Manuel Ugarte and Hispanoamericanismo

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MANUEL UGARTE AND HISPANOAMERICANISMO

By

Robert Welter Daly

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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VITA AUCTORIS

Born 13 March, 1916, in Chicago, Illinois, he graduated from St. Ignatius Grammar School in 1930, and Loyola Academy in 1934. He attended Northwestern University for three semesters, 1934-6. In the Fall of 1937, he came to Loyola University, receiving a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in June, 1939, and the Master of Arts degree in June, 1940.

For the scholastic years, 1939-40-41, he was a Graduate Assistant in the Department of History.

In September, 1941, he was commissioned Ensign, USCGR, and assigned to teach General Studies, United States Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn. In March, 1943, he began training for sea duty, and went on inactive duty in December 1945. After terms at Yale's and Georgetown's Graduate Schools, he was appointed Instructor, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, and in September, 1948, became Assistant Professor.

He has published two novels, and many serials, novellettes, and short stories with historical backgrounds, and has contributed about a dozen articles to such publications as the USNI Proceedings, and THE MARINER'S MIRROR, Cambridge University Press.
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CHAPTER ONE

UNION IN SOUTH AMERICA, WHAT WAS PROPOSED,
WHAT WAS DONE ABOUT IT, AND THE
REACTION OF THE UNITED STATES
It is a grandiose idea to try to form the whole New World into a single nation, with a single chain linking its parts together in a unit. Seeing that the New World has an origin, language, customs and a religion (in common), it consequently ought to have a single government confederating the different states that have been formed; more is not possible because remote climes, diverse situations, opposing interests, dissimilar characters divide America. How beautiful it would be if the Isthmus of Panama should become for us that which the Isthmus of Corinth was for the Greeks. Would that some day we may have the fortune of assembling an august congress of the representatives of the several republics, kingdoms and emperors to meet together and consider the high interests of peace and war with the three other parties of the world! This species of corporation could take place in some happy period of our regeneration; any other hope is unfounded, similar to that of the Abbot St. Pierre who conceived the laudable delirium of convening a European Congress to deal with the fate and interests of those nations.

BOLIVAR

Even before independence has been achieved, men in the colonies of Spain perceived the necessity of striving to reach a solidarity based upon their common origins. Several forces actively promoted such an organization. The first was the success of the revolution itself, which crystallized the hopes of the rebels and proved that they could act together in a vastly important matter that concerned them all. Another force was ethnic, consisting of those elements

1 Rufino Blanco-Fombona, El Pensamiento vivo de Bolívar, Buenos Aires, 1944, from the famous Jamaica Letter, 6 September 1815, supposed to have been written to the Duke of Manchester, 172-173.
arising from an Iberian origin. Another was the recognition of the need for some type of concerted defense against foreign exploitation, with the conveniences to be found in following a uniform diplomacy and a law suited to the peculiarities of the American continent, in arbitration of fratricidal disputes and in the free interchange of resources.  

These hopes were not realised. Various critics assign various causes, such as "Regional Spirit and the ambitions of caudillos determined the formation of American nationalities." Apart from these two fundamental factors making for disintegration, other elements were involved, such as those cited by Bolívar. The geographical barriers of mountain and river, customarily a contributor to the creation of a nation in its physical terminations, had rude strength of divisional forces in the Andes and the Tributaries of the Rio de la Plata. The Regional differences in developed wealth meant that some areas of population would be anxious to preserve their economic advantages in order to amass greater fortunes, and would fight against a central taxing authority for the entire continent, and any construction of a system like the monopolies of Spain. The regional differences in the mixtures of whites with Indians and negroes meant that some areas of population would be superior to others physically and socially, while the proximity of the Atlantic

2 Lucio M. Moreno Quintana, El Sistema Internacional Americano, Buenos Aires, 1925, 1, 107-108.

3 Ibid., 1, 108.
seaboard to Europe would ensure the deposit of most white immigrants on the Atlantic littoral, as the Pacific areas remained in a relatively static condition.\(^4\)

In each generation since independence, men have sought to utilize the forces of unity in the South American Republics against the factors of disintegration. Their struggle may be divided into two periods. From 1810 to 1889, these visionaries were concerned almost exclusively with the Spanish-speaking peoples, and their movement was known as "Hispanoamericanismo." After 1889, the group was divided into those who shifted their hopes to Pan-Americanism, those who wished to leave out the United States but include the new democracy of Brazil in a movement of "Ibero-" or "Latinoamericanismo", and those who maintained the original goal of uniting only the Spanish-speaking nations.\(^5\) Pan-Americanism as a movement and as an ideology has been slowly gaining ground, but there are South Americans still loyal to the plans of achieving their own union.

Historically, neither the specific objectives nor the means of attaining this union have been consistent, ranging from proposals for a completely autocratic centralized monarchy to a loose assembly of


\(^5\)Moreno Quintana, I, 108-112.
favorably disposed brothers. As early as 1763, the Count de Aranda, a minister of Spain, suggested to Charles III that three great monarchies should be created in Mexico, Peru, and Costa Firme, with Infantes of Castilla as rulers. This suggestion was pigeon-holed as being impolitic, due to the international situation following upon the Peace of Paris in that year. 6

In 1790, the quondam Colonel of the Spanish Army, Francisco de Miranda, submitted a plan to the ministry of France aiming first at the emancipation of the colonies, 7 and then at the establishment of a hereditary Inca emperor, seconded by a bicameral legislature of nobles and commons. Miranda went to the trouble of sketching a complete constitution for this vast empire, 8 which was to have its capitol on the Isthmus of Panama, 9 but by 1798, he had changed his plans of a grand union in favor of merely gaining the independence of his native Venezuela and the establishment of a single state. 10

The conspiracy led by Manuel Gaul and José España which was thwarted in 1797 by the Spanish authorities at Caracas, aimed at independence and a dictatorship to be headed by Gaul and España

6 Ibid., I, 113


8 Ibid., I, 102-105

9 Ibid., I, 223-224

10 Ibid., I, 230
for the benefit of the "Pueblo Americano," in whose name decrees would be issued for the governance of the continent. Also, about this time, there began to be circulated the famous plea for independence written by the exiled Jesuit Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, which lent character to the insurrection. Maintaining that ruler and ruled have reciprocal rights and obligations, Father Viscardo accused Spain of having violated her obligations, thereby releasing the colonists from theirs. He foresaw an America "peopled by men of all nations and forming a single great family of brothers." 

Aware of the ferment bubbling in the Peruvian colonists, Pedro Vicente Cañete in 1810 presented to Viceroy Abascal a plan to erect a "regencia soberana de América," justifying his opportunism by the high-handed procedure of Napoleon in the Iberian peninsula. Since authority was tottering, Cañete deemed it advisable for Abascal to have representatives of the vice-royalties of Peru, Mexico, New Granada and the Rio de la Plata convene in Lima for a Cortes which would decide upon the destiny of the Americans. Abascal did not choose to move in such a conciliatory manner, preferring instead to crush revolt wherever he found it, imprisoning, executing or banishing disaffected Creoles. However, even had he chosen a

11 Belaunde, 79-83.

12 Moreno Quintana, I, 113-114.

13 A. Curtis Wilgus, The Development of Hispanic America, New York, 1941, 277.
peaceful course of cooperating with the colonists in their blind battle for independence, the temper of the times would doubtless have frustrated his best efforts, as the conciliatory authorities of Chile were frustrated in theirs. 14

The year 1810 saw in Chile several remarkable proposals to unify the colonies of Spain. Juan Egaña in his "Projecto de declaración de los derechos del pueblo de Chile" wanted the new government of Chile to act as the organizer of America and to lead in forming a single political entity. A provisional Congress could, if opportunity convened, determine the form of rule. Egaña envisaged a series of autonomous states bound together in matters of common interest similar to the loose bonds of what was to be the British Commonwealth of Nations. He did not seek complete independence, but would have acknowledged Spain as the fountainhead of the Congress, although the colonies by acting together would be the actual power within the system. 15

Egaña's "Projecto" had to compete for popularity with the "Catecismo político-cristiano." This work was the most famous of the period. Written under the pseudonym of José Amor de la Patria,

14 Luis Galdames, Estudio de la Historia de Chile, Santiago, 1938, 178-189

its author was probably Antonio José de Irisarri, a Guatemalan who had come to Chile the previous year.\textsuperscript{16} Like Egana, its author advocated union of the colonies, with the particular advice: "Convene an open cabildo; form a provisional junta as soon as possible to take charge of the superior authority, and call together the deputies of the kingdom to make a constitution and provide for its wellbeing. The national representation of all the provinces of South America should reside where all agree...Form your own government in the name of King Ferdinand, so that when he comes to reign among us...But for the immediate future, no intrusive kings, no French, no English, no Carlotas, no Portuguese, no other foreign domination. Let us all die Americans, before suffering or bearing the foreign yoke!"\textsuperscript{17}

Juan Martínez de Rozas Correa, to whom was also attributed the authorship of the "Catecismo politico-cristiano," has been called the philosopher of Chilean independence.\textsuperscript{18} Prominent throughout the establishment of the nation, he seized upon the visit of Alvarez Jonte, sent by the Junta of Buenos Aires to negotiate a defensive alliance, to urge upon his brethren across the Andes a convocation of an Hispanic American Congress.\textsuperscript{19} Having been born in the Argentine

\textsuperscript{16} Isaac J. Cox, translated and annotated edition of Luis Galdames, \textit{A History of Chile}, Chapel Hill, 1941, 483. Also, Galdames, \textit{op. cit.}, 191-192.

\textsuperscript{17} Galdames, 194; translation taken from Cox's edition, 154.

\textsuperscript{18} Cox's edition of Galdames, 492.

\textsuperscript{19} Moreno Quintana, I, 114.
city of Mendoza,20 de Rosas Correa perhaps expected sympathetic reception of his idea, but the Junta of Buenos Aires had Mariano Moreno for a secretary, and Moreno was hostile to such nonsense.

"If we consider the diverse origin of the group of states which form the Spanish monarchy," Moreno wrote in the Gaceta of 1810, "we cannot discover a single reason why they should remain united in the absence of the king, who was the bond of their unity...It is chimerical to claim that all of Spanish America should form one state."21 He was afraid that most people did not understand the real character of a federal state, which was a type of organization unsuited to the colonies. Where, he asked, could the federal assembly meet where it could "conveniently receive instructions from distant peoples in regard to the urgent needs of the states?" Rather than the unrealistic dream of attempting to unify all of South America, Moreno wanted a powerful state to be formed in the La Plata area, to which, as the greatest feasible expansion of territory, might be added Brazil, if revolutionary agents could succeed in inflaming that peaceful monarchy.22

In the years of struggle that followed, the names begin to grow in number. Joaquín Mosquera, Bernardo Monteagudo, Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, Bernardo O'Higgins,


22 Ibid., 160
all these and several others in one form or another favored some kind of a union. Sent out by Bolívar in 1821 to form an offensive and defensive league with the independent nations, Mosquera was successful in negotiating treaties of friendship with Peru, Chile and La Plata. Monteagudo, while in Lima during 1824, formulated a plan of American confederation. Pueyrredón, writing instructions for San Martín as Argentina prepared to go to the assistance of Chile, hoped that the nations of Latin America would someday work together as a team. San Martín, "over and above his epoch, personified American internal peace and solidarity, representing


24 Moreno Quintana, I, 115.

25 Carlos Pueyrredón, La Campana de los Andes, Cartas Secretas e instrucciones reservadas de Pueyrredón a San Martín, Buenos Aires, 1942, "Ramo político y Gubernativo," Facsimile 13. The text of these instructions clearly indicated Pueyrredón's hopes:

"14a Though, as just provided, the general may not meddle by means of action or terror in the establishment of the country's supreme permanent government, he will try to make his influence and persuasion prevail so that Chile sends her deputies to the general congress of the United Provinces, in order that there may be constituted a general form of government which all America, united in identity of cause, interests and object, may constitute a single nation; but above all, he will exert himself that there be a government established analogous and similar to that which constitutes our congress, trying, whatever the form that country may adopt, to have a constitutional alliance with our provinces included;

"15a He ought to conclude a treaty of commercial reciprocity, peace, union and mutual offensive and defensive alliance; for which solemn celebration there will be sent the necessary instructions at the first opportunity;"
the moral force oriented towards fraternal union." 26 O'Higgins, upon becoming Supreme Director of Chile, endorsed the scheme of confederating the American continent. 27 Bolívar, however, is justly famous for having undertaken what might be considered the first practical step towards realising the goal.

We have seen in the quotation heading this chapter what Bolívar had to say in 1815 on the subject of uniting the colonies under one ruler, while favoring the convocation of a Congress at Panama. Two days before Sucre's decisive victory at Ayacucho of 9 December 1824, which assured the independence of Peru, Bolívar sent out invitations to the American states to convene a Congress in Panama. "Bolívar remained faithful to his idea of national governments, unified and efficient, but within perfectly defined institutional bounds," says one admirer. "These national governments which followed the great divisions of the colony, ought to constitute organic democracies and should unite to form a great federation, which would ensure their independence and make them respectable in the eyes of the world. Within this plan Bolívar assigned himself a role representative of the whole of America." 28


27 Moreno Quintana, I, 114-115. Down to and including Bolívar's, these early projects for unifying South America are ably summarised by Joseph Byrne Lockey, Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings, New York, 1926, 263-311.

28 Belaunde, 224-225. Opinions about Bolívar's sincerity are not uniform.
The Hispanic-American Conferences

The Congress of Panama, 1826, is a great milestone in the development of continental solidarity. Theretofore, men only talked about the benefits to be derived from cooperation. Bolívar's prestige brought delegates from Peru, Colombia, Central America and Mexico to the Congress, which, if it accomplished nothing else, was expected to serve as "staff headquarters" against the designs of the Holy Alliance. Because Great Britain had so much to gain in commercial relations with an independent South America, Bolívar hoped that the confederation might enter into the British empire.\(^{29}\) Despite the expectations of

\(^{29}\) Belaunde, 259-268. See especially pp. 265-266 for Bolívar's stated expectations, prefaced by his summary: "The congress of Panama will bring together representatives from all of the governments of America and a diplomatic agent of the government of his Britannic Majesty. This congress seems destined to form the vastest league, the most extraordinary and the strongest which has ever appeared on earth. The Holy Alliance will be inferior in power to this league, if England consents to take part in it. The human race would give a thousand thanks for this league of salvation, and America and England would receive manifold benefits from it."

Bolívar said nothing about his personal ambitions in the invitation which he issued, merely saying: "After fifteen years of sacrifices consecrated to the liberty of America, in order to obtain the system of guarantees which in peace and war may be the shield of our new destiny, it is now time that the interests and relations which bind together the American republics, the former Spanish colonies, should take a fundamental basis which would perpetuate, if possible, the duration of these governments.

"To initiate negotiations for that system and to consolidate the power of this great political body pertains to the exercise of a sublime authority which may direct the policy of our governments, whose influence would maintain the uniformity of their principles, and whose name alone would calm our tempests. Such a respected authority cannot exist except in an assembly of plenipotentiaries appointed by each one of our republics and congregated under the auspices of the victory obtained by our arms against the Spanish power." Quoted from Blanco-Fombona, Bolívar, 116-117.
Henry Clay voiced in 1820 that the United States "should become the center of a system which would constitute the rallying point of human wisdom against all the despotism of the Old World," Bolívar doubted if it was wise to invite the North Americans to the Congress, because the presence of the Yankees might compromise his hopes for an English protectorate.\textsuperscript{30} Santander seems to have been responsible for the invitation sent to Washington.\textsuperscript{31} Brazil and Argentina did not send representatives because they were warring.\textsuperscript{32}

At Panama, Mexico, Guatemala and Peru drew up a treaty of "union, league and perpetual confederation" that had been sponsored by Bolívar's


\textsuperscript{31}Belaunde, 260-261. As it was, the Yankee representatives did not cause any trouble. Adams delegated John Sergeant and Richard C. Anderson to attend, but Congress delayed approval of the mission, so that Sergeant reached Panama after the assembly had adjourned. Anderson died en route. Robertson, \textit{Hisp.-Am. Rel.}, 382-383. The instructions given to Sergeant and Anderson seem to forecast the attitude of the United States for many years towards an American Congress: "All notion is rejected of an amphictyonic council, invested with power finally to decide controversies between the American States or to regulate in any respect their conduct. Such a council might have been well enough adapted to a number of small contracted States, whose united territory would fall short of the extent of that of the smallest of the American powers. The complicated and various interests which appertain to the nations of this vast continent can not be safely confided to the superintendence of one legislative authority. We should almost as soon expect to see an amphictyonic council to regulate the affairs of the whole globe." Quoted in \textit{International American Conferences}, 4 vols., Washington, 1890, IV, \textit{Historical Appendix}, 115-116.

\textsuperscript{32}Levene, \textit{Lecciones}, II, 314-325.
Colombia, but the treaty was ratified by Colombia alone. Nationalism, even of short duration, had gained a foothold in the other countries, and, allied with fears that the Liberator primarily desired to bring South Americans under the hegemony of a great Colombia, served to defeat the measure when it was introduced into national legislatures. The Congress of Panama merely set a pattern of failure that was to dog the Hispanic-American Congresses that were to follow. 33 When Venezuela and Ecuador broke away to become independent nations, Bolívar was disappointed in his dream of even a great Colombia, and died in 1830, saying that he had "plowed the ocean." 34

The Mexican government tried unsuccessfully in 1831, 1838 and 1840 to assemble a second Congress to draw up conventions of alliance, territorial integrity and obligatory general arbitration, as well as to undertake the codification of American international law, but these efforts failed because of the unsettled conditions of national governments. 35

In 1844, the idea of an American Congress found a new champion. Juan Bautista Alberdi, supporting his candidacy for the degree of


34 Belaunde, 391-398.

licentiate in law at the University of Chile, completed a thesis outlining the necessity of holding a general American congress. He thought that the prime concern of such a congress would be the settlement of national boundaries and the maintenance of continental peace. Alberdi was without honor as an international prophet in his native Argentina, where he is primarily revered as the father of the Constitution of 1853.

Frightened by the portents they chose to see in our war with Mexico and the threat made by Spain to intervene in Ecuador to support General Juan José Flores in his plan to carve out a monarchy to be ruled by a Spanish prince with himself as Regent, Peruvians called a Congress that met at Lima in 1847. Bolívar's plan was revived by the representatives of New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile, together with a treaty of commerce and navigation, and two conventions concerning consular practices and a postal system. None of the agreements were ratified by all of the represented governments. The second Hispanic-American congress was a second failure.

In 1856, representatives of Chile, Peru and Ecuador met in Santiago de Chile to make a third effort. They were motivated by fears


37 Levene, Lecciones, II, 478-482.

arising from filibustering expeditions like that of Walker in Mexico and Central America, the building of the Isthmian Railway, and European imperialism as manifested in such matters as the Falkland Islands dispute or the blockade of the Plata basin. A continental treaty was once again signed, repeating the provisions of previous treaties and conventions. Clauses were added that unified customs laws and duties, prohibited the organization of revolutionary movements aiming at the overthrow of a contracting government to be carried out as a result of plotting on the land of an allied power, solemnly obligated each country to abstain from surrendering any territory to a foreign Power without the approval of all Hispanic American nations, and established a congress of plenipotentiaries that was to meet every three years and have authority to intervene in all cases of conflict. In the same year, the Washington representatives of Mexico, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica, New Granada, Venezuela and Peru signed an analogous treaty, and all except Venezuela later adhered to the Continental Treaty drawn up at Santiago de Chile.39

Continental solidarity seemed about to be realised at last. Only Argentina and Brazil remained out of the system and Brazil was still a monarchy. In 1826, Berardino Rivadavia had opposed the plans of Bolívar; when the Argentine government of Bartolomé Mitre (1862-1868) was invited to enter the league of the Continental Treaties, his

Minister of Foreign Relations, Rufino de Elizalde replied: "The independent America is a political entity which neither exists nor is possible to erect by diplomatic combinations." This attitude was based upon a fundamental conviction on the part of Mitre that any American confederation would inevitably fail, while those principles of the treaty which were not of a general American policy were already either part of the Argentine constitution or international law. The Peruvian minister in Argentina, Doctor Seoane, replied to the note in the name of the members of the Treaties, but persuaded neither Mitre nor Elizalde. Mitre wished to be on friendly relations with his neighbors, but preferred to devote his strength to safeguarding only his native land.

The new-pledged solidarity met its first test in the Fourth Congress. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Venezuela and San Salvador sent delegates to Lima in 1864, following Spain's reoccupation of Santo Domingo in 1861, French intervention in Mexico and the creation of Maximilian's empire in 1862, and the rumors of Spanish intentions to pounce upon the weak Pacific states. This Congress worked to standardize the international policy of the constituent states, and drew up two treaties of union and alliance which were more limited in scope than the Continental Treaties. Not one country ratified them. Faced by the refusal of powerful Argentina to join the

40 Data and quotations from Moreno Quintana, I, 118-119.

41 Levene, Lecciones, II, 516-518.
league of her sisters, the Hispanic American nations dispaired of holding any further Congresses that aimed at attaining broad political goals. After 1865, they only held conferences to deal with the practical problems encountered in codifying law.

The juridical assemblies met with the success that had been hoped for in the political meetings. In all, some four were held up to 1917, when Argentina proposed a fifth to have the name "The American Congress of Neutrals," to counterbalance the influence the United States might exert by her participation in the Great War. Only Mexico appeared for the opening scheduled for January, 1918. Once again Argentina was bucking the tide of popular sentiment in South America, as the majority of her sisters, weak and strong, sided with the United States, having found in Pan-Americanism a substitute for their ineffectual Hispanoamericanismo.

42 Moreno Quintana, I, 119-120. Sarmiento, then in Lima en route to the United States, took it upon himself to work in the Congress, but he never received credentials from the aloof Argentine government. President Mitre in fact disavowed Sarmiento, being very strongly convinced that each nation should be autonomous in international affairs. Ibid., I, 52-54. Colombia, in replying to the invitation to attend, expressed "the opinion that the United States ought not to be invited, because their policy is adverse to all kind of alliances, and because the natural preponderance which a first-class power, as they are, has to exercise in the deliberations might embarrass the action of the Congress." Quoted in Int. Am. Conf. IV, 210. This opinion seemed to express the view of the majority of the South American states at the time. Ibid., IV, 209-213.

43 These juridical meetings were held at Lima, 1877-1879, at Caracas, 1883, at Montevideo, 1888-1889, and at Buenos Aires, 1915, for the famous A.B.C. treaty which was not ratified. A meeting was also projected for 1881 at Panama, but was not held because Peru and Chile were engaged in war. Moreno Quintana, I, 120-123. Robertson, Hisp.-

(Cont. on page 18)
Pan-Americanism and North American attitudes.

Long before the collapse of Hispanoamericanismo at Lima in 1865, the United States had shown an interest in the careers of her southern neighbors. "The No-Transfer Resolution of 1811, which crystallized out of the great territorial questions of North America, so vital to the independence, security, and continental future of the United States, was the first significant landmark in the evolution of its Latin..."
American policy.\textsuperscript{44} This arose out of the possibility that the Floridas might pass into the hands of a "foreign" power, whereby Congress was stimulated to empower President Madison to take temporary possession of the territory, with the agreement and connivance of the local authorities, be they Spanish or revolutionary.\textsuperscript{45}

In the same year, the United States had consular agents, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, in Venezuela, Buenos Aires and Mexico, but when Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne, these appointments were revoked, and "agents for seamen and commerce" were established.\textsuperscript{46} From 1815 to 1822, a small but growing group of men labored in the United States for recognition of the de facto governments to the south, and a bill was introduced in 1818 in the House of Representatives to send a minister to Buenos Aires. Although the bill was defeated, Henry Clay, the Speaker of the House, continued to champion the cause, and may be called our first great friend of Latin America.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{43} (Cont.), XXXIX (1942), 71. Eugenio González, "El Borrón de la Hispanidad" \textit{ibid.}, XLII (1945), 102.

\textsuperscript{44} Bemis, 30. This work, \textit{The Latin American Policy of the United States}, is the best one-volume study of the subject.


\textsuperscript{46} Bemis, 32-34.

With the Floridas safely annexed, the United States recognized Spain's former colonies as independent nations, largely due to Clay's efforts.\(^{48}\) In the midst of this process, President Monroe enunciated the Doctrine which has borne his name through its long history. "That doctrine expressed for the Western Hemisphere the final fruitage in policy of the Era of Emancipation: the independence of the republican New World and its separation from the wars and power-politics of monarchial Europe. I say it expressed the republican independence of the New World; it by no means guarded it effectively nor for a long time to come."\(^{49}\) It has been pointed out that none of the other European powers wished to support Spain at the time Monroe addressed Congress in December, 1823.\(^{50}\) Despite the wrathfully surprised comments of European statesmen like Metternich and Chateaubriand,\(^{51}\) the declaration was taken seriously by some Latin American governments. Brazil, snubbed by the Congress of Panama, proposed to the United States that there be formed a "concert of American powers to sustain the general system of American independence,"\(^{52}\) and at the very least

\(^{48}\) Bemis, 42-44.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., 49.


\(^{51}\) Ibid., 56-63.

\(^{52}\) \textit{Memoirs of John Quincy Adams}, edited by Charles Francis Adams, 12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874-1877, VI, 359
an offensive and defensive alliance between Brazil and the United States. Clay, as Secretary of State, replied that he deemed it unlikely that Portugal would find the forces necessary to reconquer her former colony and declined the proposed alliance, which would, in any case, be inconsistent with the neutral course the United States had theretofore followed in Latin America's struggle for independence. Rebuffed, Brazil still endorsed the Doctrine, as did Colombia, after being similarly rebuffed in company with Chile, Mexico and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. We were kindly disposed towards our southern neighbors, but for the time being recognition of their independence was sufficient evidence of good will. The Monroe Doctrine was not intended as a rallying cry for a Pan-American union, nor as a self-denying ordinance: we went from 1823 slowly into the era called "manifest destiny."


54 Ibid., 46-52. García Merou, I, 348-350. "If the replies of the United States to these several solicitations were evasive, it must be noted that except in the case of Mexico the importunities were only nominally against the Holy Alliance; really it was the hope of each state to involve the United States in the existing war against the mother country, or in the instance of the United Provinces, in their war against Brazil." Bemis, 68.


The urge to grow into our share of the North American continent was bound to create friction with the state that held the South-West beyond the limits of the Louisiana Purchase. By 1827, we were attempting to purchase our way to the Rio Grande, offering Mexico $1,000,000 for this sweep of territory. Where Adams failed, Jackson could do no better, as Mexican owned Texas had long been receiving immigrants from our Southern states, whom the Mexican government fondly expected to be loyal and to hold out the Northern Yankees. Instead, the Texans created their own republic, and in time the United States went to war with Mexico to legalise the desired annexation of Texas. With the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, we rounded out our southern frontier to our satisfaction. Unfortunately, although the war did not prove to be altogether popular with the North American people, our neighbors took the war as evidence of the sincerity of such banquet oratory as a toast to "A more perfect Union, embracing the whole of the North American continent." The harm was done, for regardless of what justice there

57 Bemis, 76.

58 Ibid., 77-92.


60 Said by "The leading speaker at a New York Jackson dinner," and cited by Fred Rippy, The United States and Mexico, New York, 1931, 16.
may have been on the side of the United States in undertaking open 
hostilities, the War with Mexico and its subsequent territorial settle-
ment in our favor became a chief weapon in the anti-imperialistic 
arsenal of Hispano-American propagandists.

Accusations of robbery rose throughout Latin America, and 
propaganda kept the robbery in the minds of succeeding generations, 
glossing over the failure of diplomacy before the conflict. Even 
though the "gringoes" set a remarkable precedent by winning a war and 
then paying a defeated enemy in cash for the very territory that they 
had peacefully tried to purchase, the extent of the ceded land was

61 As recently as 1935, for example, an elementary school History text 
for youthful Mexicans thus summarizes the War: "For Mexico, the 
North American invasion is a terrible lesson. In this war it is seen 
that justice and right are feeble in the struggles between nations, 
when one lacks material force and organization." Alfonso Teja Zabre, 
Breve Historia de Mexico, Coahuila, Mexico, 1935, 208. The book bears 
the imprimatur of the Secretaria de Educación Pública.

Or, for example, the attitude of Policarpo Bonilla, one-time 
President of Honduras, who said in 1914: "The resistance made by the 
Mexican nation was not great, on account of the backward state of the 
country, and also on account of the exhaustion produced by constant 
civil wars. Mexico lost, consequently, on being vanquished, more than 
half of its territory; and since then there has been instilled in the 
hearts of the Mexicans the fear of future invasions and the natural 
rancor against the conquerors, a feeling that has not disappeared in 
nearly seventy years, being transmitted to three generations, although 
sometimes it has been dulled by the influence of commerce and 
immigration, and with the inversion in Mexican soil of over one 
thousand millions of American capital in all sorts of enterprises. 
Since then the Monroe Doctrine instead of being considered as a 
guarantee of independence by the Latin American countries, was 
regarded as a menace to their very existence." Alejandro Alvarez, 

62 Bemis, 91-92.
almost certain to assure the Mexicans of sympathy from their brothers of the blood. What is called "Yankeeophobia" may well be said to have had its origins in the events of Polk's administration. Almost immediate evidence of the sentiment appeared in the matter of the Falkland Islands dispute and the blockade of La Plata by the English and French; partly because of this hostility, Rosas of Argentina would neither summon the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine nor permit the arbitration of this dispute.\footnote{Levine, \textit{Lecciones}, II, 416-427.} The War was later used by even relatively moderate partisans of Hispanoamericanismo as a cogent argument for not subscribing to Pan-Americanism.

Prior to the War, Polk in 1845 had expanded the Monroe Doctrine to forbid even diplomatic intervention by Europe in the affairs of the New World. While his revival of the Doctrine was not hailed unanimously either here or abroad, it was an official intimation that we were flexing our new-found muscles.\footnote{Perkins, \textit{M.D. 1826-1867}, 76-125.} The addition of Mexican territory and the settlement of the Oregon question intoxicated an element of our population who believed in Manifest Destiny.\footnote{Bemis, 91-97} In June, 1852, \textit{The Democratic Review}, the chief organ of Young America, interpreted one of the planks in the Democratic platform to mean the acquisition of "Cuba and all the islands on the main Gulf... Canada and all North at the proper time;...the re-assertion, vigourously and practically of the Monroe Doctrine in Central America and on the Isthmus, both of Tehuantepec and Granada;...full expansion, North, South, West, and moreover, East."\footnote{Rippy, \textit{Mexico}, 26.}
While the most radical expansionists were to be found in Young America, and their propaganda discounted, nevertheless it is difficult to overlook the sentiments of Senator Weller of California, who solemnly informed his colleagues that "our destiny is to cover this continent, and although the intrigues of Foreign Governments and the action of our own may impede, they cannot prevent its ultimate accomplishment." 67

Although Manifest Destiny was on the march, the implications of the mood were slow to reach the minds of Latin Americans. Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, New Granada, Nicaragua, Honduras and Yucatan all appealed to the Monroe Doctrine during Polk's presidency. 68 However, "in the main the President and his Secretary of State limited themselves to a platonic restatement of the principles of 1823. Lip-

67 Ibid., 27, Douglas of Illinois was constrained to say in 1853, "...you may make as many treaties as you please to fetter the limits of this giant Republic, and she will burst them all from her, and her course will be onward to a limit which I will not venture to prescribe." This statement is remarkable, inasmuch as Douglas during our Civil War wrote a pamphlet entitled An American Continental Commercial Union or Alliance, which aimed at securing the best benefits of trade between the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Central America, without physically incorporating the lesser lands in a political union dominated by the United States. Robertson, Hisp.-Am.Rel., 389-390.

68 See, for example, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860, Washington, 1933, III, 254-270, for Nicaragua's request in November, 1847, for mediation in the Mosquito Indian controversy with Great Britain.
service to the revived dogma of Monroe they often gave; but action to uphold it they never took." 69 Except for the Mexicans, Latin Americans were as willing in 1846 as they had been twenty years before to have the United States participate in an American Congress, but Polk's indifference to the entire notion may be inferred from the fact that he did not see fit to even mention the Congress of Lima in his Diary. 70 Indeed, Polk subscribed to the beguilements of Manifest Destiny to the extent of offering Sapin in 1848 the round sum of $100,000,000 for the Island of Cuba. 71 His Whig successors violated the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine by signing the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England. 72 These steps were undertaken in the expressed or instinctive interests of our nation's military security. 73

This concern for our defense was to dominate our Latin American policy into the period of the Spanish-American war, when we stalked

69 Perkins, M. D., 1826-1867, 126-127.
70 Ibid., 154-156.
71 Bemis, 94-95.
72 Alvarez, 107-108.
73 Benjamin H. Williams, American Diplomacy, New York, 1936, 46-50. The extra-official statement by Soule, Buchanan and Marcy, known as the "Ostend Manifesto" of 1854, while not recognized by either the United States or Spain, nevertheless was typical of the temper of the times. Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, New York, 1946, 315-316.
rather openly into an era of imperialism.  

During our Civil War, our State Department was powerless to do more than protest against the Spanish occupation of Santo Domingo and the Maximilian adventure in Mexico, but at the end of the war, Seward had sufficient resources at his beck to reiterate his protests with the assurance that the development of the victorious Federal forces would induce France to be more courteous.  

Once Spain and France  

Williams divides the history of the Monroe Doctrine into three periods: the first, 1823-1898, was defensive; the second, 1898-1923, was imperialistic, and the third, 1923-1936, was a retreat from imperialism. However, we concurrently developed what Williams called a Caribbean policy, which was strictly defensive. Ibid., 46-83. Bemis states as his basic thesis that our Latin American policy has been fundamentally defensive even during apparently gluttonous imperialistic periods. If anything, according to Bemis, the United States has been victimised by Latin American "expropriation." Bemis, passim. Perkins does not delimit definite periods, choosing instead to set each major development of the Monroe Doctrine in its own setting. Alvarez would have only two periods, one, lasting from 1823 to 1913 in which the United States more or less strove for its hegemony over the Western Hemisphere, and the second, beginning in 1913 and Root and Wilson, to cooperate with South America, 20-23. Textbook writers generally speak of our imperialism beginning with the Spanish-American War, except Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick (The United States since 1865, New York, 1935, 357-358.), who say there was no official imperialism until after World War I. Apparently, we do not agree on the definition of Imperialism, but the United States brand begins with the Spanish-American War, and was repudiated officially in the State Department work of J. Ruben Clark of 1928.  

Although at the time some patriots believed that we had frightened the French out of Mexico, it is very likely that other factors were involved in the decision of Louis Napoleon, such as the menace of Prussia on the Continent, opposition within France itself, and the determined resistance of Juárez. Rippy, Mexico, 252-274. As for Santo Domingo, the Spaniards were perhaps as much discouraged by their losses from yellow fever and the rebels as they were by Seward. Cf. Charles Gallan Tansill, The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873, Baltimore, 1938, 213-222.
had recalled their troops, Seward opened negotiations for the lease of a naval base at Samaná Bay, but Santo Domingo by then was indifferent, and the concession was never to be made in his lifetime.

Nor was Seward any more fortunate in his pursuit of the outright purchase of the tiny islands of Culebra and Culebrita off the coast of Puerto Rico. Altruism did not enter into these plans; Seward was imperialistic to an extent, while at the same time he wished to make our position more secure in the Caribbean. Taking up this security program as a disguise for his ill-conceived expansionist designs, President Grant learned that his personal popularity was not sufficient in 1870 to persuade the Senate to ratify his personal treaty for the annexation of Santo Domingo. Grant did, however, link the "No Transfer" principle to the Monroe Doctrine by flatly stating that dependencies in the New World "are no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European power to another." In the interim, as

76 Tansill, 223-286. In Latin America, quite apart from Alaska, Seward's primary diplomatic triumph came in compelling Spain in 1865 to evacuate the Chincha Islands off Peru. His treaty to buy the Danish West Indies was not ratified by the Senate. García Merou, II, 126-133.

77 Tansill, 338-436. Grant was not the only President who was unsuccessful in this attempt to obtain a base in Santo Domingo. Treaties were defeated in 1884, 1900, 1905 & 1914. Cf. the excellent work of (Grant), 139-141. (1884), 196-199. (1900), 212-229. (1905), & 244-245 (1914), W. Stull Holt, Treaties Defeated by the Senate, Baltimore, 1933, 123-129.
Cuba plunged into the Ten Years War of 1868, Grant officially proclaimed our neutrality on one hand and on the other, opportunistically authorized our Minister in Madrid to investigate the possibility of purchasing that trouble spot.\(^78\) In this, and in making other similar offers, our government, as Bemis maintains, seems to have been prompted mostly by a fear that a more energetic European government would replace Spain in her few remaining unruly colonies. There was little sympathy for fellow Americans involved. The new, non-colonial nations of Germany and Italy were being born into a world of empire.\(^79\) In fact, upon realising the failure of his diplomacy, Grant in 1875 went so far as to propose a "collective intervention with the European Powers in order to restore peace" in Cuba. There was comparative safety in numbers. The proposal was not accepted.\(^80\)

Partially because of these apprehensions, but more in the interests of trade and commerce, Secretary Blaine in 1881, unsuccessfully attempted to summon a Pan-American Congress. The war between Chile and Peru made the assembly impracticable, and then

\(^78\) García Merou, II, 145-149.


\(^80\) Alvarez, 110.
Blaine went out of office. He returned in 1888, resumed his Latin American program, and succeeded in calling the First Pan-American Congress, which he was pleased to preside over as President. Blaine had frankly stated the two main objects of his policy: "first, to promote peace and to prevent wars in North and South America; and, second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States."

Moreno Quintana, 134-135. Shortly after Blaine went out of office, his program was espoused in the House of Representatives by Charles Stewart, who bluntly pointed out that out of the total South American trade of some $750,000,000, the United States had a share little more than $142,000,000, and that, in 1883, with a balance of trade adverse to our interests in the amount of $51,000,000. Stewart wanted to encourage the investment of United States capital, including a project of a railway to the Argentine. Quoting an anonymous traveller who lamented that he didn't find a single article of Yankee manufacture during a trip throughout South America, Stewart said flatly, "This condition of things ought to be changed at the earliest practicable moment; and there should be no balance of trade against us in our commerce with those countries." Int. Am. Conf., IV, 302-308.

The economic argument was taken up by McCreary of Kentucky, of the House's Committee of Foreign Affairs, who in 1886 merely modified Stewart's statistics to make an even more compelling report to his colleagues. On the same day (29 March), a Bill initiated by Mr. McKinley of Ohio was also reported on. McKinley proposed the issuance of an invitation to the American States to attend an International Congress to arrange the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. Ibid., IV, 314-320. McKinley's imperialism cropped out during his Presidency; at this time, he seemed to be genuinely interested in the results to be attained by Blaine's Pan-American Congress.

Coincidently with this activity, he revived the defensive projects to buy the Danish West Indies and to secure the naval bases in Haiti and Santo Domingo. Bemis, 125-126. Wilfred Hardy Collcett, The Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920, Baltimore, 1942, 59-66.

