convinced that economic considerations are the controlling element will be inclined to give it small weight. On the other hand, alarmists who expect the era of national combats to be superseded by titanic inter-racial struggles and those who give great weight to cultural and idealistic influences will take a very different view of the matter. It seems to me that the future of the movement will be conditioned largely by three factors: (1) the progress of liberalism and the continuance of economic prosperity in Spain; (2) the persistence of Yankeeophobia among the Hispanic-American peoples; and (3) the prevalence in Hispanic America of that social philosophy which maintains that the social problems of these republics can be solved only by a revival of racial pride, a return to the culture and the ideals of the Spanish race.

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¹ Pan-American Union, *Bulletin*, January and November, 1919; May, 1921, *passim*. Data for 1920-1921 are not available.

PROPOSALS FOR THE NEUTRALITY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

THE question of the neutrality of the British colonies is by no means new. It is a hardy perennial which keeps cropping up from time to time at moments of international complication and danger. From the days of the American colonies to our own time it has troubled the minds of colonial and imperial statesmen. In times of peace the issue lies quiescent and apparently dead, but on the outbreak of war it quickly revives. During the World War it took on a new and more vigorous lease of life.¹ The Treaty of Versailles and the conference at Cannes² have given it an additional significance. In brief, the question has been transformed from a theoretical issue into a matter of practical politics. The self-governing Dominions have undoubtedly acquired a new international status but it is by no means certain what that status is in international law or according to the provisions of the League of Nations. The question nevertheless is one which may require an early answer.

Probably the earliest attempt to secure immunity for the colonies in time of war is to be found in the closing days of the Stuart régime. The exposed position of the colonies was a continual source of trouble to the English and French governments throughout the seventeenth century. European wars were fought out again on a smaller scale in the overseas possessions. The French government at this time was anxious to arrange a political and commercial treaty with England and had sent a special commissioner to London for that purpose. The moment was opportune to effect such an arrangement, as King

¹ On the outbreak of the war Germany proposed that the colonies of the respective belligerents should be neutralized, but Great Britain refused to entertain the suggestion.

² Article IV of the abortive Anglo-French alliance provided that "the present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Dominion concerned."