Robertson, Hisp.-Am. Rel., 391.
inter-American Zollverein, but for the first time the representatives
of all the independent nations of this hemisphere met together, and
the head of the Mexican delegation considered the spread of the
"sentiment of mutual respect and consideration" to be the most
practical result of the Conference. 84

The principles of ideal Pan-Americanism received a shock during
the 1895 diplomatic engagement between the United States and Great
Britain over the Venezuelan boundary, when Secretary of State Olney
chanced upon the unhappy assertion that:

To-day the United States is practically sovereign
on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects
to which it confines its interposition. Why? It is not
because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it.
It is not simply by reason of its high character as a
civilised state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity
are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the
United States. It is because, in addition to all other
grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated
position render it master of the situation and practically
invulnerable as against any or all other powers. 85

Regardless of the extent of truth in Olney's frankness, South Americans
could not relish such a flat statement. Foes of Pan-Americanism and
advocated of Hispanoamericanismo were prompt to seize upon Olney's
official communication to Lord Salisbury as a warning that despite

84 Ibid., 391-394. Moreno Quintana, I, 134-143.

85 Alvarez, 75. Callcett absolves Cleveland of imperialism, but
Cleveland was responsible for having Olney as Secretary of State, 95.
Another authority considers Cleveland sufficiently strong to travel
his own way against popular passion, but aroused in the Venezuela
matter to back Olney in the interests of security, not imperialism.
Richard W. Van Alstyne, American Diplomacy in Action, Stanford, 1944,
206-207, 557-559.
her display of warm-hearted leadership the United States could not be trusted. 86

The United States soon demonstrated that the warning was justified. Supplied with strategic doctrines by Captain Mahan, jingoism by Roosevelt and Lodge, and occasion by the sinking of the Maine, McKinley permitted himself to be persuaded that war was the only steel with which to cut the Gordian knot of Cuban turmoil. 87

86 See, for example, in Alvarez, the cited remarks of Alejandro Alvarez (Chile), 223-224, F. García Calderón (Peru), 260, and Carlos Pereyra (Mexico), 310. Olney was rather bold in thus representing the sovereignty of a nation which four brief years before had lacked the modern ships to defeat Chile had war grown out of the Baltimore incident, but, of course, by 1895 the United States had a handful of the new cruisers which in 1895 had been able to protect American Commerce at Rio de Janeiro during the troubled revolutionary days. Cf. George T. Davis, A Navy Second To None, New York, 1940, 31-33 & 67-68. A student of naval history cannot restrain amazement upon perceiving the belligerence occasionally displayed by our statesmen, when their contemporary naval strength was as dismally feeble as it was during the Chilean episode. As Davis points out, "Not one American gun could penetrate the armor of the Chilean ironclads. In clear-cut silhouette the American Navy stood delineated, an instrument too weak to oppose a power deprecatingly considered as a minor American state." Ibid., 32. In this respect, the Chilean episode was political capital for the advocates of a big, modern Navy.

87 Van Alstyne, 550-560. Van Alstyne deals kindly with McKinley. "McKinley was worn down at last. By sending a message to Congress on April 11, he resigned the control into the hands of that uncontrollable body, knowing that war would be the result." Ibid., 560. Bemis recognizes the pacific intentions of the President, but accuses him of surrendering to the war party for fear of becoming unpopular, "A President without a party, a John Tyler with no hope for a second term." 133. Incidentally, this was part of the national surrender to the "end-justifies-the-means" philosophy.
The war with Spain proved to be an easy victory for our "New Navy." With respect to our relations with Spanish America, the victory was costly; linked with the Mexican War, the War of '98 served as one more proof of our perfidy, especially when the Platt Amendment appeared and began to loom as the basis of a policy of interference in the internal affairs of any republic.  

Hostility towards the United States and its imperialism found best expression in the allegory Ariel written in 1900 by José Enrique Rodo, who came to symbolize the intellectual opposition to us. Despite Rudo's growing popularity, the United States experienced little difficulty in initiating the Second Pan American Congress held in Mexico, 1901. Our easy victory over Spain had strengthened the convictions of some of our neighbors that we were bent upon an imperialistic course, the Congress met in a city whose newspapers seethed with recriminations against the economic penetration of the Yankee dollar, and little was accomplished other than a

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89 Alvarez, 225, 242, 310.


91 Rippy, Mexico, 311-330.
protocol of adherence to the Hague Convention of 1899 for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Argentina gave an indication of her future quarrelsomeness: although President Roca complimented his delegates for their work at the Conference, he neglected to submit their proposals, protocols and treaties to the Argentine Congress for consideration, much less ratification.

During the years up to the Third Congress held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, the United States committed a number of acts which were grist for the mills of Yankeephobia. Starting with the "infamous" Platt Amendment of 1901 which gave us virtual control of Cuba, and continuing through the seizure of the customs in Santo Domingo, Theodore Roosevelt acted vigourously in the interests of imperialism. He was proud of his accomplishments in this area of international relations, telling Congress in December, 1904, "If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilisation which with the aid of the Platt Amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many republics in both Americas


93 Moreno Quintana, 147. This is unusual, inasmuch as Drago was at the time drawing up his noted letter of 29 December 1902 to Martín García Mérou, then Argentine Minister to the United States (and erstwhile representative of Argentina at the Mexican Congress and the author of the diplomatic textbook elsewhere cited), stating the doctrine which was destined to become a part of Pan-American policy. Alvarez, 187-193.
are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end."94 This was definitely a rosy view. While South Americans might have been somewhat grateful for the intervention in the instance of the German, English and Italian joint bombardment of Venezuela,95 some saw only a display of our urge to achieve political hegemony in this hemisphere,96 and most were aware of the harsh commercialism of Roosevelt's First Annual Message to Congress, 1901, in which he said: "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of acquisition of territory by any non-American power."97 In any case, the machinations which produced the Republic of Panama98 were enough to brand Roosevelt as an imperialist, and his justification of his rough-and-ready activities in Santo Domingo could, by 1905,

94 Quoted in Alvarez, 498.

95 Santiago Pérez Triana, cited in ibid., 322-323.

96 Such as Marcial Martínez, cited in ibid., 303-304, or Alejandro Alvarez, ibid., 220-224.

97 Cited in ibid., 496-497.

scarcely surprise a Latin American. 99

Recognizing the extent of the developing hatred, Secretary Root embarked upon a policy of reconciliation, supporting the Drago Doctrine, and personally attending the Third Pan-American Congress at Rio de Janeiro, and finally undertaking a tour of the Latin American republics. 100 Notwithstanding his personal sincerity, Root was associated in Latin American minds with the United States of Theodore Roosevelt, and he did not, could not, succeed in destroying hostility. Realistic Latin Americans wanted actions, not words, and the actions of Roosevelt spoke

99 The "Corollary" is quoted by Alvarez, 501-503. As Alejandro Alvarez wrote in 1910, "The negotiations on the subject of the Panama Canal and the liberation of this country are good examples of how far the policy of hegemony pursued by the United States can go. First of all, just as in the case of Cuba, it maintains a sort of protectorate over the country while leaving it its autonomy, in order the better to maintain its independence and to guarantee internal order." Ibid., 218

As Bemis apologetically says in support of his thesis that our Latin American policy has been almost purely defensive, "This intervention of 1903 is the one really black mark in the Latin American policy of the United States, and a great big black mark, too. It has been rubbed off, after much grief, by the reparations treaty of 1921; but as long as ex-President Roosevelt lived, no succeeding President could get through the Senate a treaty of reparation ($25,000,000) and regret. The great Rough Rider unjustly labeled any such settlement "blackmail." We may now hope that all the rancour of a generation of Yankeeophobia that followed Roosevelt's rash and lawless act has been buried in the grave of the impulsive statesman who perpetrated it. This hope is not weakened by the fact that the Panama Canal has become a bulwark of defense for the whole New World." 151. In the history of inter-American relations, the "rape" of Panama takes rank with the wars of Mexico and Spain, insofar as the propaganda campaign is concerned.

100 Callccett, 211-222.
more loudly and to the point than the polished phrases of Root. If anything, he created grounds for accusations of "gringo" hypocrisy.\textsuperscript{101}

Hamstrung by the activities of Roosevelt which nullified conciliation, Root went out of office in the fall of 1908 to be succeeded by Philander C. Knox, who was a disciple of Dollar Diplomacy, willing and anxious to intervene in Nicaragua or Mexico or wherever necessary to safeguard Yankee commerce.\textsuperscript{102} Root's efforts were soon forgotten in a year which saw the publication of a sententious work entitled \textit{American Supremacy}, written by George W. Crichtfield. Small wonder that Latin Americans turned to Yankeeophobia, if Crichtfield's libel represented the attitude of even a small but vocal minority.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{101} See in Alvarez, for example, the bitter comments of F. García Calderón, 260, Policarpo Bonilla, 243, or Alberto Ulloa, 366.

\textsuperscript{102} Callcott, 258-308.

\textsuperscript{103} George W. Crichtfield, \textit{American Supremacy}, 2 vols., New York, 1908. The following extract will provide the reader with the general spirit and tone of the book: "He (speaking of Bolivar) has been called the Liberator and generally accepted as the Washington of South America. He was neither the one nor the other. Justly to appreciate the character of Bolivar, one must thoroughly understand the Latin-American temperament. It has no counterpart among Anglo-Saxons. Mercurial, impractical, visionary, recklessly daring, vainglorious, sympathetic, cunning, sensitive, intense, ambitious, with no sense of proportion, cruel and kind in the same breath, giving vent to the highest sentiments, shouting for liberty and disregarding the rights of all men, yet saved from being called hypocritical by the very intensity of fanaticism,—mix in with this a love of romance, affairs with beautiful women, escapes from assassinations, and it will be seen that to compare Bolivar with Washington is as absurd as it would be to compare Don Quixote with General Grant. There is no common measure or characteristic, and no possible basis for comparison." I, 205.
we are to believe Bemis, the term "Dollar Diplomacy" was unhappily invented, because "In their own uniquely inept way Taft and Knox were also following the instinct and traditions of continental security rather than the lead of selfish private interests." Whatever the intentions of Taft's Republican administration, the activities in the Caribbean were interpreted to our discredit.

Woodrow Wilson came into office determined to rectify matters, and many formerly bitter Latin American critics such as Santiago Pérez Triana were willing to accept him as a continuator of Root's idealism, who had the advantage of being able to dictate a nation's policy. Indeed, Triana was highly complimentary: "The policy of the White House had undergone a substantial change of orientation as regards Latin America," he wrote. "A good man has come into power, whose conscience will not permit him to compromise with iniquity nor sanction the historical and universal principle that an act which is unlawful for the individual is legal when done by the nation."

104 Bemis, 166. Williams concurs, 234, although without slandering Taft and Knox. Van Alstyne says: "Mr. Knox had described his policy as one calculated to give American private capital the advantage in the Western Hemisphere, to the ultimate exclusion of European, the better to promote the dominance of the United States." 182.

105 Callcott, 309.

106 Quoted in Alvarez, 323. As the representative in Washington of Colombia, which had sustained the losses of the Panama revolution, Triana was particularly sensitive to Yankee imperialism.
Wilson was unquestionably friendly towards Latin America, but his tolerance with the troubles in Mexico was finally strained to the limit by Villa's raids, and he produced a new type of intervention with his refusal to recognize the de facto government established by Huerta. From this attempt to unseat a dictator, Wilson was obliged by the outbreak of the World War and the opening of the Panama Canal to assume the burdens of defensive policy in the Caribbean, and entered upon a period that has been called "benevolent imperialism." As we landed in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua, Wilson caused an even fairly dispassionate Latin American scholar to murmur disappointedly, "It would appear that the governmental acts of Wilson's government were in continual counter-position to his words..." Wilson, the idealist, did not dispel Latin American fears of the United States.

With Harding, however, and the days of world peace, Secretary Hughes reverted whole-heartedly to Root's policy. He could afford to. The Great War was over, there was a League of Nations, the powers were willing to discuss disarmament. Hughes could well afford to

108 Rippy, Mexico, 349-364.
109 Van Alstyne, 218-220.
110 Moreno Quintana, 57.
strive for conciliation. He was honest and endeavoured to liquidate imperialism, but he had a difficult task: Latin Americans were skeptical. Despite the evacuation of the Marines from the Dominican Republic and temporarily from Nicaragua, the Colombian Treaty of 1921 paying for Panama, the patient resurrection of the Central American Tribunal, forbearance towards the Honduran Revolution of 1923, Secretary Hughes was not fated to win the confidence of Latin America, and succeeded only in digging up the ground for Kellogg to pour a foundation for Hull. At the Fifth


112 Shifting away from the Crichfield point of view, we have advocates of genuine Pan-Americanism coming into our public life. As Moreno Quintana puts it: "William Borah, liberal spirit and opposed to certain points of view of his predecessor / Lodge, who was the previous Chairman of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Affairs/... John Bassett Moore, eminent publicist and president of the American Institute of International Law; John Barret, ex director of the Pan American Union; Leo S. Rowe, now Director of the same entity; Mr. Sumner Welles, Chief of the Latin American Section of the State Department; and Henry Fletcher, president of the North American delegation at the Fifth Pan American Conference." I, 58. Concurrently, of course, we have the work of scholars like Rippy, Chapman, Stuart, Robertson, etc.

113 Bemis, 202-218.

114 Perkins, Hands Off, 330. See also, Charles Evans Hughes, Pan American Peace Plans, New Haven, 1929, 68 pp., for a glimpse into American aspirations as formulated by Hughes.
Pam-American Conference, Santiago de Chile, 1923, the United States delegation was courteously received, but the United States itself was distrusted and the Conference accomplished little. At the Sixth Conference, convened at Havana, 1928, the atmosphere was little better, inasmuch as Hughes, then Head of the United States delegation, insisted that we had to maintain the obnoxious Roosevelt Corollary and the right of "temporary interposition." At the conclusion of the session, "the American delegation left Havana with a clear understanding of the depth and breadth of the opposition to those

115 Moreno Quintana, I, 152-182. Of all the matters then discussed, the modern investigator (1948) finds the following at once the most prophetic and pathetic: "Considering the high efficiency to which aerial hostilities seem destined, the Governments are recommended to study the limitations to which such hostilities should be restricted, in order that they may be maintained within the legitimate purposes of war, and that respect for unprotected towns and cities may be assured." Taken from "Resolution—Consideration of the Reduction and Limitation of Military and Naval Expenditures on some just and practicable basis, Int. Conf. of Am. States, IV, 291.

116 Bemis, 220. The Argentinians always opposed United States strivings for hegemony. "Rivadavia, Mitre, Yrigoyen, indicated in their respective international politics, the true course of Argentine greatness. Be it styled ever so much an arrogant Argentine isolation or anti-American egotism, these were a few opportune expressions holding the contrary virtue of robustly carrying on the international concepts of Argentina, friend of all Nations, enemy of none." Moreno Quintana, I, 292-293.

policies of the United States which all too often had been connected with the name of Monroe."\textsuperscript{117}

At Kellogg's direction, J. Rueben Clark, Under-Secretary of State, had been doing something to relieve the tautness of the situation. This materialised as his famous **Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine** which, while defending the Doctrine as a necessary defensive policy, roundly repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary. This document was not made public until Stimson, succeeding Kellogg, made the Memorandum known to the Latin American republics in 1929. Clinging to the defense of the Canal route, we did not abandon the right to intervene in the Caribbean if hemispheric security was imperilled, but we would no longer do so under an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.\textsuperscript{118} "It must not be imagined, however, that the Clark memorandum automatically terminated the distrust that was felt in Latin America with regard to the American dogma."\textsuperscript{119} Our neighbors looked for actions, not words. Hoover and Stimson thereupon proceeded to give evidence of good faith. Before inauguration, Hoover visited the principal countries of Latin America, and by personal understandings managed to bring about the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute. He withdrew the Marines from Nicaragua and Haiti. He did not in 1931 exercise our treaty rights to intervene in Panama

\textsuperscript{117} Perkins, *Hands Off*, 341

\textsuperscript{118} Bemis, 220-222.

\textsuperscript{119} Perkins, *Hands Off*, 344.
during a revolution nor in Haiti when its government defaulted on its bonds. Stimson in 1930 published the Clark Memorandum as an official document and endeavoured by public appearances to emphasize and make clear our change in policy. He abstained in 1932 from stepping into El Salvador after a revolutionary government refused to honor the obligations of its predecessors, and in the same year repudiated the Wilson corollary by recognizing the de facto government of revolutionary Chile. 120

Latin Americans suspiciously waited to see if F. D. Roosevelt and Cordell Hull intended to maintain the mollifying program established by their Republican predecessors. They soon had the answer to their doubts. The Seventh Conference ran precisely on the track laid down for the retreat from imperialism. "A legend of one hundred years' standing, Pan-Americanism got its first real initiation at Montevideo. The crucial question was whether or not the United States would allow free discussion of its intervention policies. Would it stand on a point of national pride, or would it make a real gesture in the direction of hemispheric solidarity?" 121 By now, the bedroom slipper diplomacy of Cordell Hull is legend. The Argentinians, who had walked out on the Sixth Conference at Havana when their program

120 Bemis, 221-223. Williams, 69-81. With regard to the Wilson corollary, the United States retained the right of withholding recognition from de facto governments springing up in any of the five Central American republics. Bemis, 223.

121 Van Alstyne, 222.
directed against United States economic policies had failed,122 were by this time anxious to have their Gondra Anti-War Treaty accepted as a continental policy. The Conference at Montevideo thus represented a compromise between Hull and the Argentinians; he supported their Anti-War Treaty, and they in turn supported his measures, such as the significant resolution that it would no longer be considered an unfriendly act for one American nation to offer to mediate in quarrels involving two or more sister republics.123 Towards the close of the Conference, Hull virtually renounced intervention, and shortly afterwards, Roosevelt publicly confirmed Hull's position with the sanguine announcement that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."124

Thus was inaugurated the era of the Good Neighbor. South Americans in general were encouraged to hope.125 As Hull, facing the swelling tidal wave of Fascism, sought energetically to establish continental solidarity, somewhat short of an American League of Nations, but still strong enough to stand up against rearmament in

122 Leverne, Argentina, 524.


125 Dávila, 130-131. As we will point out later in some detail, even Ugarte was converted, albeit with reservation.
Europe,126 he met with increasing cooperation from our neighbors. The Declaration of Panama might be considered a triumph.127 In one respect at least, we were prepared for the outbreak of war. We had painfully learned to become Good Neighbors together.

The shades of the gentlemen who struggled for some measure of American union must have slept easier during the late war, even though their rest might have been disturbed by the subsequent trouble between Perón and Braden. In these dangerous days born of Hiroshima, the union has proved to be an imperfect instrument, but the cornerstone has been laid in a solid structure that may someday be erected.

* * *


CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT OF HISPANOAMERICANISMO
Since the advent of Pan-Americanism, the principle characteristic of Hispanoamericanismo had been a plea to unite against all imperialism, especially that of the United States. Spain's designs have been resented equally with Britain's seizures in Guatemala, but the "Colossus of the North" rapidly became the chief object of invective and suspicion, due both to our defensive or imperialistic activities and to tactless statements from statesmen like Seward, who said that "Wherever the American people go, they will draw the American government over them." The habit of arrogating the name "American"


3 Escritos Inéditos de Rubén Darío, Recognidos de Periódicos de Buenos Aires y anotados por E. K. Mapes, Alicante, Spain, 1938, 144. Gustavo Santiso Gálvez, El caso de Belice, Guatemala, 1941, 347 pp. This is a doctoral thesis presented to the University of Mexico.

4 A. C. Wilgus, "Official Expressions of Manifest Destiny Sentiment Concerning Hispanic America, 1848 to 1871," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XV, (1932), 505.
to our exclusive use has been in itself galling to the other inhabitants of this hemisphere, and our tendency to be disinclined to take our neighbors into serious account has been an attitude of long standing. 5

When, therefore, the governments of Latin America failed in their feeble efforts to achieve a semblance of a league supergovernment and suspiciously submitted to the vigorous leadership of the Yankees only because they had been unable to accomplish anything on their own initiative, Hispanoamericanismo no longer had any reasonable chances of successful resurgence. This did not kill Hispanoamericanismo

As early as 1840, for example, a work of considerable current prestige in the United States gave the following discussion of the failure at Panama:

1st. The South Americans were not the people to commence such a congress—just emerged as they were from a state of semi-barbarism and slavery, they knew little, or nothing, of the principles of international law—and, besides this, they were more intent upon securing their own independence from Spain, than establishing a system of pacific relations with all other nations... 2d. Panama was not the place for such a congress, far removed as it was from intercourse with the world, and very sickly. Could the Congress have been held together until our ambassadors and the delegates from other enlightened states could have met with them, something might, nevertheless, have been done; but, interrupted by an endemical sickness, they scattered, never again to be united...

3d. The character of Bolivar, under whose auspices the congress was called, was another obstacle to its success. More intent on extending his own power than on preserving peace, he found that the congress would be an obstacle to his ambitious designs, and he therefore withdrew his countenance from it."

"The inference to be deduced from this abortive attempt at a Congress of Nations is, that the governments of Christendom are willing to send delegates to any such Congress, whenever it shall be called by a respectable state, well established in its own government, if called in a time of peace, to meet at a proper place." William Ladd, An Essay on a Congress of Nations, New York, 1916, 56-57.
itself, for enough idealism remained in the Hispanic American people to keep it alive, even if not as a vital force. Although Argentina consistently, for reasons best known to her successive administrations, led in the fight against "Yankee hegemony", she nevertheless operated within the framework of Pan-Americanism. Outside of this battleground, individuals and groups stubbornly cherished the ephemeral goal of Hispanoamericanismo, carrying on the struggle usually without recognition or sanction other than the approbation and applause of their colleagues. The movement has proved primarily popular with the young, especially university students. Brazil was welcomed into the fold, and thus, strictly speaking, the character of the movement changed to Latino-americanismo. Indeed, the two Argentine Socialists, Alfredo Palacios and José Ingenieros, who have been called "the foremost leaders of youthful Latin Americans," founded La Unión Latinoamericana in Buenos Aires in 1922, thereby sanctioning the inclusion of Brazil in youth's age-old campaign to correct the political mistakes of their elders. José Vasconcelos, a Mexican,

6 For a discussion of Argentina's course through the Congresses, see below, Chapter III.
7 Haring, 149-150.
8 Haya de la Torre, A Donde, etc., 17 & 267-268. LuisAlberto Sánchez, História de la Literatura Americana, Santiago de Chile, 1940, 496-499.
9 Haring, 142-145. The Union's publication Renovación and Nosotros have persisted in a sporadic bombardment of propaganda, an article of the genre entitled "El destino de América" appearing as recently as December, 1943, in Nosotros. (1944 was the last year examined for this sentiment.)
founded an organization for those who preferred a Unión Juventud Hispano-Americana, which did not conflict with the sister group in either purpose or propaganda. These two societies, moreover, did not end the student efforts, because independently in 1918 the undergraduates at the University of Córdoba, Argentina, had initiated an organization which rapidly spread to other universities, ultimately crystallizing into the first Congress de Estudiantes held at the University of Mexico in 1921. Today, the successors of those students publish magazines such as the Centro of the University of Montevideo, and support others such as the respected Reportorio Americano of San Luis, Costa Rica, edited by Joaquín García Monje, considered an eminent man by his contemporaries.

After graduation, these zealots remained faithful to their ideals. When Briand suggested in 1929 that Europe should form a federation, Señor Villegas, Chief of the Chilean delegation at Geneva, promptly made the counter suggestion to his distinguished conferes that perhaps the time was ripe for undertaking the creation of a United States of Latin America once again. It is reported that the Europeans were alarmed, although, on the basis of the history of

10 Haring, 150.

11 Haya de la Torre, 191-196.

12 Sánchez, Hist. Lit., 622.
such attempts to establish a league, South America would probably not have blindly followed the course prescribed by Villegas, even if his government had been optimistic enough to endeavor to back his proposal.¹³

Even less consequential were the indignation meetings occasionally held by loyal Hispanic Americans. For instance, when General Pershing crossed the Mexican frontier, a group immediately foregathered in Paris "para denunciar ante el mundo la infamia imperialista." While the statements of literarios with the reputations of José Vasconcelos, Eduardo Ortega y Gasset, Miquel de Unamuno, Manuel Ugarte and Haya de la Torre, made good copy for the journals of France and Spain, it is doubtful if the United States government was thereby influenced to change its attitude towards the mauroauding Pancho Villa. ¹⁴ These meetings flourished for a few years through the First World War, but far greater weight of artillery was brought to bear with the salvoes of books and pamphlets saturated with Yankeephobia. Speeches, even when recorded in newspapers, have a way of losing force and influence within a brief period of time, but books, even when composed in the white, unreasoning heat of fury, endure yet a little longer to carry their message to unknown corners. It is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate precisely how far a particular book affects the minds of those into whose hands it

¹³ Haya de la Torre, 243-244.

¹⁴ Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre o el Político, Santiago, de Chile, 1936, 127.
may fall on its way to a shelf and oblivion. However, we will presently see, the number of volumes singing the same song has been disconcertingly large.

In political campaigns, the most noteworthy development has probably been the advent in Peru of a somewhat distorted form of Latinoamericanismo. Founded in 1924 by Haya de la Torre, the socialistic Popular Revolutionary Alliance, conveniently abbreviated to "APRA," opposed both capitalism and church, but differed essentially from similar European groups by setting down as its first principle of correcting the wretchedness of life the joint action of American peoples against Yankee imperialism. Essentially because of this position, the Unión Latinoamericana endorsed aprismo.15

These were the elements, then, that after a hundred years remained of the concept of Latin American unity, whose governments had repudiated any dream of la patria grande. The United States had seized leadership of the American Congresses in the face of Argentine ambitions. The efforts of many students, the hope of their respective nations, were misdirected into invective and varieties of socialism. Of Hispanoamericanismo and its diverse offspring, little more remained than the byproduct of the Congress of Santiago (1865)—passionate opposition to Yankee imperialism and an almost wistful plea to unite before the deluge. This was all, this and the constant barrage of a resolute band of literarios,

who have never ceased to present the case of Hispanoamericanismo or Latinoamericanismo to themselves and to the world. Of their number, Manuel Ugarte is perhaps the best known in the United States. However, lest he should seem in subsequent chapters to be excessively critical, we will at this point rapidly survey some of the statements made by his spiritual fellows.

Some expressions of Hispanoamericanismo

José Enrique Rodó (1872-1917), the Uruguayan, as has been previously noted, was the intellectual and spiritual voice of Latin America. In his famous Ariel (1900), he produced a magisterial volume for the schoolboys of South America, grimly warning them to beware of the United States and calling upon them in their coming manhood to oppose a militant idealism to the crass "Caliban of the North." In his opinion, Latin America represented Graeco-Roman culture in the progress of the world, but was jeopardised by potential anarchy. The Anglo-Saxons, and thereby he meant the United States, represented liberty in world civilisation, but their gift was jeopardised by materialism. In the struggle between the two broad groups of peoples, the Anglo-Saxons would dominate unless the apathetic Latin Americans accepted the great boon of their common origin. This sentiment of Hispanoamericanismo

16 Hespelt, 591.

is well typified by the following passage taken from the almost mystical *El Mirador de Prospero* (1913):

Fatherland for Spanish Americans is Spanish America. Within the sentiment of fatherland is contained the sentiment of adherence, no less natural than indestructible, to province, region, district, and the provinces, regions, districts of this, our great fatherland, are the nations into which it is divided. For my part, I have always understood, or better phrased, felt it so. The political unity which consecrates and embodies this moral unity — the vision of Bolívar — is, when all is said and done, a vision whose reality the generations living today perhaps do not see.18

Rodó, ignoring the possibly base motives which Bolívar had in summoning the Congress of Panama,19 thus sadly summarised what was to be the recurrent theme of Hispanoamericanismo.

Rodó's contemporary, Rubén Darío (1867-1916) was the Nicaraguan promoter of modernism in poetry,20 and exerted considerable influence upon South American literature,21 warmly encouraging the work of young writers like Ugarte to the extent of writing prefaces to their experimental prose. Called "Latin America's greatest and most

18 Rodó, prólogo y selección de Samuel Ramos, Mexico, 1943, 131-132

19 Ladd, 57. According to this 1840 authority, Adams bluntly said Bolívar had ambitions of extending his sway, and was disappointed by the jealousies of other leaders.

20 By modernism is here meant the departure from the traditional forms of rhyme, stanza and meter, in efforts to create new forms.

cosmopolitan literary voice," he advocated the credo "America for the Americans!" by which, of course, he meant Latin America for Latin Americans. More direct than Rodó, who tended to drift into allegory, Dario stoutly wrestled with any violation of sovereign rights in Latin America. He was not exclusively a Yankeephobe. With regard to the British activities in Guatemala, where they had long been interested, he wrote: "To give this extraordinary procedure an honest face, England pretended to have concluded a treaty with the Mosquito tribe which promised them 'protection!'" And again, in the same scornful assault upon the British, he defended the sacred rights of small nations:

It is certain that in this period of the world's history, it would be supererogatory to prove that such provinces, by means of the good success of revolution and recognition of their independence, inherit within their respective limits all the territorial rights of sovereignty and domain which Spain held before the Rebellion. There has been no principle of international law more securely established than this, nor any civilised government of the earth which has been more irrevocably persistent in its observance than Great Britain herself.

Alfredo Palacios, cofounder with Ingenieros of the Unión Latinoamericana, was born in 1879 and is at present (1948) a Socialist Senator in the Argentine legislature. An orator and

22 Hespelt, 481.

23 Dario, both quotes on p. 144.

24 Time magazine, L (21 July 1947), 36.
politician rather than a literario, Palacios was the first Socialist
deputy (1904) sent to Congress, and from the date of its organization
has been a leader of that party, which, in its Argentine development,
must not be confused with the European variations of Marxian
Socialism. The Socialists of Argentine were actually too small
in number to be organized on a national scale and Palacios represented
only a fraction of the enfranchised Porteños. During the variations
of his political fortunes, Palacios served on the faculties of the
National Universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata and in these

25 In a later chapter, we will see this Argentine brand of Socialism
as shown in a speech made by Ugarte. More specifically: "The
Socialist Party was organized in 1896, but has never seriously
threatened to become the majority party. It first elected a member
of Congress in 1904, but failed to repeat the performance four years
later. At one time it could boast of forty-three deputies, or a
little more than a quarter of the total membership of the lower
house. It has never been able to duplicate this feat, however;
today (1942) its total strength is five deputies. In the Senate,
where there were formerly two Socialist deputies, there is now but
one. Socialist strength lies largely in the federal capital—the
city of Buenos Aires, though Socialist deputies have been elected
from the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza and San Luis.
In conservative Argentina even the Socialist Party wears a cloak of
middle-class respectability. The most radical planks in its official
platform call for complete nationalization of the oil industry and
division of great estates. There is virtually no Communist strength
in the Argentine Republic. The Communist Party has been outlawed in
some provinces." Austin F. MacDonald, Government of the Argentine
Republic, New York, 1942, 92-93.

26 Ibid., 103-104.

27 MacDonald points out that professors were appointed to teach only one
or two hours a week and therefore had to secure a number of appoint-
ments, preferably in two different universities, in order to be able
to support themselves. Ibid., 331-333.
interludes composed various attacks upon the social and political evils of his time. A mere listing of some of these books indicates his notions of social justice and anti-imperialism: *Por les Mujeres y los Niños que Trabajan*, *En Defensa de los Trabajadores*, *El Nuevo Derecho*, *En Defensa de las Instituciones Libres*, *Universidad y Democracia*, *Las Islas Malvinas*, *Nuestra América y el Imperialismo Yanqui*, etc. He raised his voice against the regime of Irogoyen and also proved to be unpopular with Perón, with whom he came to have a working agreement that is keeping the Socialist Party from possible extinction.  

During the recent war he was obliged to take refuge in Uruguay before political wisdom persuaded him to accept muzzling by Perón. As an ideological leader of youth and the movement of Hispanoamericanismo, his multitudinous activities are best summarised by himself:

In the University where I presided, professors and students began the hard but auspicious task of laying the foundations of reform, and a little later I surveyed the countries of Ibero-America, affirming the community of tradition, ideals and destiny of our peoples, characterising the lines evolved from their culture in order to strengthen the sentiment of equal responsibility that will make them worthy and capable of fulfilling the historic mission which they ought to assume in order to restore a world founded in liberty and justice.


29 *Time*, L, 36
I proclaimed the necessity of elaborating on the great, valuable syntheses which express the living sentiment of culture in each one of the two Americas, establishing the differentiating characters which originate in their respective concepts of life, and promoting the harmonious integration of continental spirit, and announced the foundation of the Ibero-American Institute, which would permit us to classify the elements necessary to obtain and enlarge the understanding of our countries, whose idiom is either identical or akin, and would have made possible, by turns, the opening of beneficial relations with the other America, which ought to be our example, not only because of its technical progress, but also, above all else, because of the unbreakable union of its States.  

Palacios, as may be seen, worked for the hopeless cause of Latinoamericanismo. Today, he works for Socialism, possibly as a goal more likely to be attained in his lifetime.

José Ingenieros (1877-1925), a friend of Ugarte and the companion of Palacios with whom he has the honor of being a co-founder of the Latin American Union, was less flamboyant in his personal habits than Palacios, but during his lifetime had perhaps as much influence as anyone upon the young minds about him. He stayed clear of the nuances of Socialism and its distractions, although, as a doctor of medicine, he became an authority on penal questions. His works are more sober and better documented than those by Palacios, but nearly all are marked by an undercurrent of Hispanoamericanismo twisting about in a philosophical context.

Books like *La evolución de las Ideas Argentinas, Las Fuerzas Morales*,

30 Alfredo L. Palacios, "Mensaje a la Juventud Ibero-America."

and Al Margen de la Ciencia are marred by this propaganda. In the latter, for example, he says:

The problem of imperialistic policy affects, very closely, the immediate destinies of the South American countries. Their actual independence is a question of form in face of fact; they have escaped Iberian domination only to be converted into economic colonies of the European nations and to be menaced by imminent Yankee guardianship. The Republics of Latin America only exist for the great powers in the same concepts of good clients as the colonial territories of Asia, Africa and Oceania.32

This interpretation of imperialism as primarily economic control by a foreign nation has been roundly condemned by Bemis as a myth that does not accord with the facts of debt defaults or simple expropriation of foreign investments,33 but regardless of the actual truth of this attitude held in 1908, it is significant because Ingenieros was only stating a popular belief. Economic imperialism recurs continually in the writings on Hispanoamericanismo, which are prone to present only one side of the question. As we know, Hitler contended that a lie repeated often enough would ultimately be accepted

32 José Ingenieros, Al Margen de la Ciencia, Buenos Aires, 1908, 297-298.

33 Bemis, 331-354. As previously indicated, the themes of this book by Bemis seem to be (1) we have been motivated exclusively by requirements of national defense in our relations with Latin America and (2) if any "economic imperialism" has been followed, said imperialism has been practised by Latin Americans. Among his statistics documenting his contentions, Bemis carefully shows that in 1940, on a total of $1,570,828,983 invested in Latin American dollar bonds, there was a default of $1,168,170,453 on the interest due, and $44,182,578 on the sinking fund. This is a defaulting of nearly 75% (Ibid., 341) which Bemis considers reprehensible.
as true. However, in the majority of writers who declaim against economic imperialism, it is probable that their attitude is due more to simple prejudice and ignorance than to a wilful distortion of the truth. Ugarte, for example, was not a scholar: "as in the case of so many South American publicists his "history" is weak and his knowledge at best superficial."  

A professed Catholic, Ugarte manifested an amazing lack of acquaintance with Catholic dogma, as we will discover when we discuss his socialism. Regardless of accuracy of information, Ugarte wrote didactically. So did others. We may safely say that Ingenieros was beset by a fundamental prejudice that did not compel him to investigate more closely the popular misconception. It would have been interesting to have had his relatively well-considered thinking—he was not as loose as Ugarte—upon the Yankee withdrawal from Dollar Diplomacy or the Good Neighbor Policy, but he died in 1925.

In Mexico, José Vasconcelos (b. 1881) has been preoccupied with the same problem of economic imperialism. A prominent figure in the Educational Ministry of his country, he was in a position to diffuse his Yankeeophobia in the minds of the very young. He was an ardent exponent of Bolivarismo rather than Hispanoamericanismo, but his statements are in general harmony with those made by other writers on the subject of Latin American union. Like Ugarte, he discovered

34 Haring, 159.

35 See note 61, p 20 supra for citation from an elementary school text published under his imprimatur.

on a tour of South America that it was imperative to work to enlighten his cultural brethren of their need to unite, and he devoted himself subsequently to establish a fifth or cosmic race which would fuse all of the South Americans into a common unit. 37 In doing this, he repeatedly attacked caudillos. "The creators of our nationalism," he wrote scornfully, "were unknowingly the best allies of the Saxon, our rival for the possession of the continent." 38 He elaborated this theme in many books, the most famous being La Raza Cosmica and Indologia. As may be observed in the following paragraph from Bolivarismo y Monroismo, he employed economic imperialism merely as a tool:

At all odds, the defense against foreign economic absorption is a prime necessity, if we wish to sing with the future, if we wish to avoid having all of Latin America suffer the rate of Puerto Rico, the island proletarizada by the North American occupation. At the same time, an intensive cultural campaign is absolutely necessary to assimilate the stranger who has despoiled and occupied property in our territory. 39

37 Hespelt, 653. Benjamin Carrion, Los Creadores de la Nueva América, Madrid, 1928, 21-76.

38 Vasconcelos, Prólogo y selección de Genera Fernández MacGregor, Mexico, 1942, quotation from La Raza Cosmica extract, 92-93.

39 Ibid., 151, selection from Bolivarismo y Monroismo.
Francisco García Calderón (b. 1883) of Peru confused the Monroe Doctrine as being identical to our Hispanic American policy. He was not, however, too preoccupied with the idealistic or political aspects of Hispanoamericanismo, and indeed ultimately came to favor some reconciliation between the Americas. He preferred to emphasize Spanish culture as the only heritage likely to prove an enduring bond, though he limited this bond to a moral and not a physical sense. If, however, moral union could be achieved, then political results might well follow. It was, then, eminently worthwhile to seek moral union as the first practical step. He was actually critical of the campaigns waged about him in the interests of Latinoamericanismo. In his opinion, it was wisest to spend energies in getting the Spanish descendents awakened to their cultural relationship first, before undertaking the campaign to embrace their cousins, the Portuguese. Optimistic, moderate, he disapproved of nationalism, which "ought to be reconciled with Americanism, the autonomous development of the diverse countries with definite features of moral union." His toleration was strong enough for him to declare that there could actually be mutual benefits if Spain's fraternization program succeeded: "Paniberism

40 Robertson, Hisp.-Am. Rel., 137-138.
41 Carrion, 119-164.
42 Hespelt, 653
43 Calderón, La Creación, 250.
44 Ibid., 141.
signifies, for Americans, tradition, for Spaniards, progress. Limited to moral relations, it corrects the revolutionary spirit of Latin America and impedes the slow petrification of the Peninsula.\textsuperscript{45} In itself, such a statement would stamp García Calderón as unusual; he was almost conscientiously realistic. However, by his criticism of the imperialistic phase of the Monroe Doctrine, he has incurred the charge of Yankeeophobia,\textsuperscript{46} which is regrettable, in view of his broader interests.

On the other hand, Carlos Pereyra (1871-1942) of Mexico was almost blind in his hatred of the United States, and is justly condemned by the same authority who frowned upon García Calderón.\textsuperscript{47} Like the Peruvian, Pereyra confused the Monroe Doctrine with a policy of imperialism and hegemony desired by the United States,\textsuperscript{48} but as a one-time member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague and a Professor of Sociology at the University of Mexico, he could have been expected to have been more temperate in his discussion of our relations with South America.\textsuperscript{49} He was not strictly a Hispano-Americanismozante, for, coming from Mexico, which like Colombia and Peru had been least exposed to any immigration other than Spanish, he tended to align himself with the various propaganda movements of

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 54-55.

\textsuperscript{46} J. Fred Rippy, "Literary Yankee-phobia in Hispanic America," \textit{Journal of International Relations}, XII, 358-362. (Hereafter cited as Rippy, "Yankee-phobia.")

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 521-526.

\textsuperscript{48} Alvarez, 201.

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 310.
Pan-Hispanism. He was far better acquainted with the literary circles of Madrid than he was with those of Mexico City.

Pereyra's two volume Breve Historia de América is well written but is warped by passion. In the concluding pages, for example, the erstwhile jurist said:

Erroneously, it has been desired to make of Mexico a frontier of races. There is no such thing, for two reasons. First, a considerable portion of the Mexican group live in the United States, there by descent from the old inhabitants of territories lost in 1836 and 1848, there by emigration. In the second place, the sweep of United States expansion did not have to pass through Mexico, since it followed the more extended lines of mercantile domination and naval power. For this action to be efficacious, it is unnecessary to occupy the territories of submissive countries with military force.

The protectorates took different forms, from the simple exchange of diplomatic notes and the visits of agentes observadores, to the stationing of squadrons, the bombardments of cities, and the disembarking of troops...

Aside from Cuba, Nicaragua and Panama, which have a special juridical situation by the limitations of sovereignty settled by solemn treaties, there are other nations which have actually submitted to Washington in a more or less permanent manner, without pronouncement of a special statute.

While Vasconcelos no doubt applauded such reasoning, Wilson probably

50 Haring, 169.
51 Ibid., 157-158.
52 Carlos Pereyra, Breve Historia de América, 2 vols., Santiago de Chile, no date, II, 337-338. This seems to be designed as a text for the high school level, and is characterized by a mild attitude towards Spain.
did not consider Mexico to be a particularly submissive country when he had to deal with Huerta, any more than did Secretary Hughes, working out the Bucareli agreements with the extremely obstinate economists of Mexico, under Obregón. As for the economic imperialism charge, Secretary Kellogg was content to regard it as a diplomatic triumph when Dwight W. Morrow succeeded in persuading the Calles government in 1928 to refrain from seizing Yankee capital without recourse or appeal. As it was, during the era of the Good Neighbor, Cárdenas in 1938 broke the Bucareli agreements and expropriated the oil fields, grudgingly consenting shortly before Pearl Harbor to settle the matter of compensation.

Pereyra's third paragraph, slandering by inference the supine governments rimming the Caribbean, is a trifle

53 Bemis, 214-218. The Bucareli agreements were designed to safeguard Yankee petroleum properties in exchange for which we recognized the Obregón regime.

54 Ibid., 218.

55 Ibid., 345-349. As Bemis says somewhat testily, "Any dispassionate study of the economic relations between the United States and Latin America, particularly those concerning investments, shows that, far from there having been any exploitation of the Latin American republics by economic imperialism, it has been the other way around: it is the Latin American governments which have exploited the capital of United States nationals indiscreet enough to have allowed their property to its nationals for broader political purposes of inter-American amity, connected intimately and vitally with the security of the Continental Republic and of the New World." Ibid., 350.
curious what with its tolerance of the "special juridical situation" pertaining to Cuba, Nicaragua and Panama: when, in the pages preceding the passage, he deplores the vicious imperialism which created that situation.\textsuperscript{56} Pereyra prefaced his work with the remark that he was writing especially for readers who, "already familiar with essential facts, wish to study them from a global point of view."\textsuperscript{57} In any manner, could the following summary of Pan-Americanism be considered "a global point of view?"

\ldots they (Yankees) maintain at all costs in Pan-Americanism an institution accepted as the expression of hegemony. Pan-Americanism dwells in a marble palace in Washington. There deliberates a council presided over by the Secretary of State. The Director General of the Union is always a citizen of the Great Republic. The eighteen Hispanic-Americans, the Brasilian and the negro of Haiti, condemned to be eternally presided over, cannot go to the chair at the head of the table. In the administration of the house, they have been considered only sub-directorates...there remains within the results of Pan-Americanism, the persistance of a powerful organization, destined to imprint on the whole continent, in an extra-official but no less effective manner, the seal of the supremacy of the Government of Washington.

The Hispanic reaction against this force is the secret we cannot penetrate.\textsuperscript{58}

Far from a "global point of view," Pereyra merely delivers a polemic.

The summary of Pan-Americanism just cited comprises the closing page of \textit{Breve Historia de América!}

\textsuperscript{56} Pereyra, II, 310-318.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, I, 5.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid.}, II, 342.
It is somewhat of a relief to turn from Pereyra to the Bolivian Alcides Arguedas (b. 1879). An historian and sociologist, sometime novelist, Arguedas worked to arouse his continental fellows to their common origins, but in doing so, wrote in a scholarly manner devoid of venom. He could be wrathful in these works, yet he was not unfair. The sharpest criticism to be made of him is his reliance upon gentlemen like Rodó, Ugarte and Bunge as distinguished authorities. Basing his works in substantial part upon such weak foundations, Arguedas suffers from their prejudices, although he exercised sufficient independent thinking to keep himself clear of Rippy's catalogue of Yankeeephobes. 59

Indeed, he held aloof from the all too common tendancy to blame most troubles upon the aggressiveness of the United States, and boldly struck out at caudillos and nationalism, for which he could see no reasons:

The hatred of regions born of the absolute preponderance which they wish to exert the one upon the other, and in which they penetrate ancestral difficulties to the core, revive the old rancours which brought the Aymará and Quechua peoples into stubborn conflict. The regions of the North and South or those of the coast and the interior of the Republics, live in perpetual antagonism and seek, as pretext, to best characterize it, exterior progress which manifests itself in the streets of their capitols or in the facades of their monuments. It is desired that cunning be the single cause of material and moral progress and cities are covetous of attaining in a determined time, if possible, equal development and identical conformation. 60

59 Carrion, 165-217.

As an historian, he wrote straightforward accounts of the Funación de Bolivia and a História General de Bolivia, but his Hispaoamericanist heart was in Los caudillos bárbaros and Los caudillos letrados. For all this, Pueblo Enfermo remains his most famous book. In the face of imperialism, Arguedas posed the startling proposition that it was best to clean house.

In the same year that Pueblo Enfermo was published (1903), Carlos Octavio Bunge (1874-1918) produced Nuestra América. "For its harmonious 'architecture!'" wrote José Ingenieros, "it is one of the few American works which will survive the epoch in which they were written. It is a book." This praise of one Argentinian by another is possibly exaggerated in the seemingly routine palms awarded by reviewers to their personal or national favorites. As a matter of fact, Nuestra América merits far less attention from a Chilean literary historian than some of the minor works of Ingenieros himself. However, the book enjoyed a vogue as another of the assaults upon entrenched nationalism. Bunge was perhaps too pessimistic for posterity. He expressed pride in being an American and was saddened because so few felt the same way.

61 Sánchez, Hist. Lit., 483-484. He was perhaps even more noted for his novels. Ibid., 513.


63 Sánchez, Hist. Lit., 496-497 & 500.

64 Ibid., 500.
With a sorry lack of equanimity, some Mexican critic (unidentified) has rudely rejected me for studying a type as eminent as Porfirio Díaz. If I were a Mexican, I believe the same would be said of me in my hopes of progress. And if it might be argued that my criticism would be tolerable from a citizen, one from within and not a stranger from abroad, I would say that because of my purified love of la Patria Grande, for all Nuestra América, it is not right to consider me a foreigner; I belong to the same continent, to a nation of blood-brothers, of similar race, of identical language.

This paragraph is interesting inasmuch as it could have been written by almost any of the literarios cited in this survey of Hispanoamericanismo. He is obviously hurt by the provincialism of the unnamed Mexican critic who assailed him for undertaking a study of Mexico's esteemed Porfirio Díaz. Like his spiritual fellows, Bunge claimed no nation—except perhaps for the necessities of life derived from citizenship in a recognized state—but proudly looked upon himself as a member of a super-state that would come into existence when South Americans came into their senses. Bunge did little to advance the cause; he simply concentrated upon the matter of advertising one race and one continent.

Having to this point undertaken to refute a few of the misconceptions of the writers of Latinoamericanismo, we ask the reader's indulgence in accelerating our pace in order to round out the framework of quotations, contenting ourselves with adding enough to

65 Bunge, 42

demonstrate the widespread similarity of beliefs contained in the movement under investigation. Further detailed criticism can thus be postponed until we can consider the writings of Ugarte himself.

Carlos Vaz Ferreira (1875-1924), an Uruguayan philosopher, urged his fellow Latin Americans to develop the potentialities of their heritage and environment. Among other defects shown by his less informed compatriots, he singled out their lack of originality for particular notice. In this, he was not original himself, for at one point or another, nearly all of the writers on Hispanoamericanismo, including Ugarte, shoot at the same target. As Vaz Ferreira phrased it:

Of supreme concern at the moment is the direct imitation of two models, Europe and the United States. From the former is copied both constitutions and institutions of law and culture, from the latter, modes, costumes, amusements, etc. Naturally there is no need of enumerating examples of this direct imitation, so copious, permanent and manifest.67

... This imitation reflects, involuntarily, mal consciente, the greatest peril and evil—actually — of South America.68

Emilio Frugoni (b. 1880), a leader of Uruguayan socialism, who was appointed his country’s Ambassador to Russia in August, 1943,69 has, since his early youth, been almost equally as passionately a

67 Carlos Vaz Ferreira, Sobre inferencias de ideales, en general, y caso especial de la imitación en Sud America, Sante Fe, 1941, 19.

68 Ibid., 27.

69 Emilio Frugoni, De Montevideo a Moscu, Buenos Aires, 1945, 223 pp.
ponent of Hispanoamericanismo. From his pen flowed numerous books upon this theme, as well as socialism, and he was no less active in contributing to magazines such as Nosotros. Along with his advocacy of the standard tenets of Hispanoamericanismo, he disagreed flatly with the contention of the Brasilian Oliveira Lima that South America had at least proved particularly notable in the world as a leader in pacific arbitration. He vilified caudilliosm in the same breath, and flatly predicted that the day of union was at hand:

And all this, speaking of the possibilities of unity, despite certain border disputes, the artificial products of the most criminal and stupid politicians! interests—Paraguay with Bolivia; Chile with Peru—or certain rivalries in which looms a dangerously imperialistic megalomania—Brazil and Argentina; Argentina and Chile...

However near or remote the ideal of political continental unity, there is no doubt that unity at bottom is going to be rapidly realised under the pressure of common dangers and before the advance, still retarded in many parts, of levelling progress. It contains then, at this moment, the definition of a continental soul with a historical sensitiveness as a perpetual source of an art with a collective personality.

The prolific Colombian, José María Vargas Vila (1883-1933), whom Rippy called the most violent Anti-Yankee, in his search for new modes of expressing old ideas, wrote a stylistically curious book, whose curious style did not hamper him in making his attitude

70 Such articles as "Génesis y formación de un destino democrático," in #89 (1943), 238-247.

71 Emilio Frugoni,"La Sensibilidad Americana, Nosotros,"#236-237 (1929) 9

72 Rippy, "Yankeephobia," 532.
towards a malignant United States perfectly clear:

BEFORE THE HORDES OF THE NORTH WHICH ARE READY TO ADVANCE UPON US, we sound the cry of; Alert!73

.... ....

Bolivar uttered the word of salvation, in the spasm of death, wrapped in the augural mists of his immortality;

UNION, UNION, UNION

thus spoke the dying Genius

....

union for the entire Continent

a permanent council of these peoples and, of this race, convoked by Argentine, and, resident in Buenos Aires, precisely opposed to those Pan-American Congresses which perfidious diplomacy periodically convokes at the beckoning of the Invader Nation;

formal conventions and treaties in which these republics compact to defend mutually and, collectively, their Integrity, and their Independence, against every venture of annexation and conquest, initiated by Yankees and Europeans;

league of fraternity, league of mutual defense...74

Thanks to his departure from customary forms of exposition, Vargas Vila does not always manage to hold a reader's interest. The lack of proper punctuation alone tends to make his book tiresome, particularly when he fails to contribute anything new by way of thought to Hispanoamericanismo.

In Yanquilandia barbara, the Argentine Alberto Ghraldo (b. 1874) added anarchy to the formula for anti-Yankee propaganda. Not as rabid as Vargas Vila in expression, he has some of the fire of

73 José María Vargas Vila, Ante los barbáros, El Yanqui; he ahí el enemigo; Barcelona (no date), 64.

74 Ibid., 86-87.
Palacios in his oratory, and like Palacios, is a staunch pillar of Socialism. However, even when pleading the special case of his beloved Socialism, he manages to adhere to a theme of Hispano-Americanismo:

How, if not through violent measures, have the slaves, the oppressed, the true producers of all epochs, bettered their despoiled condition? It is the mutiny, the insurrection, the rest, which raised the spirit of the serf in Rome, gave the conquest of their rights to the French farmer and working man two centuries ago, and redeems, in part, the worker of today, bent to the ferocious yoke of Capital, which takes its most highly knavish representation in the Yankee trusts.

A Costa Rican, Salvador R. Merlos takes the traditional view of North American commercial enterprises. Rippy branded him as a dangerous Yankee-phobe, although Merlos apparently succeeded in venting his wrath in only one book, América Latina ante el peligro, which is very heavily filled with such Cassandra-like passages as the following:

In such circumstances and in the presence of an indefinite and obscure future, we ought to rend the black veil of that ruinous and timid diplomacy which has placed us under the auspices of the United States, and witnessed with culpable indifference and satisfaction the protectorate of Cuba, the dismemberment of Colombia, the conquest of Puerto Rico and the

75 Sánchez, Hist. Lit., 497-498.

76 Alberto Ghiraldo, Los Nuevos Caminos, Madrid (no date), 99.

77 Rippy, "Yankeephobia," 524 ff.
very abominable transgressions lately committed on Central America; and in complaisance with the highly sacred duty of defending our race and to save our historic responsibility, we cry out with all the force of a heart highly inflamed by the sad reality which it was vainly attempted to be kept secret:

The United States are intervening in the affairs of Latin America, with the exclusive purpose of conquering it...78

Rufino Blanco-Fombona (1874-1944) of Venezuela was, according to Carlos Pereyra, a "bolivarizante," who in striving to advance the ideals of his hero's dreams for a vast political union, sought to give the world a better comprehension of the Liberator's unselfish motives.79 García Calderón praised Blanco-Fombona's work as being both brilliant and erudite.80 Ugarte was almost equally flattering, placing Blanco-Fombona in a select group of noteworthy writers.81 Perhaps these endorsements helped somewhat to soothe the feelings of Blanco-Fombona's less articulate contemporaries, to whom he addressed himself in such blunt language:

The evil is that we Latin Americans, a loquacious and scarcely substantial people, are in letters, laws, even customs, imitative animals. We imitated all of Europe, then Europe and the United States. Bolivar is one of the few, authentic genuises, who have been by chance born in America. Because of this,

78 Salvador R. Merlos, América Latina ante el peligro, San José, Costa Rica, 1914, 32.

79 M. Oliveira Lima, Formación historica de la Nacionalidad Brasilena, preface by Carlos Pereyra, Madrid, 1911, 12.

80 García Calderón, 102.

81 Manuel Ugarte, Escritores Iberoamericanos de 1900, Santiago de Chile, 1943, 6.
we did not and do not understand him, and pass the time saying that some other general was more virtuous because he never had mistresses, and some other general a better administrator, and another because he wrote without Gallicisms. The principal Gallicism of Bolívar was the Revolution.82

And again, in the same book, he continued to laud the almost superhuman virtues of his idol:

The projects of Bolívar were not copied from Europe; if he studied any, it was to avoid falling into their errors. Some suspicious persons believe that they discover in this hero of thirty years, who had not yet consolidated his ephemeral triumphs, the monstrous dreams of universal domination of the American continent. But he did not entertain a simple, cozy dream of domination, but a dream of liberation, of political progress, of creation or reform of his continent.

He united Hispanic America, that is to say "formed the great American nation," or, as he then called it, "the mother of the republics, the greatest nation on the earth."83

Belisario Roldán (1873-1923) a rich man's son in Argentina, was raised in luxury and the security of being descended from one of Mitre's heroes. Discarding these advantages, he became the friend of Palacios and Ingenieros, dabbled in literature, and became converted to Hispanoamericanismo.84 Ugarte knew him as a boy, because they both lived on la calle de las Artes in Buenos Aires, and they saw each other daily. Ugarte respected him.85 His abilities carried

82 Blanco-Fombona, 26.
83 Ibid., 37.
84 Ugarte, Escritores, 189-197.
85 Ibid., 201-202.
him into his country's Senate, where there was little time for his poetry, but ample opportunities for furthering Hispanoamericanismo on such occasions as the welcoming of an official Paraguayan delegation, when he said:

....our two flags are equal before the present and the future. New ideas are on the march. We look at contemporary Europe, plethoraic and troubled, that old Europe quarelling over ethnical dissensions which do not reach us, and over traditional hatreds which do not encumber us—we dream in an America most free and solid...we dream with a continental selfishness, and our pupils dilate before such a superior vision. 86

J. Francisco V. Silva (b.1893), a voluminous Argentinian contributor to such publications as the Revista de Archivos, La Lectura, Estudios, España y América, and others, is noteworthy for being friendly to Spain, 87 while spurning any discussion whatever of a return to Spanish rule. 88 In spite of this taint, he is a whole-hearted pleader for Hispanoamericanismo, writing:

My patriotism surmounts legal frontiers, proving equal to the perpetually snow-topped summits of the Andes, from the silvery waters south of Patagonia through the virgin forests of the Gran Chaco; in this manner our country is not only that of the Sun of May, but also of the imperial Spanish patria, whose advent of plenty we may obtain. 89

86 Belisario Roldan, Discurso, Argentina, 1910, 88. These are taken from his speeches in the Argentine Senate.


89 Ibid., 278.
Like all the rest of his comrades, he looked North with a wary eye that perceived nothing but trouble for the weak because unfederated Republics of the South:

The United States hold a position very clear to every man of the Spanish race who keeps his conscience alerted to the higher patriotism, which is over and above conventional localisms and transient conveniences. 90

Lastly, in a marshalling of authors that could easily extend into several books, we will cite the Brasilian historian Manuel Oliveira Lima (1865-1928), who occasionally expressed some of the tenets held by his Spanish-speaking contemporaries who wished to join the Iberian elements in America. As García Calderón said of him, "He neither exaggerated the Saxon menace nor believed that the North American expansion would respect in the future ... the precarious independence of the tropical nations." 91 Oliveira Lima did not fulminate, but calmly searched for a solution to his continent's obvious problem of countering the North Americans. Desiring union, but seeing the practical obstacles in the way of such a powerful alignment, he tended to put his hopes in the law. Unlike Emilio Frugoni, he saw some hope for the future in the fairly good record of peaceful settlement of boundary quarrels:

Meanwhile, our Latin American world has given, in other questions of an interest fortunately more direct and more concrete than some, an example of respect for pacific solutions. Border disputes, always rough and irritating, have been resolved by

90 Ibid., 289.
91 García Calderón, 104.
arbitration, in the greater part of cases. 92

The writers cited represent only a fraction of those tilling a popular field, but they are representative of the most renowned. It is hoped that the citations given will prove sufficient to illustrate the general trends of Hispanoamericanismo propaganda. The literature itself is vast, and could not possibly be surveyed in a chapter, even if the device of simply listing titles of various works in the field was employed. 93

92 Dr. M. de Oliviera Lima, "Los elementos de paz en el Nuevo Mundo," Helios, I, (1918) 62. See also Percy Alvin Martin's translation entitled The Evolution of Brasil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America, Stanford, 1914, 159 pp.

93 B. Sánchez Alonso, Fuentes de la Historia Española e Hispanoamericana, Madrid, 1927, presents an excellent compilation on the subject. The section entitled "Las modernas problemas hispanoamericans" lists a bibliography of two hundred titles on that specific subject alone, and is the best by far of those consulted for this study. Cf. pp. 253-263. There are also the less satisfactory Bibliographies of Hispanic-American Literature published by the Harvard University Press, and A Bibliography of Articles and Essays in the Literature of Spain and Spanish-American by Raymond L. Grismer, Minneapolis, 1935. Specific titles which are self-explanatory are the following: Los Yanquis en Santo Domingo by Max Henríquez Urena; El Imperialismo Norte Americano by F. Carabello Sotolongo; Los Estados Unidos contra la Libertad by Isidro Fabela; El Porvenir de Sud-America como gran potencia, por la unión de las actuales naciones sudamericanos en un solo Estado fuerte y porderoso by Costa Machado de Souza; Al Margen del imperialismo by Salvador Turcins R.; La Ilusión Yanqui by Eduardo Prado; La Imperialismo Yanqui y la Revolución en el Caribe by J. Enamorado Cuesta; and Alrededor del Problema Unionista de Centro-América by Salvador Mendieta. For criticism of individual writers, the following are useful: Rippy's "Yankeephobia," which, in addition to Ugarte, examines Ruben Darío, José Enrique Rodó, Francisco García Calderon, Rufino Blanco-Fombona, Carlos Pereyra, and a few others less notable. Francisco Contreras in "Lettres Hispano-Americaines," Mercure de France, CLXIV (1923) 15 Mai, briefly discusses the cited works of José Ingenieros, Ugarte, Isidro Fabela, Max Henríquez Urena, Finally, Dr. Luis Recamans Siches has initiated in the Revista Mexicana de Sociología, a series of articles on South American writers, entitled (cont. page 78)
Summary of Hispanoamericanismo or Latinoamericanismo

First and foremost, regardless of the degree of invective directed against imperialism, these writers are completely agreed that South America should unite, either morally or politically. There is no unanimity on the actual plan to be pursued by all; each seems to desire adherence to his particular plan, even those who in pursuing Bolivarismo might be thought to have a more or less historically pure program. Indeed, few offer anything like a systematic plan, much less a discussion of the realities of creating such an organization. As a group, these writers seem to be merely scolding pedagogues, gloomy traditionalists, irresponsible orators, or cynical Laocoons. After pointing out the common bases for union, the dangers of economic penetration, the stupidity of ignoring rich native cultures in favor of alien influences, the fluctuations of the Monroe Doctrine, these gentlemen are relatively sterile in original thought.

Manuel Ugarte is typical. By examining his life and works in some detail, we hope to present a picture of the Latinoamericanismo zealot, which will provide a better understanding of this propaganda movement. Ugarte is selected for this purpose, because he has received recognition as "perhaps the ablest of all the Latin-American critics of the United States." 94


94 Haring, 159.
CHAPTER III

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF MANUEL UGARTE
1. The awakening

Manuel Ugarte was born to Floro and Sabina Rivero Ugarte in Buenos Aires, 27 June 1878.¹ His father was a man of wealth and could provide him with a life free of economic worry.² Manuel received his first formal education at the Institute Nacional and the Colegio Nacional of Buenos Aires, and his biographer dismisses this formative phase with the simple comment that "he was a rebellious pupil and did not complete his courses, discouraged by the empiric programs which were then followed in Argentina."³


² Manuel Ugarte, El destino de un Continente, Madrid, 1923, 395.

³ Cesar E. Arroyo, Manuel Ugarte, Paris, 1931, 34. (Arroyo is an Ecuadorean, cf. American Historical Review, XII, 356.) When thirty, Ugarte said of South American education—"Hispanic-American youths, modeled in old forms, are stultified in the atmosphere of little local universities, victims of the most painful prejudices; can they obstruct the advance of the triumphant phalanx (of North American youth)? Will the Greek and Latin with which the Fathers instruct us result in a useful weapon in the struggle of practical skills which is going to be the life of tomorrow?" Manuel Ugarte, El Porvenir de la América Española, Valencia, 1911, 174. Señor Ugarte has ignored correspondence requesting those details of his private life which would outline the main events of his student days, nor have I as yet received any reply from either the Institute Nacional or the Colegio. (1948) The five year course at the latter approximated a United States high school. MacDonald, Government of the Argentine Republic, 327-328.
When he was eleven, Ugarte's parents widened his horizons by taking him along on a visit to Paris, and the youngster improved his stay in France by learning the language. His parents decided to remain in France and therefore young Manuel completed his education in various liceos.

While adolescent, he began to write, at first producing fiction and poems, which were published in Buenos Aires by his proud parents, though the circulation was too limited to deposit any copies in the larger libraries of the United States. When twenty, he went to live in Paris, whose young men were currently influenced by La Vie de Boheme. There, forming friendships with many of the South American writers previously discussed, such as Darío and Ingenieros, he entered more seriously into the literary life, and under Darío's patronage began

4 Ugarte, Escritores, 27. Here Ugarte displays a characteristic disregard for strict accuracy, stating that his age was then six or eight, when he was actually eleven.

5 Arroyo, 34.

6 J. Fred Rippy, editor, Catherine Phillips, translator, The Destiny of a Continent, New York, 1925, vii. This translation of Ugarte's work received wide recognition in the English-speaking world (even the U.S. Naval Academy Library has a copy), and as recently as 1943 was cited by Bemis as a typical South American attitude towards the United States.

7 Yale University Library has the best collection, not excepting the Library of Congress or the Pan-American Union.
to achieve some recognition. Of this period in his protégé's life, Dario wrote: "Paris showed this young and enthusiastic writer the struggles of Labor; interested him in the problems of social improvement, stripped him of self-interest; made him avid to know the future, and impregnated him with human sympathy...He became a Parisian." Later, Ugarte disregarded his early work. The first publication he cared to acknowledge was Paisajes Parisienses, produced in 1900, when he was twenty-two, and distributed among the Latin American literary group by Dario.

He briefly visited Spain in 1900 and then continued on to the United States, being simply bound upon an instructive visit to the rising young power that had just defeated Spain in a war which later Yankee naval historians would blushingly deplore. This trip to the United States proved to be what Ugarte termed the turning point in his life. It was during these few months that he, scarcely launched into his twenties, but a sophisticated Parisian, perceived the necessity for his future campaign of Hispanoamericanismo. He candidly admitted that he was poorly equipped for the task:


10 Ugarte, El dolor, 14 & 36-39. He ignored then and thereafter Versos (1894) and Serenata (1897), both published in Buenos Aires.

my culture was exclusively literary, alien to all sociology and international politics. I knew nothing of imperialism, nor had I ever attempted to think of what might have been the causes and consequences of the War of the United States with Spain, and I was far from suspecting the silent and grave drama which was unfolding in the New World, split by origin and idiom. Certainly, one can not attribute to me antipathy, prejudice, or previous hostility. The North American people were not to me, moreover, more than a great example of superior life, and I appreciated without reservations the amazing force which had developed in little more than a century. The sad comparison with our Hispanic-American patriotism, the disquieting inductions for the future, the proofs of the intentions which imperialism harbored for the rest of the Continent, all began to rise before my eyes in the very territory of the United States.12

12 Manuel Ugarte, *El destino*, 6-7. At this point, it might be well to give a resume of the course taken by Ugarte's native Argentina through the Pan-American Congresses, if only because he might have absorbed some latent animosity towards the United States, despite his denials to the contrary. Before the Second World War, when Ugarte began his campaign, Argentina was economically the most important nation in South America, with a deep conviction of her world importance. "Rivalry and Planning at Lima," *Business Week*, 10 December 1938, 25. In all the conferences, where she could not lead, she would not follow. "Twenty Nations and One; an Analysis of the Achievements and Undertones of the Havana Conference," *Fortune*, September, 1940. At the First Congress in Washington, Argentina strove to be the champion of the weaker nations. Having at the time greater pretensions than capacity, she was obliged to take refuge in pride and intransigence, choosing the political device of constant opposition to exalt her national spirit. Raymond Leslie Buell, "The Montevideo Conference and the Latin American Policy of the United States," *Foreign Policy Report*, 22 November, 1933, 214. At the Second Argentina refused to ratify any of the agreements. Bemis, 261, points out that Argentina has ratified only four of the fifty-six Pan American conventions signed since 1890, and says, "This record makes Argentina easily the greatest non-ratifier of all time." From the Third, which discussed the Drago Doctrine, Argentina drew only two postal conventions as worthy of her official approbation. Moreno Quintana, I, 147-149. As the Fourth, held in her own capitol, Argentina led the way in blocking the universal ratification of the (cont. p. 84)
Comparing New York to Buenos Aires, Ugarte decided in favor of his natal city, choosing by emotion rather than intelligence, because "aquello era mio." Patriotism could furnish no better reason. The impressionable Ugarte was overwhelmed by abundant evidence of Yankee

12 (cont.)

Hague Conventions of 1907. Carlos Dávila, 123. The Fifth Congress held at Santiago in 1923 first saw an Argentine delegation achieve something concrete by formulating the Gondra Treaty "to avoid or prevent conflicts between the American States for any cause whatever." Ibid., 124. Irigoyen did not like the United States, and when he returned to power in 1928, he recalled the Argentine Ambassador to Washington, and, subsequently, President-elect Hoover received in Buenos Aires the coldest greeting of his good will tour. Ernest Galarza, "The Argentinian Revolution and its Aftermath," Foreign Policy Report, 23 October 1931, 315. When, during the Sixth Argentine opposition to excessive tariff barriers broke against United States leadership, Pueyrredon withdrew his delegation from the proceedings, Carlos Dávila, 129-135. By 1934 and the meeting at Montevideo, the Argentines at last yielded their obdurate isolationism in the face of the Good Neighbor Policy and the adoption of the Gondra Treaty by the Conference. Ibid., 142-143. As will be seen, Ugarte coincidently accepted the Good Neighbor Policy.

Perhaps the following extract of a letter may be considered a manifestation of official Argentine thinking, because it was written in 1903 to Dr. Drago by Roque Sáenz Peña, who was to become President of the Argentine Republic (1910-1914): "The words of Monroe, as well as those of Polk and other American authorities, rather than a protection for which the occasion never arrived, imply a hegemony over the other states of this continent which never assented to it, notwithstanding Bolívar's effort in the Congress of Panama which had no other object than to express our view, either favorable or adverse, on that Doctrine. The recently liberated colonies had to exercise their sovereignty over questions which concerned their interests and destinies; the Liberator understood that the United States could not speak in the name of America without a free expression of the will of the American States; but the United States obstructed and disregarded those declarations, establishing the following conclusions: first, that they did not desire solidarity with the new States, emancipated from the Spanish crown; and secondly, that they reserved to themselves the right of acting in each case as their interests required. This policy offended our sovereignties to a great extent inasmuch as the United States have exercised and constituted a ministry for the New World against our wishes and without our assent." Alvarez, 353.

13 Ugarte, El destino, 16.
material progress, which unquestionably surpassed anything he had seen in France or Spain. 14 He looked, however, beyond material things, and was not enamored of the builders:

Excepting the intellectual group, the mentality of the country, from the point of view of general ideas, resembled the rough and ready morality of the "cowboy," violent and vain of the muscles which civilised the "Far West," simultaneously exterminating the virgin forests and the aboriginal races in one high-handed act of domination and pride. 15

In his opinion, moreover, the North Americans were hypocritical in professing belief in equality, while subjecting the Negro to restrictions which made the Negro an inferior. Such a charge does bear a substantial measure of truth, as Rippy pointed out, if only in our South, but Ugarte was speaking as a man who had been born in a continent which did not have segregation of races in its social structure, and, as flatly stated by one of our representatives in Argentina, Ugarte himself was not of pure white blood. 16

He began to study the situation and found himself at a loss, because "The important book by the Mexican writer and diplomatist Don Isidro Fabela had not yet been published, and no general history of imperialism on the American continent was in existence." He was

14 Ibid., 17.  
15 Ibid., 18.  
16 Rippy, Destiny, ix.  
17 Ibid., 6. Rippy in a footnote remarked that the book was Los Estados Unidos contra la Libertad, "a violent denunciation of our imperialism."
compelled therefore to turn to other sources for his information. From
the point of view he later expressed, it is probable that one of the
chief works he consulted was The Americanization of the World by the
in 1901, received a rather cold reception at the hands of Latin American
publicists. Blanco-Fombona, for example, took time from his duties as
Venezuelan Consul in Amsterdam to write a short pamphlet denouncing
Stead's conclusions. Young Ugarte would not have been unaware of this
controversial book, and in any case some of his judgments of the Yankees
seemed to have been founded upon some of the assertions of the
Englishman. 18

Ugarte was also incensed by the New York newspapers, which, he
said, "spoke openly of making a 'strong hand' felt in these 'dens of vice
and ending the riots and disorders which interrupted the sacred business
of Uncle Sam." 19 Despite the superficiality of his observations, he was
amazed that his compatriots were not alarmed by such bland assertions of
imperialism. He understood the attraction of the United States as the
land of opportunities, but he could not understand the passive indolence
of his people who seemed destined to furnish even more opportunities for
the aggressive Yankees. He admitted the need for his people to learn
Northern industrial techniques and to accept economic assistance for the

London, 1901. Also Rufino Blanco-Fombona, La Americanization del Mundo
pamphlet Amsterdam, 1902.

19 Ugarte, El destino, 19-20.
development of their resources, but did not want blatant exploitation.

He felt and resented a supreme contempt for all strangers, especially for those of Latin origin, as well as a lively self-satisfaction, a trifle parvenu, but solidly based on visible successes, giving to the North American character a certain boorish and brutal tendency to surpass other races, a certain diabolic exclusiveness which crushes and humiliates those who come in contact with it."21 As for North American technological progress, "It would be vain to suppose that this progress did not have an echo in diplomacy. Material elevation has not been an isolated and mechanical act, but the result of a great mental capacity which manifests itself in all phases of life. For the buildings fifty stories high, there are also corresponding ideas fifty stories high."22

From New York, Ugarte travelled to San Francisco via Chicago, Omaha and Salt Lake City. From San Francisco, he went south to Los Angeles and San Diego, and thence the few miles to the border of Mexico. He considered Mexico to be economically in the power of the United States, but was encouraged by signs of bitter resistance to the gringoes.23 Here was crystallized for him the urge to launch a campaign of alarm to awaken his fellow Latin Americans to their danger.24 Aware that he might perhaps be ridiculed, he fancies himself a modern Don Quixote fighting for an ideal in a world corrupted by materialism.

20 Ibid., 23-23.  
21 Ibid., 19.  
22 Ibid., 21.  
23 Ibid., 21-30.  
24 Ibid., 43.
My twenty-year-old enthusiasm estimated the magnitude of the task which the younger generations seemed predestined to accomplish: to work towards the ideal of a Continent morally united, so as to recreate, at least by diplomatic means, the homogeneous community dreamt of by the pioneers of independence; to retrieve by means of this union the honour and security of our territories, and to make each republic stronger and more prosperous, within a higher organization which should be the supreme guaranty of their regional autonomy.25

Opportunity to unfurl his banner was almost denied him. So long as his political ideas hinged upon Hispanoamericanismo, which had more or less of a respectable reputation, he was an acceptable orator. However, he had to overcome an initial prejudice. During his Parisian days he had acquired a taint of liberalism and professed himself to be a Socialist. This almost halted his career before it began. In October, 1903, his homecoming in Buenos Aires was spoiled by the Argentine police, who arrested him because of his Socialist reputation. Released on the score of his youth and family connections, Ugarte left for France to rejoin his parents, volubly protesting against the system which made the occurrence of an incident which temporarily made him glamorous at least to himself.26

He returned to Europe for a stay of almost ten years, and devoted himself to preparation "to work in favor of a Continent morally united,

25 Rippy, The Destiny, 22-23.

26 Manuel Ugarte, El Arte y la Democracia, Valencia, Spain, 1905. 139-140.
to achieve, diplomatically at least, the homogeneous **conjunto** which the Fathers of Independence dreamed of; to reconquer, with the aid of union, the respect and security of our territories, and to make each republic stronger and more prosperous within a superior coordination, supreme guarantee of regional autonomies." 27 He deplored his education, which had poorly trained him in history: "What I had learned at school had been a local and mutilated interpretation of the vast movement which had separated the ancient colonies from Spain a century ago—-a local chronicle in which anecdote predominated and no higher conception, no analytical judgment, no clearer conception of the significance of this phenomenon for America and the world, succeeded in emerging from the names and dates." 28 He realised that he was young, but relied upon his enthusiasm to see him through. He set the blame squarely upon the shoulders of his historic ancestors, who had spent their time in consolidating the absurd republics carved out of the old Vice-Royalties; led by their strong men, they had been jealous of their neighbors, since expansion could only occur at the expense of contiguous territories. Now, however, their boundaries had stabilized, and Ugarte saw an opportunity to spread the doctrine of cooperation throughout the length and breadth of the continent. 29

Aware of the reverence with which young Latin Americans regarded men who were secure in European literary reputations, Ugarte deliberately


set about to make himself such a reputation. He was competing in a hard game. Many another young writer shared his goal, though perhaps for different purposes, and Ugarte found progress relatively slow in proportion to his expectations. The fame he desired was that of a literario, and he characteristically embraced whatever style promised quick success. He began with a novel, immediately shifted to contemplative essays of travel and urbane articles about Paris, dabbled in pseud-political, social and artistic studies, tried to be a literary critic, compiled an anthology from which he modestly excluded his own work, took up and promptly dropped poetry, produced a few short stories, some of them notable, and ultimately settled down as a specialist in topical articles. Novels were apparently too tedious for him, literary criticism was either polite or insincere, poetry required fresh imagery, and articles were easy to write. With a few exceptions, all of his books subsequent to 1910 were either collections of articles or articles strung together with a few pertinent paragraphs. Even El porvenir de la América Española which may be considered his most important book, and certainly in South America at least, his most famous book, even El porvenir did not escape from the inclusion of a few articles as complete chapters.

Together with this assault upon public favor, he spasmodically carried on a campaign to enlighten his fellow-Latin Americans, fitting this campaign in among his Socialist activities such as attending the Socialist Congress at Amsterdam in the summer of 1904. He had begun his educational program in 1902 through the columns of El País of Buenos Aires. These efforts, however, were handicapped by their
Argentina dateline. The first article of his European campaign appeared 26 October 1904 in La Época of Madrid, which had previously accepted some of his essays about travel in Spain. He continued submitting campaign material together with literary pieces to La Época, occasionally sent to La Razón of Buenos Aires a sharp critique of noteworthy events such as Secretary of State Root's speech at the Commercial Club of Cincinnati, and by perseverance had in 1909 penetrated La Revue Mondiale and Courrier European of Paris, which had the circulation necessary to make him prominent in the eyes of those to whom he wished to appear distinguished. The main points of his later propaganda were tentatively introduced in this fashion, and the meat of his later books, El Porvenir de la América Española and El destino de un Continente first appeared in La Revue Mondiale, 1909 to 1910, whole sections being transferred unchanged from the articles to the books.

In the full vigor of his inflamed thirty-two years, he reached the apogees of his written campaign with the publication in 1910 of the loosely organized El porvenir de la América Española. Thereafter, he either elaborated upon his ideas or simply repeated himself. In Paris when the book appeared, Ugarte received particular attention from

30 Arroyo, 17.

31 La Razón, 21 March 1907, clipping in S. D. file #2210/43-44.

32 Ugarte, El porvenir, xxiv; Escritores, 38. As early as 1 September 1903, he had been contributing literary criticism to La Revue Mondiale.
the Spaniards, who felt that the book reinforced Hispanismo, from
the Latin Americans, who generously applauded any effort of an aspiring
contemporary, and from a few "political scientists," who praised his
masterful synthesis.33 Hopeful of converting him to a more orthodox
point of view, the Spaniards invited Ugarte to lecture to them, thereby
launching him upon a career of oratory. Eagerly accepting these
invitations, he delivered the first oration of the many that were to stud
his public life, speaking in Barcelona during a celebration in May, 1910,
of the centenary of Argentina's independence.34

He was respectfully listened to in Spain, and returned triumphantly to Paris in October, 1911, to speak at the Sorbonne on the subject
of "Las ideas francescas y la emancipación americana." The audience was
presided over by M. Paul Appel, dean of the Faculty of Science, and was
patronised by the Ministers of Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Peru,
Uruguay and Brazil. He was applauded. "The whole press, from La Temps
and Figaro, to organs exclusively political like L'Action, L'Aurora and
the Petite Republique," he wrote complacently, "published long reviews
and favorable comments."35

2. The active campaign in the field.

Thus possessed of a certain amount of prestige by the end of

33 Ugarte, El destino, 33-36.

34 Ibid., 38.

35 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, Barcelona, (no pub. date, probably 1922); 49-71. This volume contains some ten of his hundred or so speeches.
October, 1911, both as a writer and speaker, Ugarte started out on his quixotic tour of Hispanic America: "My plan was to break with traditional apathy; to live, if only for a brief time, in each one of these countries, in order to be able to rectify or ratify my conception of that which would be la patria grande, according to observations made upon the land." 36 His plan was simple:

The thesis which I maintained during the journey was that of an entente of the Hispanic American people, to ensure their autonomy and to oppose a block and common resistance each time that a strong nation of the world wished to abuse its power, beating in detail regions which ought to be considered solid.

It is clear that the general activity foreseen would have applied especially to the United States, not by express will, but as the logical result of the absorptive policy which that country was developing. But my original and lasting program, in its superior ethics, did not contain special hostility against any country; it held a brief for the preservation of our nationalities, the same in the economic and cultural orders as in the political order; for self-defense against all who would wish to diminish or alter the present situation. 37

These activities were soon looked upon by disfavor by the Argentine government, as well as that of the United States, but lack of approval did not deter the self-designated crusader. 38

36 Ugarte, El destino, 42-43.

37 Ibid., 80.

38 Arroyo, 30. We will shortly see how our State Department regarded him.
From Paris, he sailed to Havana. During a month's stay, he was impressed by the surface appearances which indicated that Havana was more North American than Latin, seeing accounts of baseball games (which he did not understand) in the Cuban newspapers, and hearing English spoken in more places than he could have wished. He was informed that by and large the Cuban people felt that in the war of 1898 they had merely exchanged one master for another. 39

Having become an authority on Cuban matters, Ugarte continued on his way to Santo Domingo. The first thing his disapproving eye observed there was the Star Spangled Banner flying over the Customs House. Spurred by this, he was in a belligerent mood when he spoke at the Athenaeum. The Dominicans applauded wildly, but when he reembarked to carry out his itinerary, the Stars and Stripes still rippled in the easterly breezes over the Customs House. He omitted a visit to Haiti, which, he was told, was already hopelessly submerged by imperialism. 40

Crossing the Gulf to Vera Cruz, he entered Mexico, where he had been vouchsafed the "revelation" of his mission. Arriving at the capitol early in January, 1912, he found himself isolated from the people, although Madero's government took great pains to appear friendly to him. 41

39 Ugarte, El destino, 46-52.

40 Ibid., 75-81. The Latin American Association in Cuba owed its origin to his inspiration. Rippy, Destiny, 48 n.

41 As a matter of fact, he was to be more popular in Mexico perhaps than in any other Latin American country, this popularity culminating in his appointment as Argentine Ambassador in 1945.
Despite what he described as attempted muffling, Ugarte managed to stimulate sufficient controversy to ensure him an audience of students rather than a hand-picked group of government sympathisers, and lectured on February 11th on the significant subject, "Renovemos nuestra vida," a plea for the unity of bygone colonial days.\(^\text{42}\) He was scornful of President Madero, of whom he later wrote: "Idealist and dreamer, he was ignorant of the fact that the Petroleum Trust and the Standard Oil Company disgracefully had today more importance in our America than the French Revolution and the Declaration of the "Rights of Man."\(^\text{43}\) In turn, Ugarte was ignorant of the fact that the State Department of the United States had suddenly become interested in him, being about to award him the dubious honor of having a separate file kept on his activities.

On the 22nd of January, he proceeded to Guatemala, but Estrada Cabrera refused to permit him to speak, obliging Ugarte to seek an audience elsewhere in Central America. He was invited by enthusiastic students in San Salvador to appear before them, but their government made it clear to him that his lecture would impair the deferential policy about to be accorded to the Yankee Secretary of State Knox, who was then visiting the Caribbean countries. Ugarte would be welcome, he was politely informed by telegram, after Knox had come and gone.\(^\text{44}\)

He was irked, but he would have been more than irked had he been able

\(^{42}\) Ugarte, \textit{El destino}, 46-52; \textit{Mi Campaña}, 105-112.

\(^{43}\) Ugarte, \textit{El destino}, 87-119; quote on 96.

\(^{44}\) \textit{Ibid.}, 126-140.
to read a telegram sent from San Salvador by Consul General Heimke to Washington. Heimke stated that he had been informed by the Salvadorean Minister of Foreign Affairs that Ugarte had been requested not to come. The Salvadorean Minister had detected something sinister in the whole business; the episode served to show "the intrigue and malicious intent of the President of Guatemala, as he was of the opinion that the proposed visit of Ugarte to Salvador has been planned by President Estrada Cabrera in order that the students of San Salvador might be excited to make hostile demonstrations during the visit here of Mr. Knox thus discrediting the Government of Salvador..."45 The United States had not yet exercised pressure but was about to do so. A confidential telegram went from Washington to the American Legation at Managua, Nicaragua, on March 3rd, stating, "It would be gratifying if the government of Nicaragua followed the example of Salvador and Ugarte did not land in Nicaragua."46 Our representative crisply wired back: "Acting on previous information the Government of Nicaragua disposed of the matter."47

Unaware of this closure to him of Nicaragua, but nettled by his reception in Guatemala and San Salvador, Ugarte was pleased when Honduras opened her arms to him. On March 13th, he gave a pertinent

45 Heimke, AmLeg, San Salvador, to SecState, Washington, 1 March 1912, S.D. file # 816.00/165.

46 SecState, Washington, to AmLeg, Managua, 3 March 1912, S.D. file #817.00/1767A.

47 Eitze1, Managua, to SecState, Washington, 3 March 1912, S.D. file #817.00/1768.
lecture, "La hostilidad de ciertos gobiernos," at Tegucigalpa. His admirers escorted him back to his hotel. A week later, on the 21st, he returned triumphantly to San Salvador at the express invitation of President Manuel Aranjo, who had paid his respects to Yankee power and doubtless learned of Ugarte's rebuff by Cabrera. Ugarte was heard at the Workers Federation at the capitol on the subject of "Primero la Patria, después las ideas generales." As at Honduras, part of the audience insisted upon accompanying him on foot to his hotel.

After this triumph, Nicaragua boldly slammed its door in his

48 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 105-112. The dispatch of the American Minister, Charles D. White, was not written until some two weeks after the speech, but inspired two pertinent pencilled memoranda in the State Department. They are as follows:

1. SLP Are we "keeping tabs" on this person at all? He seems to have been very inoffensive (outwardly) while in Honduras. JEW
2. JEW Yes! He was most offensive in Mexico. Went to Guatemala at the invitation of Estrada C & then, as I understand, not allowed to use the Nat. Theater; Salvador then got excited & thought E C was sending him on there to arouse hostile demonstrations just before the Sec's arrival. So he was politely restrained from landing at Acajulta & the same thing happened at Corinto, directly afterwards. Since then we had not heard of him. He must have lain low until Mr. Knox left C, America & then returned.

It seems to me our best—if not our only course—is to appear to ignore his existence. SLP

From the dispatch itself we learn two more items of interest. Ugarte was spoken of as the "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Letters," and secondly, he finally had attained the distinction of having his own file number. Cf. Charles D. White, AmLeg, Tegucigalpa, Serial #112, 28 March 1912, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/3.

49 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 97-104. There is no record of this visit in his State Department dossier.
face, saying, "there is a law which prohibits the entry of anarchists into the country." 50 He was not, however, greatly affected, for he believed that the United States had taken over the country in 1910, and he had not really expected permission to land. His opinion would have been only confirmed by the short letter from the American Consul at Corinto, that "Manuel Ugarte arrived but was prohibited from landing." 51 He went on to Costa Rica, where he claimed that his Nicaraguan setback was more than compensated for by the ardent reception of his gospel. 52

During his Central American travels, he had received an invitation from Columbia University to deliver a lecture in New York. He accepted, walked into the lion's den, and on 9 July 1912, boldly spoke on "Los Pueblos del Sur ante el imperialismo Norteamericano," keynoting his address with the belligerent announcement, "I come to speak as the adversary of a policy." 53 He spoke in Spanish, pausing for an interpreter furnished by Columbia to render his remarks into English. 54 Ugarte was overwhelmed by the Yankee's unexpectedly generous and tolerant acceptance of his criticism, as well as the extensive newsprint devoted to analyses.

50 Ugarte, El destino, 151-161.

51 AmCons, Corinto, Nicaragua, to SecState, Washington, serial letter #128, 20 April 1912, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/4

52 Ugarte, El destino, 151-161. No report from our representatives in Costa Rica to be found in Ugarte's file.

53 Manuel Ugarte, Las Mejores Páginas de Manuel Ugarte, Barcelona, 1929, 165-177

54 Carlos Deambrosia Martín, "Ugarte en la consciencia de América," Athena, Chile, XXV (1933), 70.
if his challenging ideas. He had never hated the Yankees, he said. Indeed, he admired them as an example to be set before his compatriots, and their personal magnanimity appealed to him strongly in contrast to the repression evidenced by most South American governments.

Leaving New York, Ugarte resumed his interrupted crusade by sailing to Panama, where he discovered that much the same conditions which pertained in Cuba marked this little country as being a satellite of the United States. He was told by various Panamanians that they would not have broken with Colombia had they had any suspicion of what independence would involve. As for the Canal itself, Ugarte overlooked its various benefits to world commerce or our national and therefore hemispheric defense, and saw only a very strong bond in the chains which held the Caribbean area enslaved to the dollar.

Somewhat chastened by the patent servitude of another Hispanic American country, he went on to Venezuela, arriving towards the end of September, 1912. He found the country obviously ruled by a tyrant, and tried to rally the students of Caracas by telling them about "Bolivar y su juventud." Again he was acclaimed, but the tyrant remained in

55 Ugarte, El destino, 162-188.
56 Arroyo, 41. This lack of hostility towards us was mentioned in White's report (cf. above, note 48), and may have prompted Wilson's remark that "He seems to have been very inoffensive...."
57 Ugarte, El destino, 189-222. Possibly assuaged momentarily by his conduct in New York, the State Department did not again take cognizance of him until January, 1913, giving him five months of freedom from surveillance.
58 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 113-118; El destino, 223-224.
power, and Ugarte quitted Venezuela for the happier lands of Colombia. Here the crowds which gathered were so large he was obliged to talk outdoors in the Independence Park of Bogotá. At Cartagena, he had discussed "Los dos viajeros," at the capitol, he concerned himself with "El ideal de los hombres de la Independencia," earning what he deemed a suitable approval from the descendents of Bolívar's heroes.

As usual, the crowds took him to his hotel, and again as usual, his words were quickly forgotten by all except a handful of instinctive Hispano-Americanismozantes.

En route to the western coast of South America, he reached Panama early in January, 1913, and once more became subject to the scrutiny of our State Department. No official attentions were paid him, and he declined an invitation by private individuals to a banquet and after-dinner lecture, "stating that his health required rest, and quiet."

The five papers of Panama were divided in their notice of his presence, and after he departed on the 11th of the month, the newspaper Prensa, which had heartily hailed him as the apostle of Latin-Americanism, promptly published a conspicuous statement that its editors had not in the least intended to say anything "against the nation most friendly to our own....." 62

59 Ugarte, El destino, 235-238.

60 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 119-124.

61 Ibid., 125-130.

62 H. Winant Dodge, AmLeg, Panama, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch "290,12 January 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/6, and Dispatch #296, 20 January 1913, S.B. file #835.44 Ug 1/7."
Reaching Guayaquil, Ugarte addressed a throng of three thousand working people in the Teatro Eden. Almost double the number waited outside to observe the custom of walking him to his lodgings. The Yankee Consul-General was not charmed. The speech "was, in fact, nothing more than a foolish tirade against the United States, void of any logic or reason." The Consul-General went on tartly to say, "By just what motives Mr. Ugarte is prompted, no one seems to know. Apparently his idea is to awaken resentment against what he terms the imperialistic policy of the United States." The Consul-General was astute; by this time Ugarte seemed to have been persuaded that it was necessary for him to practise Yankeephobia in order to jolt his listeners into something more than personal appreciation. Bakin's colleague, Rutherford Bingham, Chargé d'Affaires in Quito, moodily reported that the capitol was preparing to open its heart to the violently anti-American agitator. Ugarte found the attention paid him at Quito to be flatteringly notable, but after "discreet inquiries," Bingham felt able to report that there was no visible effect of Ugarte's propaganda after he left on February 5th.

63 Ugarte, El destino, 235-237.

64 Chas. W. Bakin (?), AmConGen, Guayaquil, to SecState, Washington, Letter (no serial #), 21 January 1913, S. D. file #835.44 Ug 1/8.

65 Bingham, Quito, to SecState, Washington, 21 January 1913, Telegram S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/5.

66 Ugarte, El destino, 237-238.

67 Bingham, AmLeg, Quito, to SecState, Washington, dispatch #185, 8 February 1913, S. D. file #835.44 Ug 1/10.
In Peru, by his own account, Ugarte's propaganda had more favorable surroundings in the small cities than in Lima itself, inasmuch as detractors had spread word that he favored Ecuador in the current border dispute between the two states. However, with a sincerity that young men could appreciate, he was soon able, in his opinion, to surmount this hostility, and his "Norte contra Sur" given at the Municipal Theater won a thunderous ovation. 68 He spoke with passion, because he had just finished writing a letter on March 4th to the newly inaugurated Democratic President of the United States, outlining a diplomatic policy to be followed by Wilson's administration. 69 H. Clay Howard of the American Legation gave a different version of Ugarte's visit. He stated that Ugarte did not receive any attention by either the Peruvian government or by the Argentine Chargé d'Affaires. The idle and the curious were attracted by the speech at the Municipal Theater, but so few of the better classes that Ugarte was discouraged and abandoned his plans for other lectures. With a trace of satisfaction, Howard reported that he had personally contributed to Ugarte's discomfiture by having articles published in an English language newspaper, the West Coast Leader. 70

68 Ugarte, El destino, 271 & 275-276; Mi campaña, 131-152.

69 This manuscript ( a typed letter) is conspicuously barren of any traces of serious consideration by the recipient. It bears a stamped notation to refer it for action to the State Department and a stamped "Joseph P. Tumulty." Ugarte then and later gave this letter wide circulation. S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/11.

70 H. Clay Howard, AmLeg, Lima, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #203, 24 March 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/12.
one of whose editorials declared: "Any demagogue can make a successful appeal to race prejudice and hatred, and be successful for the time being, especially if he is not afraid to distort facts and misquote history. We had admired the writings of Manuel Ugarte and we thought his speech before Columbia College was moderate and fair." After this confession of admiration, the editor sharpened his pencil. "His address, however; on Monday night, before several thousand enthusiastic young men and workmen, was as blatant a piece of demagoguery as the writer has ever had the misfortune to hear."71

While in Peru, Ugarte was informed that the Socialist Party of Argentina desired to make him a Senatorial candidate. However, at that time he deemed his campaign to be of an international character and did not wish to be hamstrung by local politics. He declined the honor.72 His disinterested motives were applauded by the public, to whom the act showed him "como escrupuloso cumplido de sus deberes con las impresas ideales en que se ha empeñado."73 Notwithstanding his public statement, there may have been a less worthy motive for declining the honor; the Argentine Chargé d'Affaires told Howard that there was "No possibility of his getting support for the candidacy in the Senate."74

71 Editorial, West Coast Leader, Lima, Peru, Vol. 2, #62, 6 March 1913, clipping enclosed in Howard's report of 24 March 1913. Perhaps Ugarte would have accepted the title of "demagogue" as a compliment.

72 Ugarte, El destino, 273-274; El dolor, 120.


74 Howard's report of 24 March 1913, cf. note 70.
Ugarte thought that his mere presence in Peru was sufficient to make him unwelcome in Chile as being anti-Chilean in the Tacna-Arica dispute, and he was warned by Chilean newspapers that he would not meet with enthusiasm. Ugarte let it be known that he was going to Santiago anyway, after he had first visited Bolivia. In this latter country, "the politicos, comprehending the general problem of America, admitted, with a rare independence of criticism, the necessity of resisting the infiltration of imperialism." The United States Legation at La Paz reported that the visit did not set off any trouble in Bolivia, whose newspapers made such tart observations as: "On preaching Latin-American solidarity, Ugarte should commence by frankly condemning the imperialism of some of the South American Republics, criticising their actions and the wrongs committed." Bolivia still smouldered over the consequences of being cut off from the Pacific.

By this time, Ugarte had become of significant importance to John Bassett Moore, our Acting Secretary of State, to be studied more thoroughly. Moore sent a confidential telegram to the American Minister at Buenos Aires, requesting that an information blank be made out for the young Argentine.

75 Ugarte, El destino, 279-282.

76 Quotation from El Tiempo, La Paz, 20 March 1913, clipping sent in with AmLeg, La Paz, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #224, 4 April 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/13.

77 SecState, Washington, to AmMin, Buenos Aires, telegram #77, 17 June 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/13a. Garrett complied, but the information blank was routed to the Department's Division of Information and there apparently lost or discarded.
After what to him was a successful tour of Bolivia, Ugarte proceeded to Chile, where accurate reporting of his speeches had apparently cleared up most of the misunderstanding about him, and he dissipated the remaining hostility by a speech which resulted in a "clamourous ovation." Profiting by his previous experience, he avoided all dealings with the government, having relations only with the press, opposition parties, the people and the University. So he reported, but actually he seems to have had little choice. The American Minister, Henry P. Fletcher, wrote to Washington that the President of Chile had told him privately that there would be no governmental recognition whatever. Fletcher considered the visit a complete failure. Ugarte was accepted only by the Federation of Students, and, although the Secretaries of the Argentine Legation had him to breakfast at the Union Club, the President of that Club refused to extend the customary privileges to him.

Ugarte ultimately arrived home in Buenos Aires, after ten years in Europe and two in America. On July 2nd, he spoke to an assembly of more than ten thousand students. Far more important than this, however, was his break with the Socialist Party of Argentina, which came about late in that month. He had, in a sense, offended them by declining

78 Ugarte, _El destino_, 292-297.

79 Henry P. Fletcher, AmLeg, Santiago, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #346, 3 June 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/14.

80 Ugarte, _El destino_, 311, gives the date as February 2nd, an instance of his forgetfulness. He was then still in Quito. Cf. _La Vanguardia_, 3 July 1913, for details of the meeting.
the proffered candidacy for a seat in the Senate, and attempted to explain himself in the Party newspaper. His refusal had been based on three considerations: (1) he had been too long absent from the country to know current conditions; (2) he had not known if his propaganda was going to be endorsed by the Party, and was unwilling to risk going to the Senate where he might have been forced to change his convictions; and (3) he did not want to abandon his contemplated trip on the eastern coast of South America. On the same day that *La Vanguardia* printed this explanation, its editor used what seemed to Ugarte to be insulting language in felicitating Colombia upon attaining the centennial of independence: "Panama will contribute to the progress of Colombia so that the latter will enter into the concert of civilised nations completely."

Within the week, Ugarte had composed a reply. "I protest against these offensive terms, derogatory to a Republic that merits our respect not only for its misfortune but for its unquestionable high standing. They imply that Colombia has not heretofore been in the concert of civilised nations, which is a great injustice. They ridicule the pains of a country victimised by Yankee imperialism." In publishing his letter, *La Vanguardia* made a backhanded apology which largely consisted of citing statistics about sanitation and education and race that proved Colombia was backward.

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81 *La Vanguardia*, 20 July 1913.

82 *La Vanguardia*, 25 July 1913.
Here the matter might have ended, but Ugarte made the cardinal error of sending his letter to other newspapers, thus violating party discipline. Three days later, as this became apparent, La Vanguardia became slightly caustic. The Committee had not cared for his remarks accusing them of "eternal antipatriotism," and asked bluntly who had done more for the cause; those who had worked in Argentina for twenty years, or those who had been distant from the country, ignorant of its men and doings. They couldn't be accused of being hostile towards Ugarte: after all, they had proposed his candidacy for the Senate. "La Vanguardia regrets deeply that Ugarte, a man whom the Party has honored with a candidature, should have made unjust publications outside of the Party prejudicial to the interests of socialism in the Argentine." At face value, without knowing any of the men involved other than Ugarte, this rebuttal seems reasonable and quite without rancour. Ugarte, however, continued his assault upon the Party and goaded the Committee into declaring that they did not sympathize with his Anti-Yankee campaign, which called for "a negative solidarity, for help in an unmotivated war against the United States." The dangers of El Porvenir de la América Española, they said, did not exist, and its ideas were not new.

In all, Ugarte seems to have been overly impressed with his own

83 La Vanguardia, 28 July 1913.

84 La Vanguardia, 31 July 1913. All these citations from La Vanguardia were submitted by Garrett in Buenos Aires, Confidential Dispatch #199, 6 August 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/16.
importance at this point in his career. He had annexed the title of Doctor, and openly asserted that the governments of Brazil, Cuba, Colombia and Bolivia sympathized with his plans.\footnote{AmLeg, Montevideo, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #388, 4 June 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/15.} Self-deceived to such an extent, he evidently considered himself beyond the grasp of a party discipline, and the dispute with the Socialist Party in Argentina reflects little, if any, credit upon him. In later years, he endeavoured to justify himself: "It may have been my hope that the Socialist Party of Argentine, to which I had adhered for several years, and which I had represented at the International Congresses of Amsterdam and Stuttgart, even being on the Permanent Committee of Brussels, might have presented itself in the realm of American foreign politics as a great force of immediate justice, as a strong heart towards the weak, without deserting its theories and general principles."\footnote{Ugarte, \textit{El destino}, 311. For further particulars of his version of the dispute, see Manuel Ugarte, \textit{La Patria Grande}, Santiago de Chile, (edition of 1939), 50-63. The article entitled "La Democracia y la Patria" was written in 1913 shortly after the affray.} Be this as it may, the affair damaged his reputation.

Leaving the dispute behind him, Ugarte continued with his campaign trying to ignore gibes that he had sold out to the oligarchy.\footnote{Ugarte, \textit{El dolor}, 138. Would this seem to be a common tactic of the Socialists?} In August, he arrived at Montevideo, where he believed he met with success.\footnote{Ugarte, \textit{El destino}, 325.} The American Legation held a contrary view. "His anti-American address
was delivered on August 18th to an audience crowded into the Teatro 18 de Julio. The President of Uruguay, José Batle y Ordóñez, was an old friend from the youthful Parisian days, but the President was personally indifferent to Ugarte's anti-United States propaganda. Although cheered by his listeners, Ugarte did not speak again. "It is to be noted, however, that Sr. Ugarte is a ready and fluent speaker who combines the gift of oratory with a talent for deft misrepresentation." His customary escort to the hotel was "decorously silent" when passing the American Legation. It was common gossip in Uruguay that Ugarte was backed by the Argentine government in a moral, though not a financial, sense.89

Continuing up the river to Paraguay, Ugarte early in October delivered his message in an overflowing theater, and was awarded the tribute he by then apparently deemed his due.90

To complete his itinerary, he had only one more country to visit, a country second in importance only to Argentina: Brazil. The Portuguese-speaking Brazilians were very courteous to Ugarte, listening politely to his discurso de lucha, but, as the journalists reminded him, the United States bought two-thirds of the total Brazilian exports, and provided only twenty percent of her imports. With such a favorable balance of trade, the Brazilians were not prime subjects for Anti-Yankee propaganda. "Let Señor Ugarte understand this," he was told, "and he is

89 Nikolay A. Grevsted (?), AmLeg. Montevideo, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #459, 29 August 1913, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/17

90 Ugarte, El destino, 333.
most welcome." From this, it is manifest that his carefully won reputation had acquired an unhealthy taint of Yankeeophobia. Despite the evidence, he flatly denied having the disease, and his protestations through the years have the ring of sincerity. It would appear that he was a person who could not resist an emotional development of an idea when orating, and his earnestness betrayed his intentions as his tongue ran away with him. His writings, produced in reflection and quiet, do not fulminate against the Colossus of the North, whom he regarded as a giant whose methods had to be copied before destruction came to the South and his admiration of Yankee efficiency seems to be genuine. In talking, however, he revealed another side. He must have been affected by the faces of his audience.

For the sake of his campaign, it was unfortunate that he blundered into confirming the charges of Yankeeophobia upon his return to Argentina by assisting in the organization of a definitely anti-Yankee institution, "The Pro-Mexican Committee," which, with a membership of some ten thousand and Ugarte as President, had no other raison d'être than to protest against Admiral Fletcher's seizure of Vera Cruz on 22 April 1914.92 This group was later in July transformed into the Latin American Association. It was composed primarily of students, and did not attract any Argentines of importance.93

91 Ibid., 341-343.

92 Ibid., 352-355.

93 AmLeg, Buenos Aires, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #327, 1 August 1914, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/19.
3. Through the World War to the Good Neighbor

The World War broke out and Ugarte followed a devious path. He spoke on "Las dos autocracies" at Buenos Aires, but speeches became secondary\(^94\) to the vigorous resistance he called for in support of Mexico as Pershing fruitlessly tried to catch Villa. Ugarte held an informal meeting of the Association at the Plaza del Congreso, which was attended by some thousands of people. When his speech of protest was concluded, the students wanted to accompany him to his residence, but he had neglected to procure official authorization for his meeting, and the police used this as a pretext to disperse the crowd.\(^95\)

Germany invaded Belgium and thereby fell into Ugarte's bad graces. In June, 1915, he assembled his Latin American Association to tell them "El derecho de los pueblos débiles."\(^96\) In the spring of 1916, a detachment of Mexican troops defeated a Yankee cavalry squadron at Carrizal, and Ugarte called upon the Association to celebrate what was to him the first significant setback to imperialism!\(^97\)

These activities ultimately made him a leader of sorts in Argentina, although not a tremendously popular figure in the eyes of the

\(^{94}\) Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 176-181.

\(^{95}\) Ugarte, El destino, 359.

\(^{96}\) Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 183-185.

\(^{97}\) Ugarte, El destino, 365-367.
neutral, pro-Allied government. "I have never had any political ambitions," he had said in 1913, but the occasion arose when he was named as an excellent man for the ministry of Argentina to Bolivia. The Bolivian papers "welcomed the suggestion, as did those of Argentina," but the government, since he was critical of its official policies, passed him over. Unperturbed, Ugarte founded a short-lived newspaper, La Patria, to broadcast his views. This venture was opposed and destroyed by the hostility of a "certain financial group."100

In January, 1917, he spoke on "La diplomacia popular," to a Popular Assembly.101 Ugarte shortly thereafter left for Mexico at the request of that government to instruct their University students in his views. En route he was subjected to certain considerations by the United States of which he was probably unaware. The Consul at Panama telegraphed to Washington on 24 March 1917: "Ugarte arrived. Suspected of being paid by German agents."102 This suspicion was never substantiated and Ugarte subsequently denied the rumor. Nonetheless, he was

98 Montague, "Una entrevista," 430.
99 Ugarte, El destino, 362-364.
101 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 189-199.
102 Price, Panama, to SecState, Washington, Telegram in cipher, 24 March 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug L20. The Department had already been sent a private letter from Horace G. Knowles, La Paz, Bolivia, who stated that it was common knowledge (and therefore undocumented) that Ugarte had been in German pay for 4-5 years. Cf. S.D. file #835.44 Ug L21.
subjected to close scrutiny. He remained at Mexico City, May through June, 1917, and his lectures, including one at the Ideal Theater on "La evolución de nuestra diplomacia,"\(^\text{103}\) were soberly received by a people who had sacrificed territory to Yankee Manifest Destiny.\(^\text{104}\) Our Ambassador Fletcher sent a report that the lecture of 12 May was bitterly anti-American and openly pro-German and held under the auspices of the National University, José N. Macías, the Secretary of the Department of Higher Education and Fine Arts, presiding. Ugarte was stated to be intimate with the Germans, and the lecture had been delayed an hour,

\(^{103}\) Ugarte, \textit{Mi Campaña}, 201-226.

\(^{104}\) Ugarte, \textit{El destino}, 378-383. To see how our policy was carried out with regard to Ugarte, it is worth reading a paragraph from a dispatch of Fletcher's (AmEmb. Mexico City, to SecState, Washington, Confidential Dispatch #50, 30 March 1917, S.D. file #711.12/36.) dealing with the friendlier relations that had been made possible by withdrawing our troops from Mexico. "I took advantage of Mr. Malbran's call to speak of the impending visit to Mexico of Manuel Ugarte, an Argentine poet and propagandist, whose mission in life is to arouse the Latin-American countries to a sense of the danger of associating with the United States and with whose activities the Department is familiar. Mr. Malbran agreed that this visit is ill timed and dangerous and told me he had been careful to state to Dr. Macías, head of the University at the invitation of the students of which he is ostensibly coming to Mexico, that he was coming as an individual and that he as Argentine Minister could and would not be responsible in any way for him. He said that he understood Ugarte had been invited about February 1st, and I gathered that he believed that the invitation was made at least with the knowledge of, if not with the express authority of the Mexican Government. I suspect that Fabela, the Mexican Minister to the Argentine and Chile, who has recently prominently identified himself with the student bodies of those countries, was the means by which the invitation was extended. I shall endeavor to minimize the effect of this visit by pointing out in a private and informal way the undesirability and real danger of inflaming Mexican public opinion against the United States in the present delicate situation; that we have troubles enough of our own without importing others." Lansing referred this dispatch to Wilson, who returned it without attached comment.
apparently to await the late arrival of the German minister. This report of Fletcher's was given wide circulation among our Latin American diplomatic corps, and the Army Attaché in Mexico City took it upon himself to learn definitely if Ugarte was indeed a paid German sympathizer, writing a suggestion to the Army authorities at Panama that they detain and search him if he came through the Canal. Price, in Panama, sent a worried telegram to the State Department. Washington replied three days later in a manner which would have been regarded by Ugarte as an affront to his importance. "Department considers that less attention paid Ugarte the better. It is considered that he should not be submitted to any sort of search other than that customary for all travellers from neutral countries. His detention is not desired."

Thus, sailing through Gatun Lake in the Seiyo Maru of Japan, Ugarte reached Balboa, 7 July 1917, unaware of the exchange of telegrams and the checkmated threat to his liberty. He was kept under surveillance, but not interfered with. He did not go ashore at Balboa, and during a brief excursion ashore at Panama, he had by design or accident frustrated the civilian detective flitting in his wake by hiring the

105 AmEmb, Mexico, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #140, 17 May 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/22.

106 Price, Panama, to SecState, Washington, telegram in cipher, 15 June 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/23.

107 SecState, Washington, to Price, Panama, telegram in cipher, 20 June 1917, S. D. file #835.44 Ug 1/23.
only cab available on the street. 108

In Santiago by early August, Ugarte attracted little public attention, making one speech before the Ladies Club, 109 and another, on the 23rd, to the Federation of Students of Chile. His orations made no impressions on official circles, but "...a large body of people are attracted by the adroit manner in which he presents his subject matter, and he creates quite a bit of enthusiasm at his meetings," the American Ambassador told Washington. 110 Ugarte stayed for some time in Chile before leaving in November to cross the Andes. He caused our Ambassador to Chile a sudden anxiety. Shea telegraphed a confidential request to Washington to find out if Ugarte had obtained a visa to enter the United States. Almost instantly, Washington flashed back, "Where is he? Has anyone visaed his passport?" Shea explained that Ugarte was then in Buenos Aires, and the State Department hastily notified its posts in the River Plate area and Brazil not to issue him a visa. Ugarte was not welcome in the United States. 111

Frederick Stimson, Ambassador to Argentina, telegraphed the

108 William Jennings Price, AmLeg, Panama, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch #1463, 9 July 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/26. Ugarte's future biographer (1931) and old friend, Cesar E. Arroyo, was aboard the Seiyo Maru. Arroyo was then Ecuadorean Consul at Vigo, Spain.


110 Idem., Dispatch #198, 27 August 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/30.

111 Telegrams, 12 December 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/31; telegrams 15 & 18 December 1917, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/33. Ugarte's return to Buenos Aires was reported the same day by Stimson on December 14th, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/32.
Department in early January, 1918, that he had been told Ugarte had been paid 20,000 pesos travelling expenses by Carranza of Mexico, whatas Ugarte’s father had lost his fortune. "Ugarte's position here is of little importance and his influence and prestige with the Government and the public are not be to considered," Stimson added.112

A month later Stimson transmitted another rumor. "The Embassy has learned from the IDEA NACIONAL who is a Frenchman and whose paper though of no great importance, is reputable and extremely pro-All, that Manuel Ugarte has been officially named by the Mexican Government as honorary delegate to the Mexican Commission headed by Cabrera and that he will shortly visit Brazil with certain members of that mission."113 This rumor was unsubstantiated.

Having lost the support of his father, Ugarte was obliged to earn his living. Literature was a poor crutch, considering the fact that Garnier in Paris paid him only 600 francs for the original of a book, and his future was gloomy.114 At this moment, his European friends stepped forward. He sailed for Spain on March 3rd, 1919, on the

112 Telegram, Stimson, AmEmb, Buenos Aires, to SecState, Washington, 9 January 1918, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/35. Stimson had a year previously reported that Ugarte had a fortune of a million pesos. (Telegram 12 February 1917, S.D. file #710.11/318.)

113 Telegram, Stimson, Buenos Aires, to SecState, Washington, 7 February 1918, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/30.

114 Ugarte, El Dolor, 43-49. He never mentioned in his works that he had been subsidized by Carranza, which is a strange lack of gratitude, if the rumor was true.
Infanta Isabel de Borbon, announcing to the papers that he intended to
be in Madrid for some time giving lectures under the patronage of the
Centro Cultural Hispano-Americano. Aside from his temporary rescue
by the Pan-Hispanists who still hoped to convert his voice to their
cause, he intended ultimately to live in France where life was both
cheaper and more agreeable, and where he was accepted without cavil as
a competent man of letters, nothing more or less. He was weary of
battle. In Spain, he appeared before such groups as the Hispanic-
American Academy of Cádiz on the delicately chosen subject of "La
attracción de los orígenes." When he reached Madrid, however, he
learned that his controversy with the Argentine Socialist Party had
injured him, and as a consequence only three or four dozen people heard
him speak in an almost empty hall of the Centro de Cultura Hispanoamer-
cano; the progressives boycotted him.

Ugarte was in Mallorca when the product of his youth, Poesías
Completas, was published, April, 1921. Notwithstanding the deference
which had been shown to him for two years by the Spaniards, Ugarte

115 Stimson, AmAmb, Buenos Aires, to SecState, Washington, Dispatch
#765, 3 March 1919, S.D. file #835.44 Ug 1/37.

116 Ugarte, El dolor, 24 & 172.

117 Ugarte, Mi Campaña, 227-233.

118 Ugarte, El destino, 396.

119 Manuel Ugarte, Poesías Completas, Barcelona, 1921, 20.
remained firm in his conviction that South America should remain separated from Spain except in sentiment:

I have always thought that Spain ought to represent for us that which England represents for the United States; antecedents, honorable origin, the strong root from which the life-giving sap of the tree. In the midst of political disintegration and in a state of unassimilated cosmopolitanism, in order to maintain the impulse and connection of our history, it is convenient not to lose sight of this glorious point of departure, this dorsal spine of memories. 120

And again:

I have always considered it pernicious that our literature reflects that of Spain, because there isn't any reason, that, having distinct mediums, we take from second hand that which others have by direct inspiration. In my opinion there ought to exist an American style, and this style may be logically sought in America. 121

And yet again, in the very teeth of Spanish kindness, he said firmly: "It is not possible to imagine a united action of Spain and the ultramarine countries in the diplomatic plane." 122 Ugarte had his own standards of integrity. He also had a quarrel with Spanish colonial policy. 123 Politically, then, he had little use for the land of Don

120 Ugarte, El destino, 38.


122 Ugarte, El destino, 403.

123 Ibid., 315-316.
Quixote; emotionally, he was muy simpatico. In 1921 he went to France, there to marry a French girl, Therese Desmard, who had been born in the shadow of the Cathedral of Amiens. In 1922, Ugarte in his middle forties and the prime of life, they settled in Nice, which Ugarte considered to be in a certain sense an annex of Paris, en rapport with most Continental literary figures and movements. He was saved further worry about personal security soon after reaching Nice, for his friendliness to fellow Latin Americans was rewarded in his time of trouble. His financial difficulties were well known, and a sympathetic admirer delicately let him know that Bolivia would be honored to have him serve as its Consul in Nice.

Thus, for eleven quiet years until 1933, Ugarte worked leisurely in a modest little house overlooking the Mediterranean on the Promenade des Anglais, absorbed in his propaganda and diverted by the intellectual and literary currents of Paris. Maintaining correspondence with a multitude of authors, he wrote numerous manifestoes, expositions, and published the noteworthy El destino de un Continente, La Patria Grande, Mi Campaña, Hispanoamericanismo and La Vida Inverosimil, which were

124 Ugarte, El dolor, 112-117. In sentiment, he had changed little from the warm-hearted, youthful Visiones de España, Valencia, 1904.

125 Arroyo, 47-49.

126 Ugarte, El dolor, 189.

127 C. Hispano, "Manuel Ugarte," Cromos, Colombia, #460 (1925). Arroyo, 120. Ugarte, El dolor, 228-230. None of these sources give the date on which he received the offer.
well circulated in Latin America.\textsuperscript{128}

Together with Barbusse, Einstein, Gorki, Sinclair and Unamuno, he directed the review \textit{Le Monde}, which was printed in Paris.\textsuperscript{129} This venture resulted from his acquaintanceship with these men on the occasion of a trip to Moscow in November, 1917. Ugarte, the Socialist disavowed in Argentina, was one of the privileged guests of the Russian government during the official celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.\textsuperscript{130} He went eagerly to Moscow to see the new phenomena which he deemed to be the greatest steps humanity had yet taken towards justice. Although he mentioned this trip in two of his semi-autobiographical books, and noted the excitement with which he set out on the journey, his accounts are singularly empty of any reaction to the conditions he found in "Utopia." These pages are entirely occupied with his observations about, and his conversations with, his travelling companions. His silence on this score is significant; from this, and his later articles in \textit{Vida de Hoy}, it is clear that he did not regard Communism as the solution to the problems he had first posed in socialistic \textit{El Arte y la Democracia}.\textsuperscript{131}

More than a score of his admirers celebrated in 1929 the "silver anniversary" of his campaign by writing a memorandum to the Argentine

\textsuperscript{128} Ugarte, \textit{El dolor}, 194-195. Arroyo, 49.

\textsuperscript{129} Arroyo, 50.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Ibid.}, 50-56. Ugarte, \textit{Escritores}, 31-32.

\textsuperscript{131} Ugarte, \textit{El dolor}, 148.
President recommending that a pension be awarded him in his poverty for the incalculable services he had rendered in the cause of Hispanoamericanismo. Signatures included those of Gabriela Mistral, José Vasconcelos, Francisco García Calderón and Rufino Blanco Fombona. 132

Nothing came of the generous petition.

His old friends in Mexico, perhaps stimulated by Vasconcelos, appointed him in February, 1930, to the post of "Honorary Consul of Mexico in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, with jurisdiction in Hamilton County." The United States recognized the appointment. 133

4. Twilight

Sometime before or during 1933, Ugarte returned to Buenos Aires. 134 He was apparently welcome this time and received as a leader, if a letter written to Cordell Hull in 1936 is any evidence. This letter concerned the trial of some Puerto Rican patriots, who, although not named, were doubtless Pedro Albizu Campos, the President of the Nationalist Party, and his six aides, charged with a plot to overthrow the insular government. The letter was typed by Ugarte and his large, sprawling signature headed a list of twenty-two other Latin Americans resident in Buenos Aires, comprising the names of one Senator, Dr. Mario


133 Five communications between Mexican Ambassador and United States Secretary of State, 28 February to 11 April 1930. S.D. file #702,1211/1980.

134 Eduardo Áviles Ramírez, "Manuel Ugarte se no fue...," Reportorio Americano, XXX (1943), 376 & 378.
Bravo; eleven Deputies; seven Professors, including Julio V. González, Pedro Henríquez Urena, and E. V. Galli; and three writers, including Manuel Seoane. These gentlemen were brief and the tenor of their address was: "All America is carefully watching the evolution of the good neighbor policy proclaimed by your country. Respect for Puerto Rico sovereignty would confirm the good faith of that policy."135 Ugarte was moving in respectable circles, and it would have been difficult to dismiss him as being without influence after he had thus demonstrated his ability to persuade these notables to lend their voices to his in a collective admonition.136

In October of the same year, 1936, Ugarte founded the review *Vida de Hoy* to serve as his speaking platform. As an honored man of letters, he sought to straighten out the misdirected Socialist Party which had ostracised him in 1913, and, as before, the Socialist paper *La Vanguardia* resented his efforts, starting their attacks upon him in November. Upon his return he had refused to join the Party's political

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135 To Cordell Hull, 18 April 1936, S.D. file #8110.00/33. For the Albizu Campos affair, cf. *New York Times*, 6 March 1936, 12:5. Ugarte's move was seconded when, the following January, the Pan-American Press Conference sent a cablegram to Roosevelt demanding the release of the prisoners and the recognition of Puerto Rican independence. *Ibid.*, 10 January 1937, 32:1. Despite these pleas, the men were tried, found guilty, the Supreme Court refused to review the case, and they were sent to Atlanta to serve terms of six to ten years for seditious conspiracy. *Ibid.*, 8 June 1937, 18:5.

campaign because he wanted to be free to offer constructive criticism: the Party declined his assistance. \[137\]

He applauded Roosevelt's visit to the Pan American Congress at Buenos Aires and spoke of the Yankee President in terms that disturbed some of his readers: "The figure of Franklin Roosevelt symbolizes in these moments the highest hopes of All America, and his visit has marked routes that go higher than actual horizons and our lives." \[138\]

He went even further in recantation of Yankeeophobia:

> The new Pan-Americanism which is being initiated places everyone in the comfortable position of working in favor of the elevation of the Continent. By renouncing the policy of imposition \[sic\], the United States have disarmed the resistance and inquietudes of the people of the South. On account of the new manner of seeing and the different equity, a new era of effective fraternity opens in America, and the Conference of Buenos Aires has contributed to it categorically. \[139\]

Sentiments such as these provoked sarcastic letters to the editor demanding to know "How can it be explained that some people who always attacked United States policy, today applaud it?" Ugarte had little trouble in disposing of such a matter. "The answer is easy. The situation of the world has changed and the policy of the United States is not the same." \[140\]

\[137\] Manuel Ugarte, "La Crisis del Socialismo," Vida de Hoy, February 1937, Año, II, #5, 5. He claimed that ruinous divergences dated from 1910!


\[139\] Ibid., 1-2.

\[140\] Ibid., 15.
Ugarte announced through his magazine that he had shed the ideas of 1900, including his youthful Socialism, because "We are entering an era of political realism, within which the only effective value is that which carries constructive force or national preservation."141 He carried his reformed view over onto the radio.142

Were these views accepted? Was Ugarte hailed as a liberal leader? There is no evidence to prove the contrary. He abruptly and to all purposes, mysteriously, suspended publication of Vida de Hoy in 1938, and voluntarily exiled himself in 1939 to Chile, where a sympathetic interviewer reported that he had acquired a radical reputation in Buenos Aires.143

He lived at Viña del Mar, Chile, writing sadly about his generation and their place in history.144 Then, in November, 1945, Perón appointed him as Argentine Ambassador to his old friends in Mexico City.145 He did not long enjoy the post; ill health forced him to return to Buenos Aires in 1948.

In his personal life, Ugarte is a simple man. He eats moderately and eats everything. Scorning liquor, he drinks only wine. He rises with the cock's crow, eats a frugal breakfast, and settles down to his


143 Avilés Ramírez, 378.

144 Roberto Giusti, "Sobre el éxito y el fracaso: a propósito del último libro de Manuel Ugarte," Nosotros, VIII (1943), 258.
work, unaided by a secretary. He is ardently devoted to tobacco and bullfighting. In the early years of his marriage, he had a son, who died in infancy, and now he has a special fondness for children. As a youth, he took himself seriously and disdained such pleasures as dancing.146

A French visitor gave this portrait of him:

Under a thick head of hair, fearlessly thrown back; greying—hair by hair—a strong forehead, solidly constructed, with enormous temples; with eyes where burn, clear, the flame of enthusiasm; well-designed nose, a little aquiline, audacious, firmly modelled chin of headstrong men. In that energetic and fearless visage, the design of the mouth places a note of warmth and tenderness.... He commands sympathy.147

Arroyo, at the conclusion of his short panegyric which bore the name of a biography, attempted to destroy a legend which had grown up about his subject. "I refer to that which presents Manuel Ugarte as a rich and worldly man, when, in reality, he is poor and austere. He was born rich, it is true, but he offered almost all to his ideal. Thus his glory is founded upon the only base worthy of sustaining it: sacrifice."

146 Arroyo, 118-121. (Arroyo and Carrión visited Ugarte at Nice in September, 1926. Carrión, 84.) Ugarte, Escritores, 26; El dolor, 198-199.

147 Marius, "Ugarte a Nice," 380.

148 Arroyo, 122.
In his writings, Ugarte has given only scraps of information about himself, and a study of his memoirs would be helpful for the would-be biographer. This, however, will have to wait, for as he said in his latest book:

The memoirs which will be published after my death, and which have been placed in a secure place until the end of my working day, will help in understanding the conspiracy which, since it ran afoul of the continental problem, has not permitted me either to occupy a modest professorship of literature nor to obtain a journalistic position carrying a pension.\(^{149}\)

He insisted that this lack of financial recognition did not discourage him, for, as he pointed out, he had been and was sustained by things of the spirit:

In the midst of a very great shadow, three anachronisms have preserved me. The conviction of having fundamentally served America. The consciousness of my integrity as a man. The Catholic faith which was inculcated in me in childhood and which I have always conserved.\(^{150}\)

He summarised his failure as being due to the inconsistency between frantic popular applause for his ideas and stubborn popular adherence to nationalism. He actually credited himself with a partial victory after President Roosevelt embarked upon the Good Neighbor policy: "The essential thing," he wrote warily in 1934, "is for us to cement the recent conception of amity between Anglo-Saxon and Latin America with

\(^{149}\) Ugarte, *Escriores*, 252-253.

the durable seals of mutual respect and reciprocal advantages. 151
At the same time he insisted upon reiterating something which a few
members of the United States diplomatic corps would have doubted: "I
have never been against a nation, but against the methods of its
policy." 152 He repeated this in the pages of Vida de Hoy.

The mellowness of age, however, did not prevent him in an
interview towards the close of the recent war from sharply condemning
the fascist trend of Perón, from whom he demanded Argentine cooperation
with the United States. 153 Ugarte's constant avowal of respect for the
United States would seem, in recent years at any rate, to have sub­
stantiated his early claims that he was not a Yankeephobe. It is
doubtful if even his enemies could still accuse him of blind hatred. He
suspected Hoover's reversal of traditional Yankee policy, but seeing
evidence carried over into Roosevelt's administration of good will
towards Latin America, he responded fairly, and threw his weight into the
support of the Good Neighbor policy. He did not admit a mistake, because
he did not feel that he had erred. With a dignified egotism that is
almost staggering, he accepted Roosevelt as a collaborator or a pupil who
had well learned a lesson.

151 Manuel Ugarte, "La nouvelle politique des États-Unis en Amérique

152 Manuel Ugarte, "El crepúsculo del Imperialismo Yanqui," Revista de las
Españas, #83-84 (1934), 260.

153 "El Caso Argentina... Habla Manuel Ugarte," from La Nación of Santiago
de Chile, reprinted in Reportorio Americano, XLII (1945), 87 & 95.
Perhaps this attack brought him to Perón's attention and thus led to
the Mexican appointment.
Having passed his sixty-fifth birthday, he surveyed the work of his generation and found it good. He was ready to put down his pen.

I write this book with the serenity given by the proximity of death, thinking especially of my country, Argentina, whose memory I carry in my heart, and of sleepy Ibero-America with its periennial anxieties. We are entering an epoch in which one must speak the truth. From today forward, each people will live in the measure of their ability to face realities.\textsuperscript{154}

Ugarte believed that he and his companions in Hispanoamericanismo had done their share to educate posterity.

\textsuperscript{154} Ugarte, \textit{Escriptores}, 268-269.
CHAPTER IV

UGARTE'S SOCIALISM
Before undertaking a study of Ugarte's work in Hispanoamericanismo, it will be informative to look at his Socialism, since, after his acceptance of the sincerity of the Good Neighbor policy, it was all he had left for a lucha. This will also afford opportunity to observe what degree there was of precision in his thought and statement, as well as to note that his brand of Socialism was not the kind that holds promise of terror. He is essentially a Latin American Socialist, Argentine by inclination and birth, and not a believer in reform by violence.

In Argentina, the Socialist Party came into existence in 1896. From the first, it was doomed to be a minority party, placing very few representatives in Congress. Its strength was based upon the laborers in the national capitol. Its platform was not too realistic in some respects, yet not too radical when contrasted with our New Deal legislation. Indeed, "In conservative Argentina even the Socialist Party bears a cloak of middle-class respectibility. The most radical planks in its official platform (1942) call for complete nationalization of the oil industry and division of great estates. There is virtually
no Communist strength in the Argentine Republic. The Communist Party has been outlawed in some provinces."¹ Ugarte was affiliated with the Party in his impressionable twenties, and as we have seen, in the years before the World War, represented Argentina at the International Congresses of Amsterdam and Stuttgart, and served on the Permanent Committee at Brussels. Until his rupture with his colleagues, he wrote for La Vanguardia of Buenos Aires, the official Party paper, and was, in general, one of the promising young men of the movement.² Indeed, it will be recalled that in 1913, during his tour of Latin America, he had been invited by the Party to be its candidate for the Senate, but declined because "My desire was to keep apart from internal struggles in order to continue with more authority the effort upon which I had embarked."³

As a matter of fact, his Hispanoamericanismo had come first in the matter of the Party's "insult" to Colombia, and he wrote to the editors of La Vanguardia, "if the standpoint of this paper leads it to speak disrespectfully of the Latin-American republics, I, who have devoted my energies to defending the fraternity of our peoples, shall find myself regretfully forced to abstain from collaborating with it."⁴ The Party let him go his way. In spirit, however, Ugarte remained a

¹ Macdonald, Government of the Argentine Republic, 92-93.

² Rippy, Destiny, 215-217.

³ Ibid., 189.

⁴ Ibid., 217. Cf. supra, 95-97, for particulars of this event.
Socialist, and his *Vida de Hoy*, upon his return to Argentina before World War II, became a rostrum for his ideas on the subject.

For the first full bloom of these ideas, let us look at a speech given sometime near 1905, before Ugarte was thirty years of age and fully launched upon his career of propaganda. Stripping off only the introduction to "Las ideas del Siglo," we will consider this speech in its entirety.

Societies are not a static and perpetual things which subsist and prolong themselves without transition across all time. They are, on the contrary, a movable organism, in perpetual evolution, in eternal gestation of life. How are we to pretend that a group of men are themselves molded in a determined form, when everything in Nature trembles and moves? If the trees, oceans, and even continents ferment in transformations and changes by modifications and stimuli; if all that exists upon the planet, to even the planet itself, is a circle of atoms transforming themselves without rest; if they have life only as a condition by which they have movement, how can we pretend that men, who are the kings of the universe, the most lively products, in a manner of speaking, of its life, ought to remain immutable in the midst of the general renovation, bound by the formulae of their ancestors and condemned to move and to live

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5 *El Arte*, 21-46. For improved ease of reading this extensive translation will be double-spaced.
and to continue living eternally as others lived before them? 6

The law which would condemn the species to such inaction, to such spiritual death, would be a law unjust above all.

But such a law does not exist.

A thousand and a thousand proofs history gives us that societies transform themselves ceaselessly. Let us consider the path followed from the first savage and nomadic tribes which crept upon the earth to the men of today. Feudalism, theocracy, constitutional monarchy and republic, are no more than the signposts of a great spirit on the march towards the light, which advances gradually uprooting great chunks of animality, working for the desire of perfection. 7

6 If this paragraph expresses a belief in material progress to which Christopher Dawson, might take exception, particularly to the inference that the essence of man, his soul, ought not to be bound by the formula of previous generations. Ugarte does not mean precisely this, because he did not deem his activities as inconsistent with his Catholicism, in which he had strong pride (cf. page 112, supra.). Such looseness of expression, however, lack of preciseness as to what type of progress he means, is typical of Ugarte the orator, who was more interested in effect than strict accuracy. Launching in his support of socialism, Ugarte was evidently unaware of Leo XIII's condemnation of the movement in Rerum Novarum (1891): "The door would be open to mutual envy, detraction and dissension. If incentives to ingenuity and skill in individual persons were to be abolished, the very fountains of wealth would necessarily dry up; and the equality conjured up by the Socialist imagination would, in reality, be nothing but uniform wretchedness and meanness for one and all, without distinction." Raymond J. Miller, C. Ss. R., Forty Years After: Pius XI and the Social Order, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1947, 12.

7 Ugarte's brief and general references to history create a misleading impression. He refers in general to the evolution of political forms and is not clear cut in his ideas. Beginning with feudalism and slipping into what he loosely styles "theocracy," Ugarte's train of progressive stages in man's social development implies that progress is constant. He ends with the republic, but what of the Greek and Roman (cont. page 134)
But why run through the summary of history?

Each one of these moments has been a transitory state which has given birth to new forms. Behind each one of these situations and, in a manner of speaking, behind each one of these faces of the species, there were forming or accumulating unpublished faces which were to be later realised. How can we suppose that today we have reached the limit? How can we affirm that there does not exist nor can exist nothing more than we have seen? How can we think that we are meeting the sharp end of history, that there is nothing more for us to discover, that we are perfect and that every new attempt at betterment is an impossible dream? With the same logic we would have been able to halt the progeny in each of the stages which we have indicated; with the same line of reasoning we would have been able to deny the progress and force of twenty centuries. 8

(Cont.) republics before feudalism? True enough, as is often pointed out, the ideal republic of Plato rested upon a slave economy, but what, in Ugarte's viewpoint, are laborers if not economic slaves? As for constitutional monarchy, what of the Roman state, with all the privileges of citizenship, of which the least was not "Appello ad Caesarem!" It is difficult to see how Ugarte so easily accepted the thesis of progress as a constant, slow, sure, necessary thing. Rather, it would seem that his "summary of history" ought to have made him suspect there is some truth in the old saw "there is nothing new under the sun."

8 This again is vague or materialistic. His very recent experience with Garnier may have inspired his "unpublished faces" figure of speech, which is unusual. His interpretation of political development apparently denies the repetition of forms that occurred during "the progress and force of twenty centuries." Such an interpretation might go well to the extent of endorsing anything new as being ipso facto good, because it is a change from the old order. It must be admitted that there is a certain popular support for that notion, if only in the mysterious world of clothes and fashions. In the realm of ideas, however, it would be a dangerous principle of judgment.
In all epochs and regions there have existed timid or negligent men who have declared themselves satisfied with the obtained result, from their lassitude they managed to make the common law, they pretended to mark the limit of human audacity, and they managed to place a barrier of impossibilities before the multitude. All who tried to go further, were considered demented. They would go mocked as demented those who under feudalism dreamed of constitutional monarchy, as demented would be called those who under constitutional monarchy struggled for a republic.9

...But humanity carries in its flanks so much accumulated sap, so much invincible vigor, that it has always burst through the limits which were imposed upon it, and it has continued, tenacious and imperturbable, its marvellous ascension. If the climb were finished, we would now stand on the summits where evil does not exist. But it remains nevertheless...10

9 Falling into the spirit of this argument, what would men dream of under Socialism in order that they might be considered demented? It will be observed in the course of this speech that there does not seem to be any further progress to be made after Socialism has come into power as the dominant doctrine. With regard to "timid and negligent" men, Ugarte is characteristically vague, although he may have been condemning a group known to his audience.

10 The first sentence implies that human society might one day reach a peak where no evil existed, but the next sentence refutes the suggestion with the implication that man is prone to evil, and has retarded the ascent so that evil remains.
The society in which we live is essentially imperfect. And it is courageous to grasp anew the walking stick and make friends again with the ascension by obscure and unequal ways up the abrupt mountain on whose luminous crest we believe we will meet Justice.

*   *

No one will dare to maintain that we live in the best of all worlds; no one will hazard to affirm that all is perfectly disposed. On the contrary, all agree that there is something to be desired in our organization. Because without having a heart of bronze, no man can gaze with disdain upon the grief of his neighbors.

Society is and will remain essentially imperfect, because society is comprised of human beings who are themselves essentially imperfect. Leo XIII decried the fact that "a very few rich and exceedingly rich men have laid a yoke almost of slavery on the unnumbered masses of non-owning workers." Miller, 11. Nevertheless, Leo XIII rejected the Socialist solution: "To cure this evil, the Socialists, exciting the envy of the poor toward the rich, contend that it is necessary to do away with private possession of goods and in its place to make the goods of individuals common to all, and that the men who preside over a municipality or who direct the entire State should act as administrators of these goods." Ibid., 12.

Although it is possibly unfair to leap from 1905 to the present, none-theless during my brief service with the Russian Navy during the late war, I gathered that there are a few Russians who, upon seeing United States products, felt that their Socialist system was inadequate. One individual in particular, who knew something of this country by personal experience, would not have objected to having to live in the United States. Without belaboring the point, perhaps there is something to be desired in any organization, so long as individuals exist and have the intelligence and freedom of will that distinguish them from the brutes. Eliminate freedom of will (if that can be done) and men would be brutes. It is a conclusion that Ugarte either did or would not see, when he was in his middle twenties and discovering his oratorical capacities.
But when we say that there are beings who, for a miserable salary, work twelve hours in the bowels of the earth and sweat and suffer to extract the coal which puts our machines in motion and feeds the stoves of our kitchens; when we know that hunger conquering all scruples drives a legion of mothers to abandon their offspring, to stop personally nursing their own sons in order to go and engorge with their blood the children of those favored by fate; when we know that the immense majority of men live, suffer, work, give all the energy of body and spirit, because a little minority can enjoy and triumph in their abundance; when we comprehend that a thousand atavistic philosophical, political and social superstitions hold almost the totality of human beings in an inferior state, swathed by things whose value is conventional and fictitious, stuffed with vanities, hatreds, distrusts and absurd ambitions; when we have evidence that in the full Twentieth Century people still die of hunger and cold, forsaken and afflicted women are sent to prison for stealing a loaf of bread to feed their little ones, and abandoned and weeping children are going, homeless, at hazard, tempted into all the temptations of crime; when we feel the heap of misery, mud, tears and injustice which have been piled about our collective egotism, it is impossible to contain a shout of
indignation and to keep from formulating a protest.  

No, no, society will not be well organized while there are people who suffer, deprived of necessities and selling their vigor for the scraps of bread given to beggars; society will not be well organized while there exist all the obstacles which today impede the free development of the human being, while woman is a slave and the worker a beast of burden; society will not be well organized while the privation of some stands side by side with the abundance of others; society will not be well organized while some suffer in order that others may be gluttoned, while some starve while others poison themselves with food, while people are divided into two classes: one which lives to consume and the other to produce, one which creates nothing and appropriates all and which creates all and appropriates nothing.  

* * *  

13 A typical sophomoric passage of Uragte's rather vivid style and typical of his overstatements. It would be interesting to have a list of the "thousand atavistic philosophical, political and social superstitions," but such a list will not be found in the bibliography of his works. Regarding the divisions of wealth, Pius XII states in Quadragesimo Anno: "Yet while it is true that the status of non-owning workers is to be carefully distinguished from pauperism, nevertheless, the immense multitudes of the non-owning workers on the one hand and the enormous riches of certain wealthy men on the other establish an unanswerable argument that the riches which are so abundantly produced in our age of 'industrialism,' as it is called, are not rightly distributed and equitably made available to the various classes of the people." Miller, 113.  

14 Leo XIII said: "Religion teaches that workers are not to be treated as slaves;...It is shameful and inhuman, however, to use men as things for gain and to put no more value on them than what they are worth in (Cont. page 139)
Each epoch bears a mentality, which is the complex product, the foreseen resultant, of consummated realisations and new aspirations. Between the one who consumes, those who accept everything, and the hypothetic who uses his ingenuity, is formed a neutral zone of ideas, sustained by the concessions of the backward ones and the timidities or concessions of the friends. It is not reaction nor is it evolution. It is the momentary point of equilibrium of social balance. It is the middle light, the situation of entente which decrees the limit of that which the resistance can abandon and the attack can assail. This zone in litigation goes on changing right and left, in proportion as civilization gains ground and science is diffused. That of the Sixteenth Century is not the same as that of the Eighteenth.¹⁵ Let us discuss to know what is that of today.

¹⁴ (Cont.) muscle and energy...it is the duty of employers to see that the worker is free for adequate periods to attend to his religious obligations;...more work is not to be imposed than strength can endure, nor that kind of work which is unsuited to a worker's age or sex...To defraud anyone of the wage due him is a great crime that calls down avenging wrath from Heaven." Miller, 13. A further illustration of Ugarte's fundamental misconception in this speech of the nature of man. A living wage may be obtained by law, but greed, avarice, if not simple ability, seem to have always created the privileged minority group. Once again, not to be unjust in using present experience to discredit Ugarte, nevertheless is it not believed that Communist Party members enjoy particular privileges at the expense of the great bulk of the people in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Ugarte visited Russia in 1927, but any comments about his trip are noncommittal. Judging by his silence, he must have been disappointed in what he saw; Ugarte is not given to silence.

¹⁵ This is rather confused, verbose presentation of the notion that each age has its own particular stamp didactically states something that (Cont. page 140)
No one will deny that there is a union of ideas, aspirations, habits and certainties, which, diffused in books, private life, conversations and consciences, ends by forming what can be termed the atmosphere of the century. And no one will deny that what we live by today is the desire for solidarity and justice.

Fifty years ago, no one would have believed many laws were possible for the workers' protection, many of the measures of social solidarity which some Parliaments of Europe have voted. The ideas of the century imposed themselves each time with greater vigor, as the resulting obligation, as the aboutissement final of our agitations and struggles. Present society, as the prisoner which it may be of its own egotism, as the bundle which it may be

15 (Cont.) many people might take exception to: does the bulk of population have a hard mind, conforming to the modes of the day, or do human beings as types recur in every generation. Would not the fop of Beau Brummel's day, if transported to our times, follow the current affectations or would he suddenly become serious? Would a Doctor Jenner of the same period develop into a modern fop today or would he remain a scientific investigator? Would the English Tories of 1800 be revolutionists today? Would a Prussian officer of Von Stein's staff have been at a loss for a career if transported to Hitler's Germany? The truth seems to be that while institutions modify and thereby lend character to an age, human nature itself is changeless.

16 Ugarte here states a hope as a fact. Is mankind ever unanimous about anything? In our own Revolutionary period, for example, was there "a union of ideas, aspirations, habits and certainties" among the 3,000,000 people in the thirteen colonies? The period has a name, but what if the French fleet had not won our independence for us—what name would that substantial element of Loyalists in our population have given to the years 1775-1783? In Ugarte's own South America, during the Revolutionary era, were all the Spanish troops born in Spain?
of its preoccupations, is going to have to accept the more salient angles of the new doctrine.\textsuperscript{17}

But what is the new doctrine? What are the ideas of the century? How are the perspectives of the epoch defined?

At the present we have worked behind the back of humanitarianism, Machiavelli could have pointed out the reasons whereby a ruler is wise to bow at times to the wishes of the masses, but are the "measures of "social solidarity" of which Ugarte speaks due to altruism or to governmental aims of making the rising industrial capitalists assume some of the costs of those functions which resided in the church before the church's lands were swallowed up by the growth of nationalism? With expanding populations and material progress, governments seem to have tended towards shifting as much of their financial burdens as possible upon those elements best able to support the load. In turn, of course, those elements seek to avoid the responsibility, but have been handicapped by the steady extension of suffrage. And even among the lowest income groups, particularly in the United States, is it not remarkable how income tax reductions are popular even when the nation's public debt is as big as its total income!

It may be apropos to survey rapidly the social legislation of the fifty years to which Ugarte refers and to note the reasons which brought much of this legislation into existence.

In England, the reforms were sponsored by the Tories because they thereby hoped to reduce the prosperity of the rising middle class by forcing them to divert some of their profits into pay and better working conditions. "Political jealousies and economic rivalry between the upper classes and the middle classes were thus able to achieve more for the betterment of the proletariat than the latter could obtain for themselves." (Harry Elmer Barnes, \textit{A Survey of Western Civilisation}, New York, 1947, p. 580.)

In Germany, "Bismarck's aim was to check the growth of Socialism by gaining the support of the working classes in return for his reform legislation in their behalf." (Ibid., p. 581.) He accepted social insurance for three reasons: 1) he might thereby entice the worker away from Marxian Socialism by guaranteeing him security; 2) "A paternalistic tradition was part and parcel of the Prussian heritage;" and 3) it was the state's function to protect the workingman, who was its servant as much as the soldier was. (Ibid., p. 582.)

In France, succeeding governments were conscious that their nation had been the first in Europe to extend legal protection to the worker, and wished to remain in the vanguard of progress. (Ibid., p. 583.) Ugarte, of course, lived under this influence.
charity and all the derivations and paliatives imaginable in order to prolong a state of things which is unjust on all counts. Our generation, enamored of exactitude, child of science, and worshipper of method, can not resign itself to repeating abstractions and to playing with words. The lyric and multicolored phrases might be able to be effacacious in an epoch of transition, in a period of uncertainty, when the grand lines of the mentality of the day are barely outlined. Actually they only mark a preparatory era, a prologue of propaganda, a prologue somewhat declamatory and superficial, we are obliged to confess. And of all this facile froth, of all this verbosity, no more remains than a confused record of a great intellectual anarchy, of a portentous disorientation of men. 18

But to these outlines of the picture have succeeded a vigorous impulse which knows what roots to pull up and where it is going, a method of evolution which is the product and the work of a sociological school that, like a great river receiving thousands of tributaries, has continued swelling and growing more powerful with the intellectual force of many men who have studied the composition of societies and extracted their essence. 19

18 Neither here nor later did Ugarte define "the new doctrine." Perhaps his listeners understood. When Ugarte spoke and wrote, the middle class had not yet been overwhelmed at the polls by universal suffrage and obliged to fight the tactics of pressure groups. We cannot therefore quarrel with his next vague, assertive paragraph.

19 It would be interesting to examine a list of these men. As usual, however, Ugarte blithely refrained from mentioning names.
The socialists of today are not enfeebled by sensibility, are not freehearted lunatics, are not mystics and prophets who predicate a dream that is in contradiction with life, but are sane men, vigorous and normal who have studied and read broadly, who have deeply explored the mechanism of human actions and know the remedies that correspond to the ills which we suffer.  

No one can banish us who, like the first astronomer who discovered the movement of the earth, like the first mariner who visualised the new world, like the first doctor who traced the circulation of the blood, encounter in stultified surroundings a resistance which they are only inclined to surmount by perseverance, continuing without respite the affirmation of their truth.  

It is natural that they are obstructed by the hostility of a group, because their doctrines bear the germ of a social renovation, because their liberating forces, to weight the generosity and impartiality that animates them, seems to strike on the head the

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20 Elsewhere in the book Ugarte spoke of Jean Jaurès, Amilcare Cipriani, Gerault Richard, Briand, Riubanovitch, Kautsky, Katayama, Ferri Vandervelde and Hyndman as distinguished people. Without attempting to investigate any of these gentlemen, we will content ourselves with saying that it is not the extent of reading and study which maketh a full man, but critical evaluation of what is read. If Ugarte is a socialist and therefore eligible for the plaudits of his paragraph, it is hoped that the material thus far cited will serve to refute his pretensions.

21 Absence of names makes criticism difficult again. If the astronomer referred to is Galileo, Ugarte errs in stating that he was banished. If the mariner referred to is Columbus, he errs as well. If the doctor referred to is Harvey, he makes a third error.
prerogatives of a group of men and to hurt the interests of a caste. 22

But each variation in the organization of nations has brought with it a crises which, if it has been prejudicial to some, has favored and satisfied the aspirations of the immense majority. 23

And admitting that it will not be possible to transform the world without violence to some, it will be much more valid if we sacrifice the excess of felicity of the few, in favor of the necessary bettering of the situation of the many. 24

But socialism is not a doctrine of hate and reprisals, not

22 In Rerum Novarum, Leo XIII put the teachings of the Church that can settle or temper social conflict under four heads: 1) humanity must remain as it is; it is impossible to reduce human society to a level... there naturally exist among men innumerable differences of the most important kinds; 2) since the fall of Adam, bodily labor is compulsory, and the expiation of man's sin; 3) to suffer and to endure is the lot of humanity; and 4) "neither capital can do without labor, nor labor without capital." Miller, 17-18. Here again, Ugarte displays ignorance of the teachings of his church.

23 Once more Ugarte's optimistic trust in material progress! Did the dictatorship of Bonaparte established in 1799 by a coup d'etat favor and satisfy the aspirations of the immense majority? Can we say the Communist Party has favored and satisfied the aspirations of the immense majority of the Russian people? Perhaps they did, but "other variations in the organization of nations" could be probed to find one which definitely did not produce the result stated by Ugarte. It is this habit of flat general statement which leaves him open to reflective criticism, but then, as may be seen by now, Ugarte was not governed by caution when speaking or writing "Las ideas del Siglo."

24 Ugarte is too vague about the word "violence," otherwise he has an argument based upon the common good, which is a desirable end. However, it seems to be a disputed point as to whether or not Marx believed the achievement of his system would have to be accomplished by revolution and its attendant violence.
vengeful and bloody insurrection, not fire and slaughter, as some enemies of bad faith have insinuated, abusing general credulity. 25

Socialism is, on the contrary, the return to normal and healthful society, the substitution of a regime of solidarity for actual disorder, the end of the ferocious, individual wars in which we are misspending ourselves and the refoundation of life for the benefit of all. 26

Because socialism does not attempt to upset today's factors and to establish at one stroke a domination, but to equalize and to level men, in which would be permitted differences in aptitude. And in cold blood, without passion of any kind, solely preoccupied with truth, we maintain that socialism would hasten felicity, not only of some by whose work we live today, but of all the species, without distinction of rank, because by such chance is man bound to his station in life, that he can only be free and content on the condition that all find their respective spheres. 27

25 This is certainly not a definition of Socialism. Here Ugarte takes the peaceful view of achieving socialism; in the preceding paragraph he confesses there must be "violence to some."

26 Ugarte is careless in this sentence. He should say "MY socialism does not...etc" whatas he seems to be aloof from a definite program. After speaking throughout about progress, he inadvertently says "the return to normal and healthful society," thereby, of course, leaving the careful reader to wonder at just what stage in history society enjoyed such felicity. Instead of "return," he should have been more consistent had he used some word such as "attainment."

27 This hinges upon the meaning of "respective spheres." Did not slave owners have a notion of what constituted the respective spheres for the human beings they owned? Unfortunately it seems there have been countless men fully able to disregard the miseries of their less fortunate contemporaries.
Socialism is not plunder, the infantile redistribution of the wealth which some accuse us of desiring. It is a pathway in the system of life, a modification in the social machine, which can create something without violence, gradually, by the almost insensible stages of evolution.

The transformation of capitalistic society into a collective or communistic society, and the abolition of war and salaried position, cannot frighten anyone today. All men of good faith and sound heart show themselves inclined to it. At each instant I dare to say in my turn: "But I may be a socialist however without knowing it, because I desire to better the condition of workers; I may be a socialist however without knowing it, because I desire the end of wars; I may be a socialist however without knowing it, because I have voted for less inequality between fortunes; I may be a socialist however without knowing it, because I have always hoped that humanity might have better destinies."28

But if the aspiration is a general thing, what has originated the resistance to socialism? What is the cause of the opposition that it meets? The cause is, before all, laziness, which makes us wrap ourselves up in that which exists, to avoid the torture of following thought.29

28 A person who said the same things might well be a Christian without knowing it, too.

29 If, as Ugarte implies, human nature can be changed, so that it would no longer be capitalistic, acquisitive, selfish, etc., this should be one of the first changes desirable.
The cause is moreover the pusillanimity of man, the fear which every new form inspires in him.\textsuperscript{30}

The cause is finally and above all the erroneous conviction men have that it is impossible to realise dreams in life.\textsuperscript{31}

And this error is that which has paralyzed the impulse of the race, it is the barrier which has prevented us from leaping towards the impossible and realizing all the chimeras, because chimeras are only truths in gestation—buds of the future—rays which have not yet succeeded in dominating men...\textsuperscript{32}

Nothing is impossible for an human being whose intelligent energy has enslaved unknown force, dominated the anger of the seas, pierced the internal parts of the planet and extended his rule over creation.\textsuperscript{33}

When some irresolute persons say to us: "Man is imperfect,

\textsuperscript{30} This, however, Ugarte would do well to retain in the human being, just in case a transformed mankind, in climbing Ugarte's mountain, might no longer be restrained by caution from leaping at every rainbow in the sky and falling to destruction.

\textsuperscript{31} As a universal statement, this makes it hard to comprehend Ugarte's earlier positive vision of mankind steadily progressing towards perfection in life.

\textsuperscript{32} How can he speak of "paralyzed the impulse" or "prevented us from leaping" when on page 119 \textsuperscript{supra}, he told us "humanity...has always burst through the limits which were imposed upon it?" What's happened to the steady progress of which he was so proud?

\textsuperscript{33} How can this be if men persist in having "the erroneous conviction... that it is impossible to realise dreams in life?" (\textsuperscript{supra}) By reaffirming his faith in the human race and overstating the capacities of finite beings, Ugarte further contradicts himself.
When some irresolute persons say to us: "Man is imperfect, Nature has created inequalities, socialism is a beautiful dream, but it is an impossible dream," we affirm that these men are wanting in their noble and grandiose mission. 34

Because man ought not to feel himself intimidated by any of the problems which present themselves to him. What good would it do us to have read Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot, if when we encounter some difficulty, we do not know enough to say: let us examine?

Man is a being who will better himself without rest, who will mount step by step towards the light, who will daily strip off a bit of atavism, who will give his brain every broad-minded advance, who will progress, who will triumph, who will strive for supernatural end, and who, on the pinnacles of earth, always devoured by his longings for perfection, will dream of new campaigns to elevate himself towards the infinite. Nothing can bar his development. It is an irresistible force which goes rolling over everything opposed to his ascension, which goes on originating in distant triumphs of the race, in the remote realisations of the ideal, possesses itself of creation and converts it to his service...."Socialism is an

34 Is this lack of resolution or simple realism?

35 Did Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot introduce the habit of examining difficulties? To name only one philosopher, such an intimation shows an unfamiliarity with the work of Plato. While the three Frenchmen unquestionably had great influence upon their generation and ours, they certainly should not be given prime distinction as innovators of what we call the scientific method.
impossibility!" say the timid. 36

We hope to be able to prove:

1st. That Socialism is possible.

2nd. That it is necessary.

And omitting on every side the other ponderous arguments of a metaphysical or economic order, 37 we limit ourselves to basing our arguments in the present, to advance the reasons on the examples that are offered us by the very life of today.

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* * *

If socialism were not possible, we would not encounter the germ already in actual society. What are the cooperatives, the anonymous societies, the State railroads, the trusts, if not partial applications of the doctrine which we are defending?

And what are the laws recently dictated in Europe, laws which

36 This is sheer oratory. Here "Man is a being who will better himself without rest," yet just a few sentences before, socialism has not arrived because 1) man is lazy, 2) man dreads change, and 3) man is pessimistic about achieving the impossible in life! It may be unreasonable to deny a man the liberty of changing his mind as he becomes more and more experienced, but it is not unreasonable to expect a man to be consistent when presenting a prepared lecture. In itself, this optimistic paragraph is admissible though flamboyant, but in its context it lays the branding iron of careless thinking once again upon Ugarte.

37 Well may he omit them!
limit the hours of work, laws which assure in part the old age of
the worker, laws which create cash for retirements, laws which place
obstacles in the way of the supreme impotence of the patrons, if not
beginnings and embryos of socialism?38

Little by little, and in an insensible manner, the dominant
class is abandoning its old individualistic conception of "liberty
of work" and is beginning to recognize in the state the right to
intervene in the relations between capitalists and employees, the
right to regulate the conditions of production.39

38 As indicated in note 17, supra, various political parties and leaders
had their own motives in undertaking social legislation. In them-
selves, at the time Ugarte was speaking, they represented concessions
made by those parties and leaders, largely an endeavour to milk the
poison from the fangs of Socialism. Would the authors of The Commun-
ist Manifesto have looked upon these laws as harbingers of their new
order or as measures designed to alter the framework of existing
society to keep capitalism intact and the proletariat mollified?
Could not an analogy be drawn between these laws and the reform
measures proposed by Turgot and Calonne before the storm of the French
Revolution? Thus far, in our time, compromise has been largely success-
ful in holding the political structure together; Turgot and Calonne
did not have a chance to apply their reforms; the structure of their
state was razed. Perhaps men do benefit by a study of history. Rerum
Novarum had put the papal stamp of approval upon Christian legislation.
Miller, 13-14.

39 Assuming that the dominant class was not wholly influenced by the
powerful humanitarian arguments boldly enunciated by Leo XIII, it
might still be much more accurate to say that the men in economic
power began to recognize the need to compromise. At least in the
United States, the government's right "to regulate the conditions of
production" has been bitterly contested, and most gains for labor have
apparently come from struggling by labor rather than as presents from
capital. The extension of the suffrage has probably been the prole-
tariat's best weapon in democracies. This raises the old question of
whether a majority, because it has the strength also has the right to
impose its unjust will upon a minority.
Each one of these measures is a restriction of the right of property as understood by some of the rigid economists of the past century, to whom the State ought to cross its arms and do nothing, forgetting that the contract of labor is not in resolution a free contract, then that the worker signs it under the pressure of hunger, urged at least by the pitiful voices of his little ones whom it is necessary to feed. After studying the functioning of the mail service, of national railroads, of certain monopolies which exist in some nations of Europe it is impossible to deny that socialism already holds atoms and nuclei in present society, and after considering and thinking about the decrees of some governments, the measures of determined parliments, the whole spirit of contemporary legislation.

40 At this point Ugarte's definition of "right of property" would have been useful. At the time, his parents were wealthy. Although Ugarte here speaks somewhat patronisingly of "rigid economists, he is entering an area where his ideas do not conflict too violently with the Church's, Pius XI later said that the State could regulate the use of property and could determine, to some extent, the range of the property right itself. Miller, 87.

41 An argument perhaps used in the days of the pharoahs.

42 It would be interesting to know how Ugarte would regard the position occupied by the church in dispensing these social functions of charity which were usurped by the states during the rise of nationalism. Was the monopoly on caring for the sick an atom or nucleus of socialism? As for material aspects of life, is not the state control of national defense as much of a monopoly as its control of the mail service? Is a national Army an atom or nucleus of socialism? In his selection of various functions which seem of necessity to demand administration by the government, Ugarte may have misinterpreted the causes for the establishment of such services.
it is puerile to deny that these atoms and nuclei have developed
and invaded the whole system.\footnote{43}

What is to hamper us, in truth, from extending the monopoly
exercised by the State over all postal and telegraphic communications
and some railroads, to other spheres of national activity?\footnote{44}

If salt is the monopoly of the State in some countries of Europe,
why not sugar, bread and other products of universal consumption?
The freedom of commerce, such as understood by the economists of whom
we have spoken, permits anything with the prohibition of having the
individual commerce with a product, as with the prohibition of having
it with a trust. If it has already been admitted that no particular
person can in certain regions manufacture or sell tobacco, we hold the
right of saying that so too can be the mines, the mills and the
factories.\footnote{45}

\footnote{43} Since he refrained from mentioning specifically what decrees or
measures he had in mind, Ugarte deprives possible critics of the
opportunity for precise rebuttal. Leo XIII was opposed to monopolies
whereby a few employers were enabled to lay a yoke of slavery upon
their workers. Miller, 51.

\footnote{44} Nothing except the persons who established those "other spheres of
national activity," Can the pursuit of the common good in justice be
carried to such extents as the liquidation of the Russian kulaks? On
the other hand, Pius XI believed that monopolies had to be strongly
curbed and wisely controlled by the State. Miller, 179.

\footnote{45} The argument seems reasonable, foritg the origins of the salt
monopoly, but once again what of the people, as distinguished from
the nation, whose enterprises and capital created these mines, mills
and factories?
And if all admit that these industries essential for the march of collectivity do not need the spur of competency for perfect functioning, we hold the right of affirming that the others do not need it either.46

The mail service is not badly organized. Though the prohibition of the State did not exist, no particular enterprise would be capable of establishing another to compete with it.47 Nevertheless, the mail service is a communist service. It is the property of all and not the property of any one. The capitalist has been left out of it, and there remains only the solid force of collectivity, manifested through the medium of the mandates of the people, which is to say,

46 Thus does Ugarte brush aside the importance of initiative and the profit motive. However, has not material progress largely resulted from this very initiative and desire for profit? A communication service is relatively static, save for the introduction of new devices or techniques contributed by the research facilities of manufacturers who thereby compete for a vast contract—Ugarte does not stipulate that government control of communications extends primarily to operation and regulation, and to equipment development or manufacture. And further, a state supported monopoly can afford to be wasteful of resources, because it is not spurred by profit-seeking competency; what, in turn, does this inefficiency do to the general standard of living, whose elevation seems to be Ugarte's object? Pius XI denied that Socialism could be baptized. (Miller, '253.) As he flatly says in Quadragesimo Anno, "If Socialism, like all errors, contains some truth (which, moreover the Supreme Pontiffs have never denied) it is based nevertheless on a theory of human society peculiar to itself and irreconcilable with true Christianity. Religious Socialism, Christian Socialism, are contradictory terms; no one can be at the same time a good Catholic and a true Socialist."

47 Nonsense! Since he made this flat statement, it is not unfair to point to our present American Railway Express Co. which duplicates the parcel post portion of our mail service. Why couldn't the Company expand, if need be, to take over all the services now carried out by the Post Office?
the State. 48

Why is it not possible, I repeat, to convert into national services, in a manner analogous to the mails, many of the individual industries which operate today in confusion to the prejudice of all? In order to give us an approximate idea of the difference which one can have between bread, meat, etc., sold by individuals, and the same products administered by organized collectivity, let us imagine the postal service in the hands of one or several capitalistic enterprizes. Would they offer us the security, stability in prices and the regularity of communications guaranteed us by the central government? 49

But the enemies of socialism state that these monopolies of mail, telegrams, railroads, etc., -- monopolies which they actually praise without reservation, and would even defend if placed in danger -- they are noxious, impractical, and threatening to liberty itself when applied to other industries.

Why? 50

48 Yes, the capitalist has been left out of it except to supply the goods necessary for its existence.

49 Here he seems to confuse collectivism with socialism. Although no one in 1905 could have said so, still the recent action of the Soviet government in devaluing its currency would tend to indicate that communism doesn't bring any more security than capitalism. Pius XI believed that the capitalistic system makes for economy and efficiency in production and marketing. Miller, 179.

50 Briefly, because they probably believe that the state is the servant of the people, rather than the other way around.
These reasoners scoff with logic recalling to us the adventure of a certain gentleman who cured himself, with a medicine of his own invention, of the pimples that appeared on the right side of his face, but was indignant at the suggestion of applying the same medicine to those which appeared on the left side. 51

Let us have a smile for these ingenious gentlemen, and try to be logical ourselves.

Who will dare to affirm that it is indispensable for capital to be free for an enterprise to prosper? A thousand things would disabuse that man if he would say it. 52

Public works, more important at every turn, highways, bridges, canals, dockyards, and many arms factories, they are yonder to affirm that an industry, a work, a force of any kind, can be crowned by success, which is not the property and work of a capitalist. 53

On the contrary, it appears evident that it will be more perfect and useful, when it is attained without interest of gain, with the sole end of filling a common necessity, than when common necessity

51 At about this point, it will begin to be obvious that Ugarte has his own brand of logic as well as socialism.

52 A round dozen things might be acceptable, much less a thousand, though the number does not matter because Ugarte does not bother to clarify even one.

53 Depending on a definition of "success," perhaps true enough. However, at least in this country, these public works are erected by contractors after submission of competitive sealed bids. As for arms factories, they have almost traditionally been subsidized or even owned by national governments, under practically any type of political rule.
serves as a pretext to satisfy the thirst for gold of an ambitious person. 54

If it is presented to us that a plow, counting the primary cost, the interest proportionate to that paid for the tools needed for its manufacture, that spent on building the factory, the price of handling and transportation to the city of sale, costs 50 pesetas, why do we have to pay 150 for it? Why should the capitalist or his stock-holders have all kinds of vehicles? Why do the trust-investors or middlemen live in idleness? If this manufacturer were national and sold the same products, if the buyer did not have to pay either interest to the capitalist no commission to the seller, we would have the plow at a third of the price. 55 And not only may we thus obtain the article more cheaply, but likewise benefit the worker's conditions of life, establishing a species of balance and giving the laborer the whole price of his work, as is practised in a certain fashion in that admirable manufacture of stained glass in Albi, which founded several years ago by a strike, is today in full flower. 56

54 Up to this point, it is not yet evident, at least from the written word.

55 Granting it would be true for plows, what would become of his material progress without gentlemen who dreamed of new fabrications which could be marketed at a profit after the creation of a new demand? Would not material progress at least slow down, if not stop?

56 In the phrase, "the whole price of the work," we approach the Marxian concept of surplus value, but it overlooks the reality of needing a non-producing group of people to distribute manufactures throughout a nation. Must this group, which makes nothing, but only affords a service, go unpaid? Doubtless Ugarte would make some provision for them, but he certainly selected a bizarre industry to illustrate the contention that workers can own the whole price of their work—the market for stained glass is smaller than that for articles such as bolts of cloth.
The certainty is that, as we already feel capable of socially organizing production, no one can prevent the nationalization of capital.57

If there are precedents in the national organization of public services, there are also those in the expropriation of fortunes. What, if not partial expropriations, are those extraordinary imposts levied by governments in times of war? If the nation, in a moment of peril, feels justified in extracting from the rich a supplementary contribution to defend a part of its territory, in the social war of every day, do we not have the same right to take from those who hold more than they need a part of that which they have in excess, to defend the very body of the nation, the laboring class which gives it life?58

The tax on income, which is not the entire socialism, but a stage in preparation, can be applied from this instant without harming collectivism in any way.

Howsoever we may be revolutionists because of our proposals, it is necessary that we be, if we wish to merit general confidence, statesmen by our foresight and prudence. Far from freeing ourselves

57 Ugarte is no more specific on the method of accomplishing this than Marx was. However, Ugarte as a professed Catholic, should have later had some difficulty in reconciling the violence of an event like the establishment of the Soviet State with the requirements of a just revolt.

58 The need of a just wage is admitted, but not the need of obliterating the structure of established societies. Miller, 130-139.
by imagination and of taking our desires as realities, we ought to
study the conditions of the step to be taken, and neither propose
nor adopt more than those measures which we know beforehand can
be realised.

And the progressive income tax, which would limit fortunes
and regulate inheritances, that is no more than a beginning of
restitution to the nation of the benefits which belong to it, is
presented by us today as a practical measure, which no economist
can label as fantastic.59

And if the progressive income tax, in such manner or degree
as the most advanced parties of Europe today construe it, is one
of those measures which dance attendance in an antechamber, which
fight before winning, but which all recognize, can be realised, why
has it not been possible, once accepted by the parliments, to
strengthen it, to give it major growth, to raise it to maximum
development, and to convert it, from a law of limitation, into a
true law of serene and grand expropriation, capable of giving
footing to the methodical realisation of an equal and just rule,
worthy of the future perfection of man?60

The trust is already a fragmentary and oligarchical collectiv-

59 This penchant for universal statements makes Ugarte once again
vulnerable to the individual who could produce evidence that only
one economist labelled the progressive income tax "fantastic."

60 Perhaps because it would destroy the records of aggressive enterprise.
ism: let us eradicate it from our blood and have socialism: The income tax is a timid and partial expropriation: let us systematize it and have collectivism. Why has it not been possible to bless all as the few are blessed? Why has it not been possible to aggravate the tax, thereby to reduce a fortune to its natural limits?  

Nature produces enough to supply the necessities of all. If there are some who languish in misery, it is not because we are unable to feed them, but because of a criminal retention in the hands of a minority of traders that determines it, if not because there are men who, more because of no conscience than intent to do evil, traffic in the hunger of their neighbors.

How nonetheless can one insist socialism is not possible? Why isn't it possible? Why pay heed to the sacred dogma of property rights? Because what is property? Property was vassals to the noble, property was slavery to the negro, property is Russia to the Czar. And nevertheless limiting ourselves to the more diffused property of today, to the property which legal codes defend with a triple barricade of prohibitions, it is enough to ask ourselves what was its

61 "Natural limits" of a fortune is an interesting concept; unfortunately Ugarte does not tell what it is. In round numbers, however, his enemies might guess the limit was a million pesos.

62 "Criminal" implies violation of law; no doubt Ugarte here refers to the moral law, inasmuch as the "traders" are reputed to be shrewd in adhering to the letter of statute and contract law.
origin, to convince ourselves that it is as unjust as it was before.  

What other thing opposes socialism? Established legality? But what is established legality, if not systematized violence, if not the monumental product established by a transitory revolution?

This argument flies swiftly and is gone, but what does it mean? Ugarte gives examples of three kinds of property, two dealing exclusively with people and the third with both people and a vast sweep of territory. The implications of injustice in the three are that people were thereby enslaved. Putting aside an assault upon his concept of serfdom, with its code of reciprocal duties and obligations, it is evident that Ugarte as an adept orator has thrown up a smokescreen. As against the vast holdings of the stockholders in a trust, what about the hordes of little people who own shops and real estate because they were frugal and made their pennies count, while their contemporaries frittered away their wages and did not plan for financial independence? Are two laborers, one whose thrift finally enables him to become a shopkeeper, and the other whose lack of thrift keeps him always at the same wage level, always to be kept artifically in equality? Is that just? If the son of the first laborer, inheriting a shop, is able to expand it into a considerable business, is he to be denied the chance because the second laborer's son inherited only a shovel? And if the grandson is able to rise in the social scale, purely as a result of his father's and grandfather's efforts, is he to be called up short and handed a shovel, because throughout his life he had lived on his income and produced nothing? Most men seem to work to serve those whom they love, and to desire that their children will "have more opportunities" than they themselves did. It is this prospect of improving the state in life of their children that would seem to be the chief support of the capitalistic system. Take it away, tax the onetime laborer back to his shovel so that he cannot manage to escape, keep everyone equal, and what material objective would replace man's blind striving for perfection? The leisure class may be an evil and an abuse, but the creation of that class may have given to the world as much genuine happiness as misery.

Ugarte is doing great violence to that majestic bulk of custom which we call the common law. The common law may be imperfect, it does vary in countries, it is inadequate in modern life, but it is the repository of man's groping towards the RESTRAINT of violence, and Ugarte misses its spirit and purpose entirely in calling it a part of "systematized violence." It is a little harder to make a case for statutory law, especially when we witness such affrays as the recurrent oleomargarine controversy.
That which can be held as a belief by some good men of good faith that socialism is impossible, may be the puerile idea that we propose to pass from the actual society of today to a perfect society, without stages or transition, by virtue of a portentous transformation of the theatre. But when they dare to profess that the social revolution will gradually consummate itself, humanly, without miracles, this pretence dissipates itself, and they all fall flat towards the end of the tale in which some pretended deluded dreamers are simple, practical men, who, if they go slightly beyond the actual moment, do not lose by this the notion of realities.65

But why persist in destroying one by one all the objectives which have been raised to us,66 when at the bottom of all of them we encounter the same sophistry and voluntary error, with which our enemies seek to discredit us in the eyes of the sincere and well-intentioned public, which, if it should know the doctrine, would stand en masse with us?67

65 These two sentences seem to be contradictory. In the first, Ugarte chides those men of good faith who fear that the perfect society will have to be born in a single, titanic upheaval. In the second, Ugarte upbraids them for professing that the transformation will occur gradually. The clue to his wrath may be found in the phrase "without miracles." Ugarte does not want even men of good faith to sit back and do nothing about winning the millennium, because there is so much to be done to better the world of 1905. At this point, of course, he tends to undermine his earlier defense of evolution and the development of man "which proceeds without respite," but such inconsistences, as we have seen, are frequent in his work.

66 Have they been destroyed? It does not seem so. Ugarte has tilted with some foolish objections and ignored the reasonable ones.

67 With explanations of the "doctrine" as thus given by Ugarte, this assumption is fairly naive.
If socialism were not possible, the French government would not have named a socialist to form part of a cabinet ministry, which lasted much longer than some predicted; if socialism is not possible there would not today be a socialist like Juárez as Vice-President of the Chambers of Deputies in France; if socialism were not possible, the German socialists would not have advanced to three million votes in the last elections;68 if socialism were not possible, neither Zola Ferri, Lombroso, de Amicis, Tolstoi, Anatole France would have defended it in their works...69 But how has good not been accomplished?

It would be to caluminate humanity, always to judge all by the evil and crimes of a few.

* * *

But socialism not only is possible, it is necessary.

This social class which has not more than entered its name in history, and which calls itself first slave, then people, and lately proletariat, has begun to rise from its lethargy, and stretch,

68 There would appear to be a difference between the compromise made by a government with a partial socialism and the fear of an explosion into complete socialism. Socialism in 1905 was indeed possible, as we look back from 1948, but Ugarte overlooked the necessity of adequately explaining why complete socialism was necessary.

69 Why wouldn't they have defended socialism, and if they did, what of it? Tolstoi finally renounced property and lived the life of a peasant, but he was careful to give the property he renounced to his heirs. What has the writing of these men to do with the possibility of socialism?
and make a noise, menacing by one of those commotions which have sometimes engulfed a society.\textsuperscript{70}

What incomprehensible obstinacy can impel these powerful ones to irritate and to send into paroxysms by their indifference the rebellions of the disinherited? Have they, by chance, some interest in provoking uprisings whose importance is impossible to calculate, whose unravelling is very difficult to predict, whose consequences may be disastrous? Are they assured, in the future, that this class, passive and resigned, will not flash up one day and not smother them all in the just flood of their choler? What would become of this staggering social organization, if the laboring classes gave way to their accumulated rancour and finally flung themselves upon the privileged minorities, like a deluge of maddened forces?...\textsuperscript{71}

Or what is simpler, more human and imminent than anything, what would become of the privileged ones, if that multitude of employees who keep in motion all the resources of our life, who operate our factories and railroads, who till our fields, who give life, fire and heat to all that warms us, were to fling down their arms simultaneously and remain immobile and silent, amidst motionless cities and silent fields, proving by their abstention that all

\textsuperscript{70} And thus, as a compromise by the established classes, Juaréz sat in the French Chamber of Deputies and 3,000,000 Germans registered with the Socialist Party.

\textsuperscript{71} This rhetorical question was later answered in 1917-1922.
that depends on them and that we live by their sweat? 72

The most elementary prudence counsels the guardians of the situation to avoid direct shocks, to make concessions and to enter into the current of socialism. 73 Because socialism is like a great cloud, now shapeless, which can announce a beneficial flood of a destructive tempest. All depends on the resistance which it meets in the atmosphere. 74 They are not temerarious and they do not keep themselves aloof from the tragedy in which they ought to play a part.

This danger is much more about us than some believe. Our society can not move within the old formulae. 75 Everything proclaims that we have reached one of those crossroads of history where swirls

72 The privileged ones would suffer little when compared to the suffering the unprivileged ones would inflict upon each other by a general strike.

73 And exercising prudence, "the guardians of the situation" (los dueños de la situación) have done exactly what Ugarte suggests: these concessions, made to avoid "direct shocks," are largely cited by Ugarte to prove that "socialism is possible."

No Pope... has ever condemned a just strike conducted without violence, or demanded the enactment of legislation absolutely forbidding the workers to strike. Leo XIII... deplores the evil consequences of strikes, and prescribes that their causes,—which he lists as 'labor which is too long and too hard, and the belief that pay is inadequate'—be removed beforehand by the 'law'—i.e., by laws on working conditions, and by wages and hours legislation." Miller, 41.

74 The atmosphere was conciliatory, grudgingly perhaps, but with the spectre of the French Revolution hovering in the background to give grim reminder of what might happen when the "people" rise.

75 Granting this to be true, must everything of the past be discarded to make room for complete transformation, or isn’t mankind able to absorb each "new" idea and modify "old formulae?"
whirlpool of new life and in which society changes structure. The collectives furnish the footing. The planet seems to be prepared to change the aspect of its face. Our obstinate silence and feigned indifference, will they be enough to restrain this evolution, to put obstacles in the way of the realization of a physical phenomenon, whose secret is in the bowels of Nature, in perpetual ferment of renovation, in eternal gestation of life? 76

The men of today, obligated more than once to choke down their nausea about their oppressions by the bayonet of glory, understand that the moment has arrived to take position, to be decisive. Sacrifices are of little importance, there is little importance in the passing loss of prestige which befalls he who, in the midst of common obeisance, of general slumber, of universal apathy, breaks with the prejudices of education and class and rises in rebellion, in the full light of truth, to investigate the horizon and seek the point towards which one can steer the bark of humanity, the abandoned and leaky bark, directed by blind pilots, who sail against the

And here we are back to evolution and material progress. And yet, Leo XIII did not intend that workers should forget their obligations to the rich: "To perform entirely and conscientiously whatever work has been voluntarily and equitably agreed upon; not in any way to injure the property or to harm the person of employers; in protecting their own interests, to refrain from violence and never to engage in rioting; not to associate with vicious men who craftily hold out exaggerated hopes and make huge promises, a course usually ending in vain regrets and in the destruction of wealth." Miller, 13.
current, and with a singular lack of conscience oppose the 
fragile bow to the invincible tempest. 77

Oh! prudent conservatives, how revolutionary you are in spite
of yourselves! With what sustained obstinacy do you persist in
strengthening and giving volume to the sea which ought to engulf
you! You are the best apostles of the new ideas, the most efficacious
defenders of the inevitable transformation because only your in-
flexibility, only your hostility against democracy, has been able
to stimulate the evolutionist movement in so few years. Without
you, the work would only blossom much later. You have ripened the
fruit with the flat of the sword of injustice. And each time you
add a new abuse to the series of those already committed, each time
that you thrust more strongly the spurs into the flanks of the colt
which you believe you have dominated forever, you approach nearer
and nearer to the instant in which the maltreated beast will shake
off its misfortune. 78 Nor may you grumble afterwards about the
consequences of the fall. No one can foresee how the violence of
hysteria is going to consummate itself. For that which can occur

77 This is a modest bow to himself, inasmuch as he was blessed with
wealth, though not too extensive an education, so far as may be dis-
covered.

78 Perhaps Ugarte here refers to the struggles which surrounded the
introduction of the socialist laws of which he is so proud.
you will be the only responsible ones. Submission has its limits, and when it breaks its barriers there is no one who can hold back the power of torrents.

True prudence consists in giving count to costs. To avert the eyes is not to escape the danger. Through the collectives a scaled socialism can avoid the confusion and panic of a fall. Socialism is the axis of the century, because it alone may be at equal distance between the egotism of those who have and the inflexible paroxysms of those who desire.

Socialism is necessary because it alone can give us international equilibrium, internal peace and collective felicity. And further...

79 Why? This is about as valid as the custom of entertainment agencies which preface their presentations with "This is a work of fiction, and any events or characters are wholly fictitious...etc." in the innocent hope that they thereby avert potential libel suits. Murder is murder, whether of an individual or a class, and a warning like this only amplifies the heinous deliberation behind such an unleashing of irresponsible mobs. The anonymity of the lynchers does not lessen his moral guilt. Ugarte cannot very well disclaim responsibility in advance if he suspects that "the violence of hysteria is going to consummate itself." Much less justified is his attempt to shift the total burden of responsibility onto the shoulders of the potential victims.

80 Here, at least, Ugarte is definite. Though he does not precisely state what is meant by "scaled socialism," it is more pleasant to contemplate than the overnight leap into complete socialism.

81 In this paragraph, Ugarte speaks somewhat like a New Deal legislator. He is a conservative, not a radical socialist, for all of his attack upon the conservatives. At the time, perhaps, he was far to the left, though not as far an anarchy. We may quarrel with his assumption that socialism alone was or is the panacea, that it would eliminate greed, but collectivism is not as harsh a program as class war, and it is gratifying to see him hold back from raising the standard of battle.
for the evils which we can escape, we can apportion many great commensurate satisfactions.82

Because everyone at some time has felt an infinite sadness before the miserable flocks of sheep who leave the factories, all have suffered before the sadness of those people and all have desired to cure the wounds and to remedy the sadesses. There are no men fundamentally bad. Each holds his glory in his soul...83

But these are humanitarian arguments, and I believe that men, arriving at man's estate, ought not to be governed by sentiment but by reason.84

Socialism is necessary, because it is the sole means of countering the influence of the trusts.85 In the near future all the little capitalists, and even the middle-sized ones, will be absorbed by these monstrous devourers of gold; there will arrive an instant, given the rising condensation which we observe in all industries, in

82 His contention remains unproved. Besides, Ugarte is too cavalier in stating just what satisfactions humanity would derive from his system.

83 In this belief in man's inherent goodness a reflection of Ugarte's Catholicism, or a desire to urge upon his audience that there is nothing to fear in adopting measures giving absolute control to the masses?

84 This is almost incongruous.

85 Using Ugarte's own thesis that man gropes toward the better things without retrogression, isn't it possible that something superior to mere socialism might be found to counter "the influence of trusts?" Doesn't this flat support of socialism as"the sole means" more or less contradict his earlier exposition of material progress? Besides, no less a person than Pius XI thought that the State could very capably handle the situation.
which the immense factories will do away with the little production and the modest manufacturers. To defend ourselves from this centralisation, of this unification of the forces of the nation in the hands of omnipotent syndicates, it will be necessary to have recourse to the collectivistic formulae and oppose to the trust of particular persons the trust of the State. Capitalism is a monster which will devour itself. Many of those who defend it today, will be its victims tomorrow. Great fortunes feed themselves at the expense of little ones. And there will come a day in which this accumulation of capital will paralyze the action of governments.

Meanwhile, the routine statesmen who today ridicule us as fools,

Though in 1905 he could not foresee the actual legislation, the control of the trusts was completed by the government within the framework of free enterprise, without actual expropriation of the properties of the trusts or would be trusts. If this type of governmental control occurred to Ugarte he probably looked upon it as another compromise which would not work, but the Sherman Act, at least, seems to have been largely successful.

This sounds grimly impressive and has no meaning unless in context with the sentences following.

Such seems to be one of the vices of capitalism, but nevertheless a few of the little fortunes themselves grow into great ones. Ugarte, with his European tradition, seems to have taken a dim view of business opportunity, but to Americans, with their Dream, the future was golden, and even the decade immediately following Ugarte's speech spawned a new brood of millionaires.

The international cartel system, particularly that of arms, would seem to make this statement prophetic, if there is any validity at all in a sensational book like Merchants of Death.
will have to resort to socialism to defend the nation from the
tyrranny of a group of men. 90

Socialism is necessary, moreover, because it is like the
resultant and terminus of history. "From political communism, which
is universal suffrage, we have only to pass into economic communism,
which is socialism," Juárez said in a celebrated article. 91 Evolution
carries the power, the force, the government, in a word, from the
least to the greatest, from aristocracies to democracies, each time
more ample and open. 92 And gold being today a manner of aristocracy,
it may be within the prescience of history that it is beginning to
shift from the minority to the majority, from the little number of
owners to the greater number of forgotten and miserable ones.

Socialism is necessary, finally, because it is the triumph
of life. 93

*  *  *

90 Partial socialism, yes, but actually within the bounds of Christian
ethics; complete socialism, not necessarily.

91 No footnote, of course. An illustration of Ugarte's infuriating
habit of claiming to be a scholar while declining to state his sources.

92 Is not socialism a retrogression to the days prior to governments
when we assume communities pooled resources in order to survive through
union where they would perish as individuals? Assuming that evolution
proceeds from the simple to the complex, is not democracy, with its
various legislative processes, including the initiative and referendum
more complex than an absolute control by the state?

93 A well turned sentence, but scarcely an argument.
It is indispensible to initiate in America that which in Germany is called a realpolitik, that is to say, a policy of immediate and tangible reforms.\(^9\) After determining in this way the actual thinking of that democracy which will dominate in the placid cities of the future, after studying the social organization and giving us count of its necessities and its dominant tendencies, it will be strong enough to enter completely into a land of evolution, of advance towards a possible common felicity.\(^9\)

If all agree that our organization is deficient, how are we to make a friend of disorder alive to all that deals with pressing home a reform or facilitating a change that, in its spirit, ought to redound to the benefit of all? That is not saying that to satisfy certain modern currents and aspirations, we propose to provoke discord. We do not forment dangers, we appease them.\(^9\) No one will have to rain, saying that it is raining. It is because we understand that there has arrived the moment to work, to leap from the apathy which vexes us, for which we permit ourselves to point out certain ideas and to break with the determined conventions, which have only

\(^9\) Presumably, he here referred to Latin America, being at the time within that literary group in Paris. It is interesting to observe that he chose the realpolitik of such a strong government as Germany for his example. German reforms were excellent compromises.

\(^9\) He could not foresee, of course, the path taken by the vaterland of realpolitik, but his hopes were no doubt crushed by the events of 1933.

\(^9\) How does one appease dangers? This is about as clear as the next sentence.
served to stifle our action for many years.

There are those who have the audacity to face every situation. What do injuries matter? If a man does not know how to raise himself above them with disdain, he is not worthy of triumph. And moreover, he fights for ideas, for doctrines, for concepts. Only the blows against these concepts, doctrines, and ideas can sadden us. Those given to the man, do not disturb us. What does it matter if the fallen arm is destroyed and bloody, if it has saved the work?97

If men who have achieved revolutions up to now had needed ambitions, those who would achieve them tomorrow need virtues.

The useful policy would not be a policy of declarations and hoarse cries,98 but neither would it be a policy of immobility and backwardness. At equal distance between incitation to rebellion and the most cruel reaction, exists a beautiful ground, which is best suited for our effort.99

It is evident that there is that to end with the state of war that today reigns among men.

97 This paragraph is a strongly masochistic defense of Ugarte's championing of a cause, whether it be the lost cause of Hispanoamericanismo or the red star of socialism.

98 To which, with pen and tongue, Ugarte was prone.

99 It requires a delicate perception to select the point between extreme right and left, from which, nonetheless, Ugarte's desired progress could be made. His socialism was almost purely emotional, undefined, rather than physical, in the sense that he was an active propagandist but not a saboteur or anarchist, dealing the hard blows of destruction and murder which roused the world to the "Red Peril."
We live in a society where even the air betrays faith.  

Because what if not a forced sale are those shameful taxes which oppress the ports and markets in certain regions and only allow the rich the extravagance of breathing with full lungs?

There is that to transform the regimen, or better phrased, there is that to realise all the promises which the regimen has conceived, because the motto of the Republic: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, contains all the program of socialism.

On the other hand, we have to avoid the veneration paid to prejudices. We have finished with kings, but not with the phantoms which the kings used to keep us in check. We continue to fear many things. Let us fight against all that means backwardness, obscurationism, superstition.

Our ideas can not frighten anyone. Already Zenos and Plato in antiquity have honored work, deprecated voluptuousness, predicated the common good, fought the fanatics, abolished countries and defended the universal fraternity.

100 Men being what they are, has any society been free of this?

101 Being so indefinite, we can not ask for what purpose the taxes are collected, much less what they tax.

102 This motto was flexible enough to serve that great dictator, Bonaparte.

103 It would have been more forceful had Ugarte given samples of this "backwardness, obscurationism, superstition," As it is, a reader or listener will probably grudgingly agree that such a fight is worthwhile.

104 With regard to Plato, Ugarte would no doubt have written differently had he thoroughly studied that great philosopher. See supra, pp. 118 & 127 for specific instances.
Of all this, let us consider bringing into actual life that which actual life is prepared to receive. Let us not exaggerate the dose, but let us not prescribe too little for the timid. We seek a campaign of reforms, it is already impossible to have a campaign of solution. Let us consider modifying and attenuating what is already impossible to transform and resolve. But let us march with a firm step, and let us not be intimidated by anything.\textsuperscript{105}

The political parties do not have, for their most part, for today -- and it is no fault of theirs but of the atmosphere -- either program, principles, or a reason for being.\textsuperscript{106} They are simple, heterogeneous groups, in which personal sympathies supply rationalisations for all.\textsuperscript{107}

Only the Socialist party is able to declare from whence it comes and to where it is going. Because of this it ought to be the party of young men. Let each man say, like D'Annunzio, embodied with the guardians of the situation: "For you there are immobility and death -- the people are life... I, I am going with life."

Because youth and future are synonyms in our thinking. Both words represent the unrealized, hope, poetry. Both signify a pressure that is in contradiction to existence. To believe in human

\textsuperscript{105} This is moderate enough to keep Ugarte in the ranks of "parlor pinks."

\textsuperscript{106} Had his statement been publicised, Ugarte might have heard a few rebuttals on this particular point.

\textsuperscript{107} Socialism, of course, escapes this curse.
perfectability, is a matter of being young. Let us have confidence in our own strength. And let us guard the conviction that future times hold morally true felicities for us.

In the evaporation of hates, in the thaw of evil, when upon the earth redeemed and liberated by the red sun of our triumphs, the ideal minarets of cities, quiet and alluring, begin to appear on the horizons in flower; when man, lightened of his secular prejudices, of his grim egotisms, and his sickly mistrusts, looks around and comprehends at last the lesson of Nature; when within each one of our flowering buds of sympathy towards all that lives, and it may be the loving glance, the tender word, and the fraternal gesture, when all that palpitates vibrates in the rhythm of universal harmony, then, finally then, the future will begin to be realised.

But while these times of light are coming, let us endeavour to practise Justice and Humility, those two wings of man that permit us to leap the bounds of life and enter into eternity.

Let us be socialists.

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108 Just what does he mean by Justice! When Rerum Novarum appeared (1891) there was a tendency on the part of some to consider Leo XIII a Socialist. Father Miller, p. 15, cites Cardinal Manning's comparison of Leo XIII's attitude to that of Christ in the desert, when He said: "I have compassion on the multitudes." The Pope spoke gently, with the authority of his office; Ugarte would have done well to have read Rerum Novarum.
We have now seen a typical example of Ugarte's diffuse style, with its didactism deprived of his charming voice and manner of presentation. He speaks as a demagogue; he has little constructive to say. His arguments are not systematic, often incoherent, usually vague, nor are his arguments often completely logical, much less true. In fairness to him, however, let us glance at the closest approach he made in those years to an actual program, in his "Algunas bases para una legislación obrera," 109 in the midst of his Socialist papers. These ideas, modified by maturity, he finally carried into Vida de Hoy in 1937 as the platform for that magazine:

The workers laws ought to be equally applied to nationals and strangers. In America, especially, where the bulk of workers are immigrants. All law which establishes distinctions between them and others would be illusory.

Our legislation can and ought to be more bold than that of any country in Europe, because in Europe there is the struggle with tradition and rigid customs, while in America all is fresh and particularly malleable. Our examples ought to be New Zealand and Australia.

All workers legislation, all union of measures, as advanced as they may seem to be, have to be considered as bivouacs. No law is definitive, all are transitory.

Law has to be conceived more than with the preoccupation with commercial interests, with justice. It would take the substance out of it and annul it beforehand to permit the slightest partiality in favor of a class.

109 Ugarte, El Arte, 115-118.
Legislation ought to be concerned with equalising social inequalities, protecting most those who do not have any power against those who hold it all in their hands.

If each party holds, in theory, an influence in governmental power corresponding to its electoral backing, each social class ought to hold in the preoccupations of the government a place proportionate to its numerical importance.

The price of the necessary materials for the subsistence of a people cannot be placed at the caprice of particular persons.

The right which each man holds of making propaganda in the spirit of his convictions is not suspended during free time. The city-dweller, vacationer or not, who attempts to catechize another during or after work, does not commit an infraction, exercising a liberty conceded him in law.

Salary cannot be freed from the fluctuations of supply and demand. Human necessities are not simplifiable to the infinite. After a certain limit, privation begins. Those who offer a man for a day's work less than he needs for a full life of twenty-four hours, commits a crime. If usurers are persecuted who only speculate upon the vanity or impatience of the people they accommodate, why not persecute those who speculate upon the hunger of the unfortunates?

In justice, each man ought to give to society in his maturity the equivalent of that which he received from society during his youth....

The State....cannot suppress businessmen by a stroke of the pen, but it can favor the producers, buying directly from their needs for public works. To omit intermediaries, is to lower the price of an article.

The right to life cannot be a vague and chimerical affirmation, without consecration in acts. For a man who supports himself by his labor, not to give him work is to deny him the right to life. The State holds the duty of guaranteeing
to everyone the possibility of earning his subsistence.

We have said that a man receives from society, in his first youth, the equivalent of that which he gives to society in his maturity. Old age is a second childhood, wherein it is impossible for man to earn his necessities. Let us run to his help. And let us complete the formula: man ought to live in those two extremes of life in the reflection of the other stages; in maturity, he irradiates.

Some of the points in this platform are at odds with "Las ideas del Siglo," notably the admission that "The State...can not suppress businessmen by a stroke of the pen," but if this platform is moderate, his speeches are not. Transfer his vague oratory to the realm of Hispanoamericanismo and bear it in mind during our perusal of El porvenir de la América Española.

As for his socialism, Ugarte in his quest for social justice lived to see the majority of his ideas adopted, notably in the laws of the United States during the regime of the New Deal. This, contrasted with the caudilliosmo of Argentina, may well have been one of the factors which enduced him to accept the Good Neighbor Policy in advance of his countrymen, despite the fact that he was reputed to be a Yankeephobe and considered forever irreconcilable.

He was not and is not an extreme radical.

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CHAPTER V

UGARTE THE LITERARIO
Ugarte thought of himself as a literario, quite apart from his work in Socialism or Hispanoamericanismo. We may consider him in the various aspects of artist, literary critic, journalist and scholar. As we have seen, he assumed these roles to give him a reputation for his campaign.

1. Creative Artist

Aiming directly at the mantle of glamor of a literario rather than to supplement an adequate income, Ugarte wrote and published a considerable amount of prose and poetry during his first stay in Paris. From an examination of some of his work, we can fortunately discover much more about him which would otherwise have been denied us by the paucity of information in other sources, inasmuch as he occasionally lapsed into autobiography. He passed slowly through his poetic stage, writing his first Versos when he had barely reached the age of sixteen, and his last in Mallorca when he was forty-three.  

1 P. A. Martin, Who's Who, 514.  
2 Ugarte, Poesias Completas, 20.
The adolescent poetry contains such tagends of the mal de siècle as the romantic "La inicial," which runs as follows:

Sobre tu mano blanca como un rayo de luna
mi mano de celoso dejé leve señal
y el rapido rasguño formó al secar, como una
misteriosa inicial.

Si mi sospecha es cierta, da termino tu vida
pués el puñal, castigo será de tu traición
y grabaré era letra en forma de una herida
sobre tu corazón.3

In his maturity, Ugarte was still romantic, as "El beso" bears witness:

Como si en una sola llamarada
descendieren los astros en un vuelo,
hay he rozado lo mejor del cielo
sobre los rojos labios de mi amada.4

Poems such as "Coquetería," "Un beso es una estrella," and "Madrigal intimo," are set side by side with run-of-the-mill poems on the classic themes of "Melancolía," "Tristeza crepuscular," "Noche en el trópico," "Tristeza del otoño," and "La rosa muerta." These in turn produced such comments from the press as that reported in LaRazón of Buenos Aires: "Manuel Ugarte is a poet. A great poet." The Revista Ateneo of Madrid said: "This young Argentine poet is the most Spanish of the poets of America. His Parisian modernism is a frank imitation of our classics, with all the esprit, the healthy freshness and the happy clean rhymes

3 Ibid., 30.
4 Ibid., 242.
of our poets of the golden age."\(^5\)

However, inasmuch as Ugarte is not included in several collections of Latin American poets, we suspect that he might not actually be an immortal. This is not quite as significant as having discovered in him a tendency towards imitation, which we saw him decry in others. He is almost preoccupied with the theme of love, and we may say that Ugarte's poetry reveals an articulate sentimentality.

His attempts at novels were similarly not outstanding. In 1903 Garnier published an experimental work entitled *La Novela de las horas y de los días*. He used the technique of telling his story in the first person from the viewpoint of a young painter's diary. In what is actually an extended soliloquy, Juan Lopena, the protagonist and a melancholy sentimentalist, pursues an actress, Luciana Lardot. She amuses herself with him and finally casts him aside to end the novel.

Poor though it is, this first attempt is still superior to the routine potboilers which he wrote at Nice after he had lost his fortune and was thrown upon his own resources. At least *La Novela de las horas y de los días*, although inept, is an honest literary endeavour. *El crimen de las mascaras* (1924) is a sophisticated fantasy involving such stock characters as Pierrot, Lucinda and Harlequin. Given life, the device of Pinero, these characters promptly become involved in a

\(^5\) Both quotations from *Ibid.*, 327

\(^6\) Indeed, only notably in *Los mejores poetas de la Argentina*, by Eduardo de Ory, Madrid, 1927, for which Ugarte wrote the prologue.
comedy which develops into tragedy, which is ended only by the inevitable death of Pierrot.

Another novel, El camino de los dioses (1926) is an adventure story laid in what was to be a future war between the United States and Japan. Few magazines sold on United States newsstands would buy it for publication. The plot is simple. An American girl, Molly Graham, born to the magnificence of a Fifth Avenue mansion, takes her friend Ruth to Central America for a vacation. Promptly, with Harry Brown, a muscular, empire-building Yankee, the girls become embroiled in a plot to destroy the Panama Canal. The Japanese villains, led by one Nagakasai, are still presumably at peace with the United States, but the three Yankees are not deceived. In the lurid complications of the plot, Molly herself competently disposes of Nagakasai, thus possibly giving us a clue to Ugarte's opinion of Yankee women. The chief interest in the book for us is the manner in which Ugarte's Hispano-Americanismo bias manages to crop out, particularly in the characterization of Molly's father, the quintessence of Yankee Big Business. Ugarte ridiculed that institution with a sledgehammer.7

Up to this point, Ugarte had not written anything outstanding. His short stories, however, are distinguished and may be regarded as the real basis of his reputation. He himself regarded them as his serious work, whereby he attempted to remedy an ill he had often lamented:

In resumen, that which we have done up to now has not been more than a colonial art—colonial of France, colonial of Spain, colonial of Italy—an art of reflection, pretty but containing no local marks, either in subjects, inspiration or form.\textsuperscript{8}

The pampa and the gaucho are enough to justify a literature.

And when I speak of the pampa and the gaucho, I speak of the llanero and the sabana of Venezuela, the guajiro and maniqua of Cuba, the pelao and monotonera of Mexico. To affirm that we do not have countries and rhythm of life susceptible of instigating an aboriginal art, is to open wide the doors of universal scorn.\textsuperscript{9}

Ugarte complained that the American cowboy had his ocean of literature, and insisted that the gaucho was entitled to his.

He wrote some twenty short stories about this central theme, using a style of his own containing oddly mixed elements of Balzac's amorality, Bierce's grim irony, Crane's realism and Zane Grey's escapism.\textsuperscript{10} Five stories will illustrate these characteristics.

The first, known variously as "El tigre de Macuza" or as "Le Sergent Lynch," is perhaps his most famous. The story takes place among a group of soldiers stationed in a remote post on the Argentine pampa. Told in the first person, which is always a difficult medium, the story


\textsuperscript{9} Ugarte, \textit{El dolor}, 82.

\textsuperscript{10} Ugarte, \textit{Las nuevas tendencias}, 17, for a strong argument favoring naturalism.
has the compactness admired in Hemingway. An old man narrates a tale of his soldiering days, speaking to the reader. Beginning with a description of the dull routine involved in patrolling the plains, he introduces Lynch, a strong, athletic man, who combined sadism with madness in his determination to rule his men like an absolute despot. The troopers, composed of illiterate Indians, horse thieves, mulattos and mestizos, were overawed by the veteran Sergeant, who, secure from interference by his superiors in such a distant command, drilled or marched them incessantly. His tutorial methods were elementary. "What is this"? the Sergeant asked an Indian who had been slow in the execution of the manual of arms. The Indian correctly identified Lynch's upheld finger. "To cure a viper bite," Lynch thereupon said scornfully, "use a stroke of the saber." He put his hand down on a post and forced the Indian to hack off the finger. While his men were nauseated by the scene, Lynch majestically condemned the maladroit Indian to a hundred and fifty blows, permitted his negro underling to bind up his hand, and stood by while his sentence was being carried out. This educational system was limited, of course, but Ugarte's narration is subtly shocking.

Lynch decided to kill the first person story-teller for refusal to submit to his authority. The latter half of the story brings a quick denouement wherein the narrator, smarting from the persecution of his superior, waits for his chance and finally murders Lynch when both are alone on the pampa in a storm.
"El Tigre de Macuzá" is a brief excursion into terror. 11 "Totota, on the other hand, is a heavy-handed attempt at humor, deriving directly from Renaissance models. It is a story about a seventeen-year old Buenos Aires maiden named Carlota who, in childhood, renamed herself Totota. She has a clandestine suitor who insists that she have him recognized by the three old maids who have been keeping her since the death of her widowed father. Since the suitor has somehow become a Mason, and Totota is, of course, a Catholic, his demand is impossible. The three old maids, rigorously loyal to the demands of decorum and tradition, would never accept him as suitable for their ward, even though Totota is willing. The suitor at last urges Totota to make it clear to her guardians that he appreciates the situation, wishes to be fair in the matter, and is willing to accept the decision of the family confessor if they can only bring themselves to seek advice. Delighted by this suggestion, thinking it an easy riddance of a nuisance, the eldest lady hastens to church and learns to her astonishment that the priest has no objections to the match. Thus the lovers are united and the union proves happy. The story is marred artistically by the fact that Ugarte borrowed from the treasury of clichés by having the suitor impersonate the priest in the confessional. Morally, therefore, the

story is questionable.¹²

A third story, "La Venganza del Capataz," related the elementary predicament and solution of a hulking laborer who discovers from an anonymous note that his young and lovely wife is unfaithful. He murders wife and lover and promptly goes insane. Honor and justice are both satisfied: at least in this tale Ugarte did not permit his protagonist to sin and profit without final punishment.

The last stories we will consider are "Rosita Gutiérrez" and "La muerte de Toto." The latter is brief, and reminiscent of Mann's The Magic Mountain, in which a young man spins out a useless life in the dreariness of a tuberculosis sanitorium high in the mountains. He loves futilely in an affair which is amateurishly described. "Rosita Gutiérrez," on the other hand, deals with a lively Indian girl of the town of Tandil. Rosita is overly generous to the importunate young men in her town, but quickly becomes unpopular when she deserts these young Indian bloods to run away with a rich crillo. Retribution befalls her when the crillo is sated and ruthlessly abandons her. This is Balzac with an Argentine locale, but scarcely worthy of Ugarte's aspirations of creating a Latin American art.

In all, it is doubtful if Ugarte's fiction will become classic. His work was too artificial, too immature, too deliberately stylistic to

¹² An English translation in Living Age, 4 April 1925, 57-62, is incomplete.
succeed, except in one or two short stories. In a circle of friends which included Barbusse, he did well to build his reputation upon political writings.

2. Literary Critic

In an able preface of some two score pages to his collection of *La Joven Literatura Hispanoamericana*, Ugarte first introduced his contention that Spain had always represented a force of reaction, while France had conquered Latin America with her books. He judged broadly, therefore, with the criteria of French criticism.

Among the foreign writers at the turn of the century, Émile Zola was to Ugarte a literary giant of a stature with Dante, Shakespeare and Hugo. The comparison is as interesting as the trio to whom he compared Zola in a heartwarming, sympathetic eulogy upon Zola's death in 1902. Perhaps intuitively sensing his own career, he wrote, "The life of a man of genius is a Calvary. His every page is a tear. His refined and supreme sensibility feels with incomparable intensity every offense and blow." Such a man was Zola, "the most formidable battering-ram of his age. Each one of his massive volumes was a monstrous mole which wandered from the mountain into the plain spreading confusion

13 Manuel Ugarte, *La Joven Literatura Hispanoamericana*, Paris, 1905, xiv. This preface was praised by the *Nation*, LXXXIV (1907), 284.


among evil men." 16 Ugarte denied that Zola was a fundamental pessimist, picturing him as "the epic poet of strength, of hardy labor, of healthy and vitalising action." 17 As for Zola's style, despite its crudities, its audacious details, it is a marvelous kaleidoscope wherein pass all the actions and shades of colors in life, without destroying the supreme poetic unity of the book." 18 We may suspect that the much-admired devotion of Zola to the cause of Dreyfus had something to do with Ugarte's impending devotion to the cause of Hispanoamericanismo.

His praise of the French exponent of realism is a partial explanation of Ugarte's own mood in the short story form. Such an admiration was doubtless a natural consequence of exposing a young mind to the litterateurs of Paris, and may also explain partially the inconsistent irreverence found in his works. In connection with this, it is well to remember that Ugarte was an impressionable lad adrift in Paris at the time when anti-clericalism forced through the Associations Law of 1901. He was present during the critical years when the Republic was thus being "saved" from the Monarchists, and Zola, the man popularly credited with exploding the infamy of the Dreyfus Affair, was still the cant idol of the café Republicans. Conservatism was being dealt heavy, heedless blows, and in his early twenties, inclined towards the literary life, Ugarte would have found it almost impossible to

16 Ibid., 324.
17 Ibid., 326
18 Ibid., 327
resist the appeal of either the uncouth hero or the champions of a hazily defined progress. Indeed, as we have seen, he went wholeheartedly into an amorphous Socialism.

If he was liberal in his judgment of Europeans like Zola, he had a different yardstick for his Latin American contemporaries. Looking back upon his life in 1932, he remarked, "Two propositions inspired my literary life from the beginning. I was a revolutionist in order to combat our erroneous social organization, and I was anti-Yankee in order to oppose myself to the imperialism which was devouring us." He is uncritical, therefore, of those writers who artistically shared his viewpoint, and has praise for Rodó, Blanco-Fombona, García Calderón, indeed, virtually all of the hispanoamericanismoantes we first encountered in our introductory chapter. For South Americans, his standard is not too severe. His admiration for Delmira Agustini, Rubén Darío, and Belisario Roldán is almost fulsome. However, it would be unjust to say he blindly applauded anyone who subscribed to Hispanoamericanismo. Despite adequate credentials, he denied on

19 Ugarte, *El dolor*, 120. He was not, of course, a anti-Yankee of the genus Salvador Turcius R. He often insisted that he opposed a policy rather than a people who had treated him kindly. *Ibid.*, 144.


This rather harsh critique gives us a clue of Ugarte’s own attitude towards style. He could admire the staccato but grammatical sentences of Zola, yet he could not abide the anarchistic prose of Vargas Vila, which deliberately assasinsates the conventions involving the use of capital letters. There is no point in debating the truth of Ugarte’s bestowal of credit upon Vargar Vila for introducing this technique, being satisfied with our clue of Ugarte’s stylistic conservatism.

Moreover, having examined the corpus of Ugarte’s work, one may suspect that here there may have been a conflict not of literary taste but of a flamboyant ego with one this was only aggressively self-assured. Ugarte is not the most modest writer in the world, and by 1910 he was actually something of a recognized literary figure, and may have simply resented the pretensions of a braggart. With the field of literary criticism being susceptible to a lack of objectivity, this manifestation of Ugarte’s personal feelings is not too serious a flaw. At least he was not totally uncritical, as a casual reader might at first assume from such works as Escritores Ibero Americanos de 1900.

3. Scholar

Ugarte was taken to task by Professor Rippy for carelessness with regard to citing data,27 as well as getting his facts straight. This is a natural consequence of an historian’s inspection of Ugarte’s work.

27 Rippy, Destiny, footnotes, 32, 38, 55-56, etc.
Untrained in the scientific method, and indeed disdainful of the system wherein he was educated,\textsuperscript{28} Ugarte rarely gives sources and on those rare occasions when he does, he never uses anything which even approaches the conventional footnote. He frequently falls back on quotations, usually assuming that his reader is fully aware of the source, though sometimes giving a clue by such introductions as "Mr. Wellman in \textit{The North American Review}..." What he does quote is generally accurate.

He does not have a scholar's objectivity, being far from dispassionate. As a crusader, enlisted in a cause, he felt no compulsion to delve thoroughly into both sides of the question; he saw what he wished to see, even to the absurd extent of gloating over the capture of a handful of Yankee cavalrymen at Carrizal during the Villa pursuit. He gloated "this is the first setback to Yankee imperialism!" He did exercise selection, but chose only that data which would support a preconceived thesis. Being an orator at heart, he wrote with emphasis that did violence to truth, and often obscured his thoughts in vague phrases that sounded well on the lecture platform, but are puzzling when printed. It suited his purpose to state that the Washington \textit{Times} "was accepted as an official organ of the State Department."\textsuperscript{29} If all the complicated agreements which finally brought King Louis to the aid of the North

\textsuperscript{28} Ugarte, \textit{Escritores}, 231.

\textsuperscript{29} Ugarte, \textit{La Patria Grande}, 28.
American colonies, Ugarte saw only that the French troops were pledged to assist in the rebellion and were in the event of success to return promptly without argument and to their barracks in France without attempting the reconquest of Canada. In discussing his socialism, it was apparent that he is essentially a propagandist, without the instincts of impartiality which distinguished Moreno Quintana, his country. He has, apart from industry, none of the characteristic stamp of a scholar, but it is very likely that Ugarte would be the last to regard such a failing as a flaw. His great, single, dominating drive was his Hispanoamericanismo lucha. To further his aim of stirring up his continental compatriots to the need for union, Ugarte had small need of being accurate or particular in his facts, constructing his arguments upon a body of almost universal knowledge.

Ugarte must have known, in the golden age of his writing, that he was falling far short of the requirements of a scholar. He must have known what those requirements are. We must assume that he rejected the duties of that character deliberately. He wrote positively and dogmatically, but based his positivism and dogma upon "logic," rather than study. He has few if any pretensions to scholarship, and if anything would probably prefer to be called a political philosopher rather than a political scientist or a sociologist or an historian. He never mentioned any education higher than grammar school, never spoke of attending a

30 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 165.
University, never preened himself upon completing any course of study. It seems, therefore, to be useless to attack him or ridicule him or overlook him merely because he neglects footnotes; neither, he might point out, does Hilaire Belloc.

4. Journalist & Propagandist

In his connections with the press, Ugarte preferred to be an editor rather than a reporter. He founded and directed two publications, La Patria, a daily newspaper in Buenos Aires during the first World War, and Vida de Hoy, a monthly magazine in Buenos Aires in the years before the second World War. In between these publications, he affiliated himself with the founders and directors of Le Monde, of Paris.

Without access to sources in Argentina, an investigator can learn nothing about La Patria, which is not listed in the Union List of Serials, nor were any clippings from it sent by our diplomatic corps to the files of the State Department. Ugarte's own account must be held in suspicion as being the only source available. Founded in 1916,31 La Patria expired after a brief three months.32 We have seen that he was thought to be a German spy and our representatives almost unanimously reported that he was at least pro-German, and it is regrettable that we cannot see the newspaper in order to judge for ourselves in a generation removed from that war. From the editorials he reproduced in La Patria

31 Ugarte, La Patria Grande, 195.
32 Ibid., 233.
Grande (1924), his program was oddly nationalistic, but then, of course, these editorials possibly are not all that appeared at the time. He looked upon the war as an opportunity for Argentina to seize complete nationality in an economic sense, to grow out of the humiliating status of a nation which exported only raw materials and imported manufactures. He wanted to clean up internal politics, resist all acts of an imperial nature, and educate the youth of Argentina for the future. "Our ideal," he wrote, "will not, then, be negative, but affirmative; our action will not be destructive, but creative." 

He decried the absence of a flag and a national anthem sufficiently stirring to unite Argentine patriotism like the "Stars and Stripes" of America and the "Marseillaise" of France, argued that Argentina had to create wholly owned, national industries in order to achieve the glory of her destiny, complained against the senseless, artificial tariffs which made a Paraguayan bottle of wine equal a French bottle of wine in price, thereby stifling Paraguayan business, and reciprocally hurting Argentina through retaliatory tariffs, stepped aside from his beloved France in order to preserve a strict neutrality

33 Ibid., 195-199. Quote from 198.
34 Ibid., 200-202. "La Bandera y el Himno."
36 Ibid., 208-210. "Un boycott inadmisible."
in a war that was none of South America's affair, and protested loudly against the British boarding and confiscation of an Argentine vessel carrying German goods. There are only traces of Hispanoamericanismo, almost out of character in the ardent crusader, but once again, these editorials are no doubt a fragment of the whole work.

Despite his efforts, *La Patria* failed to take root and become a part of Argentine life, because of the hostility of what Ugarte vaguely called a "certain financial group." In his last editorial, Ugarte said:

"In an important moment in Argentine life we believe we have complied with our duty of marking out a true course, and have done it without boasting or vainglory. If they are able to wound us, they cannot dishearten us, because they are little men...." His last line of the obituary for *La Patria* was a reflection of the proud Ugarte: "The newspaper is finished, but the ideas live."

After an interval of twenty years, Ugarte was to have little better luck with a monthly magazine, *Vida de Hoy*, which first appeared in October, 1936, and abruptly, without explanation or warning, ceased publication sometime in 1939, the year before Ugarte took himself into "exile" in Chile.

In format and paper stock, *Vida de Hoy* was somewhat similar to

37 Ibid., 216-232. "Neutralidad."

38 Ibid., 226-232. "Reclamación patriótica."

America, containing a sprinkling of caricatures in woodcuts. Editorial-
ly, Ugarte was primarily concerned with a working socialism, of his own
variety, of course, and he was secondarily interested in Argentina and
a less militant Hispanoamericanismo. He assumed the role of an
omniscient, kindly elder statesman, having a moderate viewpoint, leaning
in domestic problems to the left, and in foreign problems to the right.
The people who thought of him only as a Yankeephobe were speedily
disabused, when he spoke favorably of Roosevelt and the Good Neighbor
policy. With a brisk complaint that American wars were fratricidal,
Ugarte virtually scuttled Hispanoamericanismo.

His early interest in socialism was sustained, and he poured
out a series of articles and editorials upon such subjects as "La Crisis
del Socialismo," 40"El Cisma Socialista,"41 "La Igualidad y el sufragio," "Trabajo y Nacionalidad,"43 and "El Desmoronamiento Socialista."44 The
gist of these articles may be seen in "La Crisis del Socialismo."

40 Ugarte, Vida de Hoy, II (1937), 5, February.
41 Ibid., II, March, 3-4
42 Ibid., II, April, 2-3.
43 Ibid., II, May, 2.
44 Ibid., II, Oct., 2-4.
But perhaps socialism has never been seen in such grave peril as today. Not because the figures who embody the discontent have greater ascendency than those who will realize the former goals, but because this time the narrowness which has gnawed socialism since its origins has reached full maturity.  

He reminded his readers that he had remained out of political campaigns in order to be free to offer constructive criticism, even though attacked by *La Vanguardia*. What did he have to suggest?

I particularly urge that parties adapt themselves to the hour in which they live. We have already taken occasion to say that this which is imposed upon Argentina today is to abstain from political interest and avoid catastrophes which no one will justify. It is necessary to exploit and place in circulation our natural products and to extend civilisation over our distant territories, regulating, immediately, and protecting the work, source and origin of all prosperity. Let us have economic reforms; let us lift the life of the worker; let us break up the large country estates; these are measures of national utility and the same which went endangered by those comprising the superior necessity which determines them. But let us not molest industry, commerce, creative capital, the platform on which we move.

He was still, it may be seen, fond of rolling phrases, but aside from breaking up the large country estates, his proposals couldn't be called radical.

He insisted in his view that Argentine socialism had been so repeatedly torn by conflicts that it staggered; he extolled the worker and a nation which respected the dignity of labor.  

46 Ibid., May, 2.
of the industry he had demanded during the first World War, he shifted from international to national socialism. He thought that the inauguration of the pro-United States, pro-New Deal Roberto N. Ortiz was auspicious for planned socialism: Following the election of Ortiz, he summarized his expectations in the following way: "That which the old Creole by his humble hearth hopes for...is not extravagant verbosity, but realities which would make life less harsh in the land where he was born, effective reforms more tangible, which would raise the level of the country and its people, useful work to help simultaneously the farmer and the city-dweller, within a vast plan of national construction and valorization. All the rest is policy: worse than politics, 'democratization'."

The old Creole was disappointed. The reforms he expected did not materialise. Vida de Hoy then vanished from the homes of Buenos Aires. Why? When? Its final issue is nothing but a question mark in the Union List of Serials.

5. Summary

None of Ugarte's prose or poetry other than that of his lucha

48 Ibid., II, February (1938), 2.
49 Ibid., II, December 1-2.
seems likely to become classic. He was not a great, creative writer; perhaps, by Anglo-Saxon standards of criticism he was not even a good writer. Perhaps he was not even a competent writer if precision of thought and expression is mandatory. Certainly, he was not a voluminous writer, although he used a typewriter and had that mechanical advantage over his predecessors who aimed at the distinction of being known as literarios.

His literary criticism is emotional; his journalistic efforts were possibly realistic, in tune with world movements, but too advanced for his countrymen; his major works are not scholarly. In the end, Ugarte will probably be relegated to footnotes forever on the basis of being a Yankeephobe because Catherine Phillips translated El destino de un Continente, and Yankee textbook writers seized upon it as typical opposition to our policies, thereby giving Ugarte a kind of fame he once deserved but later outgrew.

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* * *

He is included in some Latin American and Spanish anthologies, and has a story in Tres Cuentos Sud-Americanos, Ugarte and La Torre, edited Sturgis E. Leavitt, New York, 1935, but this is far from fame.
CHAPTER VI

UGARTE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT AS REVEALED IN
BOOKS AND ARTICLES OTHER THAN EL
PORVENIR DE LA AMÉRICA ESPAÑOLA
Books such as *El dolor de escribir* have a few political passages, as do the earlier potpourri volumes such as *Crónicas del Bulevar* and *La Vida Inverosimil*, but they belong strictly to Ugarte's career as a *literario*, and will not be considered in what is primarily a political study. There are then, four books of a political or social nature, which we will look at: *El Arte y la Democracia*, *El destino de un Continente*, *La Patria Grande* and *Escritores Ibero-Americanos de 1900*.

1. *El Arte y la Democracia.*

Published in Valencia in 1905, this is a collection of articles written subsequent to Ugarte's first success with *Paisajes Parisienses*. As seen in Chapter IV, he had not yet begun his Hispanoamericanismo campaign, and the main preoccupation at that time was winning a literary name, with side excursions into Socialism.

Aside from "Las ideas del Siglo" and "Algunas bases para una legislación obrera," which we have seen, the mere listing of a few more titles will tell all there is to tell about this book. He was concerned with "La conquista del centésimo," "El Congreso socialista de Amberdán," "El arte de hoy," "La lucha de clases y el humanitarianismo," "La mujer
dentro del siglo," "La Revolución francesca y el socialismo," and "La representación obrera."

2. El destino de un Continente.

Published in Madrid, 1923, describing his Hispanic-American tour, this book shows that Ugarte had by that year progressed very little in his thinking from the days of *El porvenir de la América Española*. The following description of Spanish America could easily have been fitted into the earlier work:

Contemplating the map revealed that the old divisions of the viceroyalties had not been respected, which unities would have in a certain way been able to justify a fragmentary organization of the union which simultaneously reclaimed and acquired independence. In the anxiety to multiply public offices, they did not have any more of a plan than the desire to cominate and to obtain personal satisfactions; frontiers were traced capriciously, most of the time without seeking either the precarious justification of local traditions, geographical accidents, or special economic interests. Countries were frequently born by a military uprising or a difference of amour-propre between two men. And that which could have been a great, noble force which would have intervened efficaciously in world affairs, defending the interests and concepts of a truly solid group created by history, was reduced to a dolorous clamor of feeble nuclei which fought among themselves or wasted themselves in absurd revolutions without a material or moral force to earn by union the respect of the great nations.¹

to clarify his attitude towards the United States, in order to refute the people who dismissed him as being simply a Yankeephobe with nothing to say:

No one admires more than I the grandeur of the United States, and few have a more clear notion of the necessity of relating ourselves with them in the development of future life; but this must be realised on a basis of equality. As for the imputation of "Yankeeophobia" which has been made about me, a false rumor like so many others; I have never been an enemy of that great nation.²

Later in the book, he went into greater detail to explain what he deemed the difference between hatred and respect:

I have never blamed Caesar because he divided the Franks in order to rule Gaul. Caesar's maneuver created a superiority, but it is not legitimate to lament the fact that the Franks did not possess sufficient astuteness to oppose this policy...My plan has been to call the attention of the Aztecs and Franks of my time and group to the possibility of avoiding suicidal quarrels in order to develop a vigorous force, to cement union and coordinate it in view of the supreme aspiration of all species; to develop oneself and to survive.

The United States have done and continue to do what has been done by the strong peoples of history, and nothing is weaker than the arguments raised in Latin America against this policy. In international affairs, to invoke ethics is almost always to confess defeat....

To hate the United States is an inferior sentiment which leads nowhere. To disdain them is insensate

² Ibid., 2.
provincialism. What we ought to cultivate is self-respect, anxiety for our own existence. If stirring up a reaction of the collective will, we denounce the peril without and evoke the memory of previous disasters, it is not to accuse the action of others, but to orientate our own, because what ought to be considered is not what the adversary has done to injure us, but what we have to do to offset his aggression and realise tomorrow if we do not wish to be swallowed up.3

The main thing the book presents is Ugarte's character. It is more autobiography than an exposition of his Hispanoamericanismo. Since however, Catharine Phillips saw fit to translate it, our knowledge of Ugarte rests primarily upon this volume which shows us a rather pompous, positive, conceited individual. It is hard to read this translation without taking a dislike to the man, and Professor Rippy turned it loose in the world without sufficiently emphasizing its insignificance in comparison to El porvenir de la América Española. In Chapter III will be found sufficient citations from the book to substantiate the charges of pomposity and conceit; for one thing, he reported that his speeches always aroused an ovation, for another, he describes himself as beset by hordes of enemies in every country.

For the best picture of this tour he made, El destino de un Continente should be read in conjunction with Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, which contains a handful of the discourses he delivered at the time.

3 Ibid., 180-182.

This is a miscellany of articles, editorials[^1] and speeches. Typical is the open letter to President Wilson, written during his campaign at Lima, and proposing a policy for the newly inaugurated President of the United States to follow not only in Mexico but in all of Latin America. As the spokesman for his people, he informed Wilson:

> We demand that the wretched burden of the Platt Amendment be lifted from Cuba; we demand that the possibility of deciding her own fate be restored to Nicaragua, allowing her people to depose, if they deem it necessary, those who govern them with the aid of a foreign army; we demand that the situation in Puerto Rico be resolved in accordance with right and humanity; we demand that the injustice committed against Colombia be redressed insofar as possible; we demand that to Panama, which today suffers the consequences of a transitory frenzy, be conceded the dignity of a nation; we demand that the pressure exercised in the port of Guayaquil cease; we demand that the archipelago of the Galapagos be respected; we demand the concession of liberty to the heroic Filipino people; we demand that Mexico not always see the Damoclean sword of intervention suspended above her banner; we demand that the disorders of Putamayo are not made to serve as a pretext for cunning diplomatic maneuvers; we demand that companies which exceed their legal rights may not feel certain of assistance in unjust situations; we demand that the republic of Santo Domingo be not throttled by unjustifiably pressures; we demand that the United States restrain itself from officious intervention in the internal politics of our nations and that it discontinue the annexation of ports or bays on the continent; we demand that sanitation measures are not made to serve to diminish

[^1]: As, for example, those from *La Patria*, used *supra*, 161-163.
the autonomy of the Pacific nations; we crave equality, we crave respect, we crave, en fin, that the Stars and Stripes be not converted into a symbol of oppression in the New World.⁵

There is nothing new in La Patria Grande, either, that does not stem from El porvenir de la América Española.

4. Escritores Ibero Americanos de 1900.

Although more concerned with the literary aspect of Ugarte's life, rather than his socialism or Hispanoamericanismo, this book, unlike El dolor de escribir, merits a paragraph here because he claimed it marked the end in his life of the lucha that began in 1901. Finally convinced himself that he and the comrades of his generation were gallant but ineffective in the world of thought, he retained in 1943 only his socialist ideas. He was not stubbornly intransigent. When the dangers he perceived in 1910 evaporated in the warmth of the Good Neighbor policy, Ugarte, as we have seen, dropped his drum. He bowed to the reality of national independence and placed his services at the disposal of the underprivileged classes.

He is remarkable in one respect. His Hispanoamericanismo concepts were full-sized at birth, growing very little in originality, and only demonstrating his ingenuity in stating the same "facts" in multitudinous ways. Actually, so far as his theme is concerned, he could have

⁵ La Patria Grande, 23.
written only *El Porvenir de la América Española* and then devoted himself to purely literary pursuits. He personally would have profited much more, and his comrades in Hispanoamericanismo would have been just about as obligated to him, but Ugarte was a stubborn idealist, and kept to his firing line.

Next to *El porvenir de la América Española*, and his speeches, Ugarte's real work was done through magazines and newspapers. It will be convenient to divide this work into three periods, 1903-1910, 1910-1933, 1933-1948, for reasons that will be explained.

5. a) Articles, 1903-1910.

Until the latter part of this period, Ugarte's French magazine contributions remained basically literary. For example, in *La Revue Mondiale*, his successive articles were "Influences de la Litterature Française en Espagne," 6 "L'Ame Espagnole," 7 "La Litterature espagnole moderne," 8 "La Litterature sud-américaine," 9 "Le theatre argentin--Le Drame Creole," 10 "La mouvement litteraire en Espagne," 11 "Les États--

6 *La Revue Mondiale (ancienne Revue des Revues)*, III Ser., #17, (1903), 529-37.

7 *Ibid.*, IV Ser., #2 (1905), 194-204.


et l'Amérique du Sud,"12 "Le prochain Congrès Panaméricain,"13 and the last, "Une alliance sud-Américain pour le maintien de la civilisation latine."14 Save for the last three articles, Ugarte assured his French readers that their nation had exercised by far the strongest influence upon Spanish America. Ugarte characterized Spanish literature as being sterile, backward, effete, and repetitious of the golden age of Cervantes and de Vega, when contrasted with the fresh, expanding, ever-creative literature of France.15 He expressed admiration for Ibañez and his friend Unamuno, but they were not, he regretfully had to confess, giants of the same towering stature of Émile Zola or Anatole France or Guy de Maupassant. His attitude during this period indicates what kind of Franco-philic literary dilettante Ugarte might have become, had he not, in July 1909, crystallized his ideas about Hispanoamericanismo into a successful article entitled "Les États-Unis et l'Amérique du Sud." The following paragraphs will, in the next chapter, seem to have a familiar ring. At least they should. Ugarte, in his usual fashion of writing books,

12 Ibid., IV Ser., #14 (1909), 145–159.
13 Ibid., IV Ser., #9 (1910), 16–24.
14 Ibid., VI Ser., #23 (1910), 612–619.
15 Manuel Ugarte, "Influences Shaping Spanish American Literature," Review of Reviews, XXXIX (1909), 754; reprint of article in Nuestro Tiempo, emphasizing the importance of France.
transplanted this article in its entirety:

There are in effect few demarcations so clearly established, so brutally delimited as those which separate into two parts numerically almost equivalents and morally as far as possible intellectually irreconcilable, the population of the Americas. There even exist two languages, two traditions, two social organizations, two groups of different orientation: for one part, that colonised by English and which forms with its 80,000,000 inhabitants one of the most admirable and powerful nations of the globe, and the other part, that of Spanish origin, which contains 60,000,000 people set by the ears apart by periodic commotions and teeming in a score of unequal republics. 16

This next paragraph almost sums up his entire thinking on the subject of Hispanoamericanismo; the rest of his writing did little more than buttress the assertions he makes here:

The causes of alignment and hostility of the two Americas17 can be summed up in a few lines. In a fashion, origin makes relive in the souls of today the quarrels, rivalries and swagger of the first conquistadores. Then education and customs, up here imperious, brutal, in a society quivering with activity and life, down there skeptical and resigned in the sunny and negligent countries. Finally and above all, imperialism. The South Americans, who do not count more than a century of independence and who conquered liberty thirty years later than the United States, assist in the prosperity of these people with a surprise mingled with fear and anguish. Are they destined to be annihilated by the Colossus who, in expanding his

16 La Revue Mondiale, VI Ser., #14, (1909), 146-147.

17 By the "two Americas," Ugarte means the Latin South and the Anglo-Saxon North.

18 La Revue Mondiale, VI Ser., #14, (1909), 150.
frontiers, would only in short conform to the necessities imposed by his economic growth? The Spanish blood, which predominates in the South, bubbles in its veins with a wild effervescence to drive back the depressing guardianship and possible obliteration.18

Add to this the next two paragraphs and the core of Ugarte's Hispano-Americanismo is complete:

These groups [the divisions of Latin America], more or less unharmed, more or less prosperous, in reality only form a single ensemble, because they are souls of the same spirit, and have a common history, language and literature. If communications among the South American Republics were not so restricted and if each of them developed without any other exchanges of ideas and reciprocal interests, than a half-dozen official letters and some phrases of confraternity, it is not the fault of the race's laziness.

But the sympathies which unite them are fundamental. The best proof of that is the facility with which South Americans emigrating from one republic become adjusted to another. There exists between them that which constitutes the primary bond of all collectivity: similarity.19

During the same era in his life, thanks to the influence and friendship of Unamuno, he contributed to such Madrid magazines as El Globe, Helios, La Época and Nuestro Tiempo.20 His appearance in

18 La Revue Mondiale, VI Ser., #14 (1909) 150.
19 Ibid., 148.
20 Encyclopedia Espasa-Calpe, Vol. 65, 808.
the latter was typical of the rest, and constituted a short story, "La sombra de los ojos,"\textsuperscript{21} and three articles, "Los nuevos rumbos de la literatura en Francia,"\textsuperscript{22} "Una ojeada sobre la literatura hispanoamericana,"\textsuperscript{23} and "Letras hispanoamericanas."\textsuperscript{24}

5. b) Articles, 1911-1933

While the first period was almost exclusively literary, excepting the formulation towards the end of the foundations of Ugarte's lucha, this second phase of his writing was a concerted defense of El porvenir de la América Española, and all that it implied. Ugarte used every opportunity to place his opinions before the public when any occasion warranted a statement by an hispanoamericanismozante.

The Yankee Review of Reviews was aware of this, and reprinted several of his articles, such as the famous "Open Letter" protesting President Wilson's policy towards Mexico in 1913 and brazenly suggesting a new course to be followed. These articles were reprinted without editorial comment, so it is hard to gauge the reasons which motivated these editors to devote attention to him.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Nuestro Tiempo}, IV (1904), 196-199.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid.}, III (1903), 575-582.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.}, VIII (1908), 346-353.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Ibid.}, XI (1911), 145-158.

His "El Problema Centro-americano," first printed as a pamphlet in 1917 when he was annoying our diplomatic agents by his friendship with our enemies, reviewed history and pleaded for the necessity of a union. "To the known arguments of ethnologic affinity, history, idiom, custom and community of interests and aspirations, one must add another," he told the faculties of San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, "as a fundamental reason, the lesson we learn from the horrible wars which overturn the world: little countries are easy prey of the powers, despite the principles of Law and Treaties." 26

From 1921 to 1923, Living Age reprinted three of his articles from La Revue Mondiale. The first, "Latin America after the War," sings his old refrain. France is praised for her friendliness to Latin America, because she has desisted from any attempts to exploit those feeble nations, the lack of union in South America is again thoroughly condemned, together with the irritating assumptions of the Monroe Doctrine, and Ugarte offers the wealth of his homeland to reconstruct Europe, but only if his beloved French would undertake to bring their unquestionable integrity and uncompromising rectitude into the task of overseeing the distribution. 27

In the second article, he discussed "Latin American Revolu-


27 Manuel Ugarte, "Latin America after the war," Living Age, Vol. 310, (1921) 14-19; from "L'Amérique Latine après la guerre," Revue Mondiale, CXLVII (1921), 139-147.
tions," probably to offset the sarcastic version publicised by Crichfield's American Supremacy. His Continent, he said, had inherited "two burdens of atavistic anarchy:" Indian feuds and insubordinate lieutenants. He threw a brickbat at the Monroe Doctrine, which to him was synonymous with imperialism, by claiming that the people of many nations were disappointed in Independence, having in fact merely changed one set of masters for another. He admitted bitterly that many existing governments had an illegal status, without moral authority or constitutional sanction, since they had stemmed from armed force rather than democratic support. Lastly, he pointed to the absence of large commercial and industrial interests held by nationals as an outstandingly fatal weakness that had to be altered, because only those interests could prove powerful enough to insist upon social equilibrium and an orderly political regime before that was undertaken by an exasperated, alien Power. 28

He desisted from castigating his countrymen long enough to praise "The Gaucho and the Pampa" in a third article. He painted a familiar picture of the gaucho, "A primitive creature who always has a gleam of defiance in his eye," As a type, he had vanished from Argentine life, leaving as mementos of his passing a few games, a dance, a drink and some ballads. The peón de estancia of 1923 was only vaguely related

to his boisterously rowdy ancestor. Ugarte proudly and erroneously denied that the Yankee cowboy could point to anything like an analogous history.29

In 1925, "Latin Looks North," Ugarte through the Nation informed North Americans that both racial groups in the Western Hemisphere had superior qualities, but that of the Latins suffered by being intellectual, while that of the Anglo-Saxons was practical. This, however, did not dishearten him:

I believe that the Latin civilisation will develop in America in spite of all difficulties. In the regions which have been awakened and strengthened by the new spirit it is beginning to stand on its own feet. In weaker regions the United States, acting in accord with higher conceptions, will finally aid in making it possible for the Latin spirit to flourish for the benefit of all.

This is not fantasy... the United States will continue to be an idealistic nation because idealism is inseparable from health and youth. Just as it has changed its material conditions, it will modify its principles.30

In the same year, following the fame that came to him after the Phillips translation of El destino de un Continente, the Literary Digest printed a portrait of him,31 and Ugarte ungratefully wrote an


open letter for the youth of Latin America in which he demonstrated an unswerving allegiance to his lucha, despite the flattering attention paid him by the Yankees. 32

From his study at Nice he sent a thoughtful article to Current History in 1927, sounding the alarm once more about the misdirected efforts of our Department of State. Entitled "Dangers latent in our Latin American policy," the article was a recapitulation of Ugarte's position:

The United States is today the greatest nation in the world, and there are irresistible tendencies against which it is useless to struggle. We know that our evolution is bound up with that of the United States. We cherish no hostility to the all triumphant Republic whose support is indispensable to our prosperity... We aim at defining the point where these influences must stop, the advantages which we shall derive from them, and the ways that open before us in the future. It is clear, furthermore, that even though we might decide to sacrifice ourselves personally, we could never fit into the North American community nor form an integral part of it. 33

Disarmingly, but firmly, he then presented the arguments with which we are familiar.


The 1928 Pan-American Congress at Havana won from him the grudging comment that "The most surprising thing...was the assurance with which certain delegates from Latin America played their roles."\(^{34}\) Despite this new spirit, he inveighed against all Congresses upon his same old contentions:

The immediate lesson to be drawn from the Havana Conference is that it is urgently necessary for Latin America to change its methods and its diplomatic personnel. The few enlightened delegates saw their efforts thwarted by the confusion, jealousy, and lack of any planning or unified desire. The few who turned against the current of imperialism too late in the day merely emphasized past errors. Now the comedy is over, and the United States is the master of the situation and able to continue its tactics of invasion. The remains of a Latin America whose destiny was scuttled by individual interests and ruined by politicians who placed personal advantage above everything else cannot be saved by the victims of the last disaster, who were themselves responsible for it. The people of Latin America will have to struggle against North American plutocracy on one hand and against local oligarchies on the other. The problem thus possesses an international and a domestic aspect. Only if new uncontaminated groups come into power will it be possible for a revival to occur. The continuation of present conditions means that all these representatives of Spanish and Portuguese origin will gradually see their independence depart, and to Europe it will mean the irremediable loss of its economic and cultural influence in the New World.\(^{35}\)

The same year, 1928, he issued a "manifesto" about Sandino and

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\(^{35}\) Ibid., 1000.
the Nicaraguan situation, whereby Sandino, like his anonymous predecessors in Mexico who had won the battle of Carizal, became a great hero of resistance to imperialism, who deserved the support of all thoughtful Latin Americans. Following so close upon the heels of the "fiasco" at Havana, Ugarte was inspired by the fearlessness of the Nicaraguan guerrilla. Ugarte apportioned the blame for the insurrection: "The Nicaraguan crisis is the evident result of three factors: first the ambition of the plutocracy of the United States, anxious to increase the radius of its imperialism; second, the indifference of oligarchic governments of our America, incapable of understanding the problems of our part of the continent; and third, the shortsightedness of the Nicaraguan politicians, greedy for power at the expense of their own country."36

In 1930, Ugarte contributed an article to Nosotros discussing "El imperialismo en Grecia y en Roma," and managed to make it a sounding board for a further warning to beware of the scheming Yankees.37 The following year, he helped to found La Revue Argentine in Paris, expressing a hope that it would prove to be a powerful battering ram in the arsenal of Hispanoamericanismo, because, as he believed, of the respectful

36 Manuel Ugarte, "Manifesto on Sandino and Nicaragua," Nation, Vol. 127 (1926), 280. He was wrongly identified as the Argentine Consul at Nice.

37 Nosotros, #257, (1930), 5-23.
attention accorded European opinion by the Latin Americans.38

For more than twenty years, now, as this swift survey indicates, Ugarte held fast to the position established by El porvenir de la América Española.39

5. c) Articles. 1934–1945.40

If he did nothing else, Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the respect and then the cooperation of our passionate Hispanoamericanismozante. Measures such as the new Cuban–United States treaty made Ugarte soften his inflexible attitude towards our government. As he explained in the Revista de las Españas, in discussing "El crepusculo del Imperialismo Yanqui:"

Notwithstanding that the change of front made by Hoover and Stimson greatly approximated the categorical and concrete methods of President Roosevelt: the enunciation of the "Good Neighbor" Policy in his inaugural address, amplified by Secretar Hull at Montevideo; the explanation of said Policy in the speech of last December 28th, a declaration of principles which have a great historic transcendency, for to "continentalize" the Monroe Doctrine is equivalent to saying that it is suppressed... Señor Roosevelt has already declared that he will not have more interventions in any country of the American continent...41

38 It will be recalled that he was consistent in this, having at the outset of his career gone back to Paris to win a Continental reputation in order to make himself heard.

39 His viewpoint during these decades was thoroughly consistent with what we will see in the following chapter.

40 None found later than 1945.

Of course, Ugarte was careful to remind his readers, this was not entirely due to a complete benevolence in Washington; it was necessary for them to remember that "the change of front is the son of the economic depression."41

By the following November his conversion was almost complete. He said in the columns of La Revue Argentine: "Having denounced without respite since 1900 these encroachments and offered resistance, I have now the duty of underlining the happy rectification which tends to modify, under the drive of President Roosevelt, the relations between the two Americas. It is, a little, the fruit of our thirty-five year campaign."42 Having thus with characteristic assurance paid his compliments to the new President of the United States, he went on to say: "The essential thing for us to do is to place the recent conception of relations between Anglo-Saxon and Latin America under the durable seal of mutual respect and reciprocal advantages."43 What example did he propose to set for his followers? "I have never deserted," he said proudly, "and I never intend to desert the strict letter of Latin American interests, always pre-eminent to me. I believe, simply, that during the new policy of the United States towards Latin America, Latin America ought to develop a new policy towards the United States.44


43 Ibid., 22. To be exact, it would be a thirty-three year campaign at best, but Ugarte preferred round numbers.

44 Ibid., 23.
Ugarte was as good as his own advice. From this time forward, he respected the Good Neighbor Policy, and turned his efforts towards literary criticism, international problems such as the remilitarization of the Rhine, and the likelihood of war, imperialism other than Yankee, and the internal politics of Argentina during the Second World War. For his main preoccupation, now that Hispanoamericanismo was outmoded, he returned to his early love for socialism, infusing, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, a national socialism into the pages of his brief-lived magazine Vida de Hoy.

It is now time to look at what we maintain is Ugarte's chief work.

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46 "Encuestas de Nosotros—América y el destino de la Civilización Occidental, Año I, #1 (1936), habla Manuel Ugarte," the first writer (pp.42-43) questioned to answer the problem: 1) faced with the possibility of a new world war, does America possess sufficient material and spiritual resources to save civilisation? and 2) if the new war brings the calamities feared, what will be the fate of Argentina?


CHAPTER VII

EL PORVENIR DE LA AMÉRICA ESPAÑOLA
El Porvenir de la América Española represents the high water mark of Ugarte's written propaganda. It is not too well organized, nor is it compelling in its arguments, but the book formed the basis of his reputation in Latin America, and therefore merits attention. Since he did not develop any further ideas on the subject of Hispano­americanismo, choosing rather to elaborate or merely repeat passages from El Porvenir de la América Española up to the time of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a study of the book should produce an understanding of his basic concepts.

The work is divided into three parts, beginning with "La raza," a rapid and undocumented survey of Latin American history, "La integridad territorial y moral," which introduces the villainous Colossus of the North, and "La organización interior," which criticises the political and social defects of the conscious or unconscious defense raised by the Latin Americans against imperialism.

Part One, "La raza," began with a chapter entitled "El descubrimiento." In his first paragraph, Ugarte slashed at formal historians, denying that it is possible "to fractionate the past as we color countries
on a map of the world. In reality, there are no divisions, no epochs.\(^1\) Having thus disposed of scholars to his satisfaction, Ugarte described the Europe from which Columbus sailed, from a civilisation whose symbol was a sword and from a land whose atmosphere was sterile! The new rich world offered spiritual as well as material wealth, but the Europeans only sought the material benefits of the discovery. Even then, "The true richness of America was in the gradation of climate," offering boundless opportunity to the land-starved peasantry of Europe, and the conquistadores willfully overlooked this truth, exploiting the mines rather than the soil.\(^2\) In turn, this led to a harsh system of repression, which was designed to preserve Spain's monopoly.

Who lived in the New World? Chapter II took up the matter of "Los indios." Ugarte flatly declared "No usurpation marshalled more energetic characters than the conquest of America."\(^3\) Forgetting his previous remark that ages cannot be characterised by historians, he continued, "Sons of a country which dignified massacre, they arrived in the virgin territories guided by violence and extermination."\(^4\) Having


\(^3\) *Ibid.*, 37. He refers only to South America. With respect to North America, Turner and Webb would probably take exception to his statement, proposing names to take rank with Cortés and Pizarro for energetic characters. A Russian historian might object to this slight to the band of Yermak.

therewith absolved the Aztecs and Incas of following civilised practises, and predisposed the reader to have sympathy for the hounded members of a race whose religion included human sacrifice, Ugarte explained that today (1910) we recoil from such brutality, "But judged by the conscience of the bloody age in which the memories of the cruelties of Palestine still lingered, and in which was being prepared the dark St. Bartholomew nothing happened, in a manner of speaking, more logical." 5

Ugarte considered the Indians to be admirable: "...they had some idea of solidarity, and in a more sensitive heart, greater aptitude for altruism." 6 They intrepidly resisted their invaders, but in the end were subdued by the weapons of a superior material culture. They were then ruthlessly enslaved, and "the world saw the improbable spectacle of a tiny group disposing of immense multitudes for their

5 Ibid., 37. Ugarte favors the word "logical," but it is difficult to understand what system of logic he employs. If any bloody events were foremost in the Spanish mind, they should have been those of the reconquista. Spain had little enough to spare in men or money for the fighting in Palestine. And again, although he was writing in 1910, Ugarte must have been aware of the war which ended in 1905 with the loss of 500,000 lives, a war fought in the name of a new religion..."nationalism." One world war was near at hand, with its loss of 9,000,000 men, and the barbarity of the second world war was slumbering in the incipient Nazi state. Were these wars, "judged by the conscience of the bloody age" in which lingered the memories of the Russo-Japanese War, "logical?" If such conflicts can be reduced to a logical system, world peace is evidently near at hand.

6 Ibid., 38. A trace of Jean Jacques Rousseau.
caprices." This was not the worst. "Side by side with the invincible soldiers who spread terror, there advanced missionaries preaching a doctrine in singular consonance with the silliness of such men. In the flash of the arquebus was fructified the faith." The Indians thereby lost their last vestige of liberty. "Their christianity was an idolatry which gradually corrupted in the vicious atmosphere of slavery. To this was united, as causes of dissolution, immorality, which destroyed the tribal groups, alcohol, which stupified their brains, and ignorance, which ended by debilitating them." Ugarte loses logic in verbiage. Christianity cannot be an idolatry. Clearly, the man does not know how to express his ideas. Ugarte almost lyrically regretted the passing of their glories.

Tenochtitlán of the Aztecs with its gigantic monoliths, its Caoteocalli where seven thousand priests lived, its broad canals and its famous Code; the Mayas of Yucatán with their wise institutions, their agrarian communism and their European conception of the home and the family; the indomitable Arau-

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8 Ibid., 39. Quite apart from the vulnerable blanket condemnation of the missionaries, we have a more reasoned estimate: "In their work of civilising the Indians the missionaries performed a great service to the state, since they made useful, tax-paying citizens of destructive savages." J. Fred Rippy & Jean Thomas Nelson, Crusaders of the Jungle, Chapel Hill, 1936, 358. Also, Ugarte gave too much credit to the arquebus and not enough to the defensive armor and long blades of the conquistadores; in actual warfare, the arquebus was rarely used in the field, being by weight and clumsiness limited to the embrasures of fortified works.

9 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 40. Rippy & Nelson, 364-366, and numerous others thought these were the effects of civilisation which the missionaries tried to moderate.
canians of whom the Chilean writer don Tomás
Guevara told us in his History of civilisation;
the Incas, the Nahuals and the Toltecs, have been broken or strangled by a bloody hand.\textsuperscript{10}

The survivors were subdued, but subsequent generations found them mingling their sturdy blood with their conquerors, so that if "we wish to be fully Hispanic Americans, if we wish to be Argentines, Chileans, Mexicans of today, the logical result of the antecedents and historical phenomena which will determine our access to life," Ugarte urged his readers to welcome their native strain.

Passing to "Los españoles" in his fourth chapter, Ugarte was paradoxically lenient with the brutal monsters who had massacred the Indians he had just lauded. Considered by the light of his century, "The Spaniard was no more egotistical or cruel than the English, Portuguese, or the Dutch."\textsuperscript{12} All the arrivals in the New World were more or less adventurers, unwanted in Europe, and addicted to lawlessness. Masters of the land, the "demanded from all a respect which degenerated into a cult."\textsuperscript{13} They dreamed of returning to Spain staggering under the

\textsuperscript{10} Ugarte, El Porvenir, 41. Contrast the glamorization of the Indian with Rippy & Nelson (5): "The conquest of the Americas became for the Catholic Kings more than the acquisition of lands and wealth. It assumed the form of a crusade against the ignorance, the idolatry, and the peculiar superstitions of the savages of the western hemisphere."

\textsuperscript{11} Ugarte, El Porvenir, 41-42.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 43.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 44.
weight of their loot. They had come not to live, but to exploit—perhaps a subtle attack on the imperialists of the twentieth century who had a similar dream! They were obliged, however, to remain in order to organize the looting. Thus a new social order was created. "Base and origin of the new variety which began to develop, the Spaniard in short became used to the great qualities of firmness and resolution, without precedent in history, which gave him predominance." They bravely persevered in reducing the continent to their will. Two things alone were to be regretted in this period of conquest: Spain did not check these unruly men, and her intended absolutism provoked revolutions in regions which should not have become nations. "We do not date from 1810; we are sons of a large and difficult elaboration," Ugarte said, cursing an artificial nationalism which broke up the old vice-royalties. He was indeed inordinately proud of being Spanish: "As Hispanic Americans, our major pride consists in descending from Spain." 

With this hint as to the tenor of his propaganda, Ugarte turned sympathetic attention to "Los mestizos" in his fourth chapter. He was sorry for them. "Condemned to live between two contradictions, with the indolent atavisms of their origin and many of the prides of the European, regarded in certain republics as inferior to the white,

14 Ibid., 45. Were such qualities "unprecedented in history?"
15 Ibid., 48.
16 Ibid., 50.
considered in others as corrupt by the Indian, the mestizo vegetated and multiplied in vague zones where their same lack of explanation was perhaps fatal."17 A social ladder was established which discriminated against them. In the days of independence, they finally achieved recognition as members of the state, being allowed to vote if they could read and write. They supplied the bulk of the liberating armies, and then the bulk of the rebels against the new national governments which failed to fulfill the tenuous ideals of the revolution. "If they were stirred by puerile hatreds, if they fought without a program, if they let themselves be fascinated by the kepis sic of the ambitious, it was because they felt confused desire to better their estate."18 For this, they could not be blamed. If only because of their heroic past, it was absolutely necessary and just to take them into account in shaping the future.

Then there were "Los negros." Exploitation of the new lands required beings who were more flexible and submissive than the native Indians. Starting in 1516, Negroes were imported from Africa. The importation, in Ugarte's opinion, was unfortunate. "Those who in the order of ideas reproach us today, in the tropics, for our governmental instability, forget in their turn that the emotions are perhaps the work of naturalism, which in the engendering is twisted, remembering the struggles of antagonistic elements in the hell of the world in

17 Ibid., 51. "Same lack of explanation" is not clear.

18 Ibid., 55.
The Negro lived in squalor at the base of the social pyramid, less fortunate than the Indian who was at least theoretically the ward of the Crown, until in the revolution of 1810, the Negro found opportunity "to become celebrated for acts of nobility or heroism." Even so, he had a hard fight to reach equality. In freedom, he developed into a valuable member of national economics, with his docility and strong muscles. "His character led him to prefer rough labor. The atavisms of the Indians did not rustle about in him." As of 1910, a century after independence, aside from the little countries of the Antilllas, they still had to attain their share of responsibility in the governments of South America.

Chapter VI dealt with "Los mulatos," who were perhaps the saddest of all groups. "Prouder and more arrogant than the Negroes, less prepared for struggle than the Spaniards, with contradictory tendencies and tastes, the mulattoes were an irresolute force...wounded by the same humiliations as the slave and separated from him by a puerile

19 Ibid., 59. This is Chapter V.

20 Ibid., 60.

21 Ibid., 61. Perhaps the Negro was led to "prefer rough labor" because he had been deprived of the education or training to fit him for other occupations. Inasmuch as Ugarte later, in El Destino de un Continente, took the North Americans to task for discriminating against the Negro, his statement here is worth remembering because of its patronising connotation. As for the atavism statement, literature abounds in tales of voodoo.
and culpable vanity." They were neither fish nor fowl, and the con-
quistor refused to take responsibility for their existence. Forced
thereby into a class of their own, spurned by everyone, the mulattoes
limited their pride to petty things, such as setting themselves above
the negroes, but feeling obliged to accept the social superiority of the
mestizos. Then came the Revolution. The mulatto did not immediately
benefit; the criollo retained his colonial prejudices. In the days of
national consolidation, however, a new spirit swept into the hearts of
the patriot fathers. "Spanish America thus marched to the vanguard of
the emancipating breeze which tended to cut inequalities and to bestow
upon all men their dignity within the State." The mulatto had found
his place.

The reason for substituting "Española" for the original title
of El Porvenir de la América Latina, is given in Chapter VII, "La
variante portuguesa." Despite their identical origin in the Iberian
peninsula, the Brazilians and Spanish Americans were separated by
two factors. First, Portugal had known almost four centuries of
independence, while Spain was slowly driving out the Moors. Second,

22 Ibid., 63.

23 Of this, Ugarte says, "South America imitated France for the first
part of the movement until 1791." Ibid., 66. Neither here nor later
does he pay his respects to influences from North America.

24 Ibid., 67. The above are a series of apodictic statements, generaliza-
tions which no one can prove or disprove entirely.
the Portuguese monarchy had established itself in Brazil in 1808, and thus tended to keep Brazil out of the current of revolt that freed her neighbors from Spain and introduced republicanism. The Brazilians, Ugarte said briskly, did not share the common traditions of South America.25

Ugarte then turned to the backbone of South American society—"Los criollos." By 1810, they controlled the property of the colonies, and this wealth formed the basis of their predominance. "Hence the incongruity that the revolution launched against the Royal tyranny conserved the form and most flagrant manifestation of that tyranny."26 In Europe, the nobility of wealth wanted the royal form of government but a monarch fettered by an aristocratic and/or middle class parliament which held the real power. In America, the wealthy men desired the same. The spirit of the French Revolution upset these expectations, after the people had driven out the Spaniards. The name "criollo" was taken away from those of pure white blood, and appropriated by all who had been born in South America. The whites remained at the top of the social scale, and many persisted in using the name "criollo" as their exclusive privilege, to the confusion of the foreigners. Actually, according to Ugarte, the name should be reserved for the race of the future which will blend all of the diverse ethnic groups of Latin America.

25 During the World War I, he changed his mind, and admitted Brazil. Thus, strictly speaking, he can be styled a Lationamericanismozante.

26 Ibid., 74-75. This Chapter VIII was based upon his lecture to el ayuntamiento de Barcelona, May, 1910, entitled, "Causas y consecuencias de la Revolución americana."
In the chapter entitled "Los extranjeros inmigrados," Ugarte acknowledged the fact that the white blood of the continent was not wholly Iberian. The Italians brought "the muscles necessary to open the roads, build the railways, raise the cities and give material form to the civilisation and wealth." 27 The French contributed few people, but a strong current of thought. The English and Germans contributed to South America with their capital and not their bodies; they did not become acclimated to the continent in great numbers. "The other immigrations did not bring a special current. Notwithstanding, all together, they have contributed to the creation of the character which makes Latin America a synthesis of all peoples." 28

Chapter X dealt with "La raza del porvenir," wherein Ugarte hopefully outlined what the future could bring, citing the basic unities which underlaid the dream of Bolívar. "From the viewpoint of race, as from the others, the republics of Hispanic origin could not be more similar. In each we encounter the same Indic base, the same peninsular irruption, the same thin African contribution, and the same Creole resultant, with identical qualities and social defects." 29 With variations, this was to be repeated by Ugarte again and again in his other writings as perhaps the fundamental argument of his Hispano-

27 Ibid., 89. Chapter IX.

28 Ibid., 90.

29 Ibid., 94.
americanismo. The diverse elements had become harmonious and were not, he complacently observed, antagonistic like the blacks and whites of the United States, with their Ku Klux Klan, lynching and race riots. 30 He did not call for hostility towards Spain, but neither did he favor her endeavours to exploit her motherhood of her former colonies. As for the United States, he shouted for a defense against infiltration, "Because it is an error to admit that political independence implies an absolute independence." 31 What did he propose should be done to check the infiltration? He assumed that a realisation of their essential unity would suffice to defend the Hispanic republics. This was what La Vanguardia was later to call a negative solidarity. 32

So much for Part One. Part Two, entitled "La integridad territorial y moral," took up the burden of "Las dos Américas." 33 Proceeding through a superficial statistical survey, Ugarte told his readers:

30 "A work like The leopard's spots [sic] by Mr. Thomas Dixon could not appear in Latin America... Neither have we segregated races in definite territories, nor have we had carpet-baggers [sic] who organized feed-

men's offices [sic] and excited societies of Ku-klux-klan [sic].

Ibid., 99-100.

31 Ibid., 104.

32 See supra, Chapter III, 96.

33 The two Americas according to Ugarte were Anglo-Saxon and Latin. This Chapter and the one following appeared as "Les États-Unis et l'Amérique du Sud" in La Revue, 15 Juillet 1909.
... it is evident that nothing unites us to our Northern neighbors. In origin, education and genius, South America is essentially European. We feel ourselves close to Spain, to whom we owe civilisation and whose fire is present in our blood; to France, the current force in the thought which animates us; to England, who liberally lends us her gold; to Germany, who nurtures us with her manufactures, and to Italy, who cheerfully offers us the arms of her sons to dig the riches from the soil which ought to be poured upon the world. But in reality, no other ties bind us to the United States than timidity and fear.34

He definitely did not preach hatred of the United States at that time; if anything, he thought the Yankees were an admirable example to be followed. "He who writes these lines is far from being an adversary of Anglo-Saxon America. But for the same one who admires their fantastic progress, for the same one who has lived in New York, for the same one who recognizes the grandeur and drive of the race, it is for the same one to return to his people and tell them what it is necessary to examine."35 He recognized as a "scientific axiom" the fact that nations of "more intense civilisation" were always secure; he urged his readers to intensify their realisation of unity.36

34 Note that Ugarte is willing to accept gold from Great Britain, but not dollars from the United States, not to mention manufactures from Germany. Ibid., 117. Note also his repetition made by these remarks which are similar to those indicated on page 194. Such tiresome repetition is due, as we have indicated, to his custom of amalgamating articles to make books, which necessarily repeat his basic arguments.

35 Ibid., 119.

36 This phrase "more intense civilisation" is vague and typical of the pseudo-learned jargon indulged in by Ugarte.
The Chapter "La América española" is a more thorough-going exposition of the racial unity he had previously discussed. Reviewing the elements that comprised the social groups of South America, he said:

If the relations between these groups... are not tightened and perfected... it is the fault of poor communications and the selfishness of the inhabitants. But the analogies which unite them are indestructible. The major proof of that is the easy smile with which South Americans emigrating from one republic become acclimated in another. Between them exists that which constitutes the primary bond of all collectivity: similarity. With light shades, the social medium, customs, inclinations, feelings and tastes are identical. In Argentina, which is beginning to be a focus of attraction for neighboring countries, there are more than fifty thousand South Americans of other regions who are journalists, in the government, the police, and who adapt themselves to the national life in such a manner that neither public opinion nor they themselves are able to perceive a difference between them and native sons. Sometimes they happen to acquire high positions and there are no objectives because at bottom, no one can consider them to be foreigners. Some South American wars have been born of that very flexible interchangeability. Revolutions to pull down a government may have been at least prepared in a neighboring republic, thus provoking susceptibilities and shocks which, in conclusion, have not been between two peoples, but between a menaced president and one who protects his enemies. A proof of this is the interlacing of alliances between adjoining territories, which extend a hand across the border, internationalising, in a manner of speaking, internal politics and creating in Spanish speaking territories a moral nationality above tangible nationality and much broader.37

The bland statement of solidarity cannot over-ride the fact that Latin American nations fought wars with each other and built up rancours.

37 Ibid., 123-124.
which were still current at the time Ugarte was writing. He learned about them first-hand a few years later during his tour, but probably in 1910 they did not seem real to his idealistic eyes. Thus he said nothing of the hatred of Bolivia and Peru for Chile, or of the rivalry between Chile and Argentina; he made no effort to explain these circumstances, other than to say, without naming any nations, that such wars existed, and then he attributed them to the leaders of the nations involved and not to the people. Ugarte in several passages held the leaders of each territory guilty of creating an artificial structure of nations, where only one or two should exist. The big crime of these leaders was their doctrine of "everyone for himself."

The fractionation of South America was due to their ambition, and could, in his opinion, prove fatal:

Let us look at the map of America. The first thing that strikes the eyes is the contrast between the unity of the Anglo-Saxons, united with all the autonomy which is implicit in a rule emanently federal, under one flag, in a united nation, and the fragmentation of the Spaniards, crumbled into twenty nations, sometimes indifferent towards one another and sometimes hostile. Looking at the mottled cloth which represents the New World, it is impossible to avoid comparison. If North America, after the eruption of 1775, had sanctioned the dispersion of its fragments into independent republics; if Georgia, Maryland, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, North Carolina, South Carolina and Pennsylvania had erected themselves into autonomous nations—would we be able to compare the amazing progress which is the distinctive feature of the Yankees? It was facilitated by the union of thirteen
It was facilitated by the union of thirteen colonial jurisdictions which separated themselves from England, jurisdictions which presented far from the homogeneity which we see among those which separated themselves from Spain. That is the foundation of Anglo-Saxon superiority in the New World. In weighing the issues of the war of succession, in the North the supreme interest overcame local conventions and a whole people flung themselves at the assault of the enemy, while in the South, we subdivided the effort, our sight dazzled by ambitions and theoretical liberties which only held us benumbed.39

This passage indicates the usual extent of Ugarte's historical accuracy, especially in conjunction with United States affairs. He makes Maine one of the original thirteen colonies, and omits Virginia, Massachusetts, and Delaware. These omissions are no more surprising than his apparent conviction that our War of Independence was characterised by a concerted effort of the people; what as numerous encyclopedias contain a list of the colonies, we cannot excuse his carelessness in that matter, although we may in the other since it would have required a consultation of a Yankee history to learn about the Tories. Still, it may have weakened his rhetoric to have to point out that Washington rarely had more than 20,000 troops under his command.

Chapter III introduced the villain, "La América anglosajona,"

39 Ibid., 129-130.
the second of the "two" Americas, omitting, of course, Canada. Without
noting the source for his information, Ugarte began by ascribing to
Andrew Carnegie the sanguine prediction that by the year 2000 the
United States would have more than 1,000,000,000 inhabitants. The
figure made Ugarte shudder, particularly when taken in conjunction
with the undocumented observation by Charles Schwab, "If customs
tariffs did not exist we would inundate Europe with our products and
oblige them to renounce the struggle."40

These two statements by prominent Yankee businessmen helped to
goad Ugarte into launching his crusade. He saw expanding population
and mass production as the giant twins of the Yankee menace. "The
force of the United States resides, more than in acquired prosperity,
in the qualities of audacity, enthusiasm and serenity which have given
it greatness and preponderance."41

Ugarte had thus set the stage for Chapter IV, "El peligro."
He pictured the United States as poised for Conquest, even if he was the
sole Latin American aware of the plot:

40 Ibid., 131-132. Ugarte frequently referred, without issue or page,
to articles in the North American Review. Although Carnegie fre-
quently appeared there fifteen years prior to 1910, this prediction
was not there.

41 Ibid., 133.
The optimists who do not permit themselves to admit the incompatibility of interests between the two Americas and persist in affirming that the United States are faithful guardians of our liberty, emphasize the defects of the Latin soul, which, in order to be completely enthusiastic, frequently perceives only the most evident and is disinterested in that which is relatively remote, forgetting that in the actual state of nations, there are obligations to watch without repose, because destiny prepares all things far away. Whoever has travelled a little, knows that in New York people speak openly of unifying America under the banner of Washington. And it is not rancour or something the ruling party has substituted for the desires of the nation. Mr. Bryan and the Democrats could not put another policy into practise.42

Aside from his curious impression about the unanimity of purpose of the Yankees, so that even Bryan who had been defeated in the election of 1908 would have been obliged to continue the sinister plans to subjugate South America if he won in 1912, it must be remembered that Ugarte's impressions of New York had been formed in 1900. At the turn of the century, with jingoism seemingly vindicated by our sudden acquisition of an empire, the people to whom Ugarte spoke may well have anticipated the sardonic two-volume work by Crichfield which flatly advocated in 1908 the measures Ugarte dreaded.

Ugarte put on the robes of Cassandra. Without stating his sources, and apparently as a result of his brief visits to the cities of sprawling Yankeeland and his subsequent uncatalogued "research", Ugarte used his intuition to explain to his fellow South Americans exactly what Washington had in store for them:

42 Ibid., 135.
Yankee policy, in that which touches South America, was recently defined: "A nation of a hundred million souls cannot admit that her supremacy may with immunity be compromised. Her economic and political interests must be defended. The United States can undertake the work of pacification (we are speaking of a revolt in a little State of Spanish origin) with the absolute confidence that it is the innate right of the Anglo-Saxon race, and they must impose peace upon the territory over which they have the moral authority to protect their rights, successively against internal anarchy and all European intrigue."

Thus approving the most improbable pretexts by having expressed their paternal vigilance in a form applicable to any region, the United States, whose commercial relations with South America are definitely inferior to those of European nations, have to justify themselves concocted a kind of confused authority over the rest of the Continent. The most elemental common sense tells us that if commercial interests give the right to intervene in the internal and external policy of a people—a matter which, incidentally, we permit ourselves to place in doubt—nations can with more reason than the United States interfere in our discords which...like England, France or Germany, monopolize the intercourse with Spanish America. The simple disproportion between the secondary role which would actually justify the North Americans from the commercial point of view, and the pre-eminence which they exercise in public affairs, ought to make us understand the movements which are trying to create in the South a kind of dependency, scaling in graduated zones the predominant protector, economic influence, indirect domination, and—when circumstances permit it—as in Santo Domingo and Nicaragua, military occupation. The morsels wrested from Mexico in 1845 and 1848 alone are but a prelude interrupted by the necessity of quieting the suspicions of the race. But was it not the North American senator Mr. Preston who said in 1838 that "the Star-Spangled Banner ought to wave in Vera Cruz and follow from there to Cape Horn?" the only limit which determines the ambition of the Yankees? Did not Mr. Taft declare, while a minister of Mr. Roosevelt, in his discourse of February 22nd, 1906, that "the frontiers of the United States virtually extend themselves to Tierra del Fuego?"
Without indulging in alarmism, we can analyze a situation which presents undeniable dangers.\textsuperscript{43} Ugarte did not cite his source for the definition of Yankee policy, nor for the statements of Preston and Taft,\textsuperscript{44} but by implication he denied the validity of the Roosevelt Corollary. To justify his disclaimer of alarmism, he should have discussed the reasons which led to the Big Stick; this, however, would have involved European nations with whom he felt Latin Americans had to be on good terms, and for that reason alone we may suspect he steered clear of the Venezuelan tangle. If this suspicion is ill founded, it is nonetheless significant that he nowhere in \textit{El Porvenir} takes up the Castro matter, either in attack or defense. However, Ugarte did not feel any scholarly compulsion to state a whole case fairly; he was frankly a propagandist. Some two decades later, as a matter of fact, he did get around to the Venezuelan affair, but in 1910, it would have been awkward to accuse other countries of imperialistic designs, particularly when he had specifically exonerated them of such intentions. In 1910, Ugarte saw only the United States as an enemy.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 136-138.

\textsuperscript{44} This casual introduction of quotations is probably his most irritating habit. The definition of Yankee policy is in the spirit of Stead, but not in Stead's book, and also in the spirit of Crichfield, but depending upon Ugarte's accuracy of quotation, not in Crichfield either. Nor is it to be found in the \textit{North American Review}, 1900-1910.
Having drawn the outlines of a deliberate design on the part of the aggressive Yankees, Ugarte tactfully forgave his comrades for their blindness. "Up to now, our republics have attributed their own ingenuousness to others," he explained, and this generosity led to some strange things:

...they themselves excuse the Pan-American Congresses which are converting them into a succession of zeros destined to multiply the value and amplify the worldly diplomacy of the United States, thus they themselves justify the existence of the Monroe Doctrine, which can be compared to the blunderbuss with which Fra Diavolo held the curious in check while despoiling his victims, thus is admitted the trip of Mr. Root about Spanish America, and thus is understood how, like the Minotaur of mythology, the great Republic settles itself down to continue exacting from the rest of the Continent the tributes of inhabitants and territories which its vigorous and insatiable organism has gone on assimilating without obstacle until today.45

Ugarte considered Pan-Americanism to be quite sinister and did not care for the organization which had developed. He asked his readers, "...what is the Office of the American Republics [sic] if not the rough draft and germ of a future ministry of Colonies? Neither France nor any other country has an Office of European Nations [sic]. Neither does a similar organization exist in South America. What can be the utility of this resort of the Administration?"46 His argument

45 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 147. How do zeros multiply?
46 Ibid., 148.
was more or less reasonable. "How would Germany—or any other power of the old Continent—receive the notification that there had just been established in London and official bureau presided over by an ex-minister-plenipotentiary with the unique purpose of 'studying their situation and cultivating relations with it'? Why don't we submit ourselves like other countries to the simple jurisdiction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs?"46

He exhibited traces of familiarity with Stead's Americanization of the World, in his analysis of the manner in which the Yankees managed to infiltrate.47 Their methods resulted in virtual though not actual political control:

Even the internal policy of some Central American states is today directed in an oblique manner by the North American government. The lack of capital and—it is just to confess it—of business audacity, have delivered at one time or another the mines, railroads and great exploitations to determined Yankee interests, thus giving birth to a kind of mysterious protectorate. When a governor wishes to shake off the yoke, like that of Castro in Venezuela, a revolution is not lacking to put his control in peril. Alone, the extreme South of the Continent is relatively isolated. And yet, into this zone where the development of the general prosperity and the importance of European interests make all open intervention possible, the invader has attempted to weaken us. How? By making use of vivacity of character and native susceptibilities to create and foment the atmosphere of suspicion which paralyzes our energy. The antagonism between Chile and Argentina and the attitude of that last nation towards Brazil were probably in part produced by the expert diplomacy that has gone on trifling with suspicion and rancour with the pur-

47 See, for example, such sections as 381-395 & 342-359.
pose of avoiding a happy coordination among the stronger and more prosperous nations.

But there are regions—and this is the fruit of disunion and proper disorientation—in which something still more grave is occurring.

In certain Republics that, because of small territorial extent or lack of inhabitants, have developed slowly, South Americans exist who, tired of quarrels and internal fights are not far from thinking that to normalize life necessitates the realization of a protectorate. Nothing could be more criminal and more deluded. To dissipate such dreams, it is sufficient to record the phrase of the Cuban who wrote in 1898, "We have passed from one prison to another."48

The words of the Cuban patriot are not footnoted. Note the ambiguity of the reference to Castro; is the reader to judge that the Yankees supported revolutions against Castro, or is Castro the governor who wishes to shake off the Yankee yoke? In either case, Ugarte doesn't express any opinion of Castro himself, merely using him as an example, but there is an implication of sympathy for that ruler. Also, Ugarte here admits that there is antagonism between some of the Latin American republics, but he leaves the reader to guess that the Yankees, once again, are really responsible for that, too. In his allusion to the economic strength of the United States, Ugarte ignored the actual preponderance of British investments in Central America, and her physical possession of the Mosquito Coast, to say nothing of her investments throughout the continent which were almost double those of the United States. In 1910, Ugarte was only concerned with Yankee

48 Ibid., 150-151.
imperialism, and British dealings with Guatemala had to wait until 1940 for his attention. In connection with this "mysterious protectorate," it is interesting to recall the earlier expressions of gratitude to the English and Germans for the capital those nations had invested in South America. Apparently, he did not feel that Yankee gold was welcome. His accusation of Yankee meddling in continental relations was fairly absurd. Investors are not normally tempted to endanger their money by formenting revolutions and wars. Indeed, it might well be said that many interventions were undertaken merely to stabilize political conditions so that business might go on as usual. As for the sad condition of some Central American Republics which were ready to fall into a protectorate, Ugarte did not propose that a relatively strong country like Mexico, Colombia or Argentina should have undertaken the responsibility. Why didn't he? No doubt because such offers would have been rejected; the Central American Republics may have seen small, but they had tasted independence, and one proposed protectorate must have appeared about as undesirable as another. This, however, is the stamp of Ugarte's work; he states a problem but doesn't propose a solution. In this sense, his criticism is generally destructive rather than constructive.

49 Ibid., 89-90.
Ugarte summarized his views upon "The two Americas" in the following words:

Let us, then, consider the situation without allowing ourselves to be intimidated by the danger. From Europe we have little to fear, because, as we will see in the following chapter, the influences of the different countries which have lent men and capital balance each other and form a cosmopolitanism that will end in forming the soul of the region. But from the United States—whose motto was contested in a Pan-American Congress by the President of the Argentine himself, Doctor Sáenz Peña, who opposed to the cry of "America for the Americans" the slogan of "America for Humanity"—we cannot say the same thing. In spite of all craft, the Continent is divided into two distinct portions, whose interests are irreconcilable. In the North, there are those who will hold fast to raising their material and moral autonomy above all decadence and dissension. They are two rival worlds, and we cannot decline the responsibility of defending ours.50

It is difficult to see how the desires of Berlin and London and Rome could have set themselves in balance, especially when we consider that Ugarte did not have any use for the Monroe Doctrine. As for cosmopolitanism, the Englishman Stead thought that immigration had given the United States that particular quality, thanks to the 19,000,000 immigrants up to 1900.51 Ten years later, Ugarte was expecting the same results in South America. In this light, the particular merits of Sáenz Peña's grito were wrongly applied by Ugarte, if the inference

50 Ibid., 153-154.

51 Stead, Americanization, 145-160.
intended was that the future President of Argentina was offering South America as a home for the surplus population of Europe. When Sáenz Peña said those words at the First Pan-American Congress in Washington, he was making a minority plea for free trade as opposed to the majority program for a continental tariff system. He was not speaking about immigration restrictions. This dubious use of a quotation does not reflect credit upon Ugarte, and is a further instance of his lack of a scholar's attitude.

Chapter V was entitled "La amenaza europea," and opened with a curious statement: "As the pen is not an expedient to satisfy vanities, but an instrument to evaluate life, in these pages, which have a merit of absolute sincerity, we are going to write without attenuations and clever simplifications." He promptly expressed skepticism. "We do not wish to say that all the advice may be completely disinterested and that the suave hostility shown by the nations of the old Continent towards the Yankees derives from an immaculate love of justice." Indeed, not. Those old countries had ambitions, all right, but they checkmated each other, as Ugarte intended to demonstrate.

52 García Mérou, Diplomacia, II, 184-185. Sáenz Peña had about twenty years ahead of him before he was elected President. Also, his words were "Let America be for mankind!"

53 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 155. I translate "equilibrios hábiles" as "clever simplifications" because I think it is closer to the English idiom than the literal "clever equilibriums."
First of all, he wanted to point out that the insurrections in Latin American countries were exaggerated by distance and the sciolistic comments of newspapermen. However, European statesmen understood the real state of affairs and properly evaluated these disturbances. Such affairs, they clearly recognized, could not constitute cause for intervention.

Ugarte then took up the Monroe Doctrine, a favorite subject of all Hispanoamericanismozantes:

...No country of Europe has clashed with that rigorous affirmation that by dint of being formulated without interference has achieved conversion into an axiom, and appears today to be more than the base of United States policy, a fundamental and unchangeable law, adherant to the land, like certain feudal rights that existed even in the XVIII century. Even admitting that the doctrine in question favored our interests in the past, indirectly freeing us by some occasional strategms, we South Americans cannot tolerate it, because it involves a protection which prepares other aggressions.

It seems useless to repeat that the United States has never sheltered the dream of securing our independence in that which is understood by the definition, but the intention of constraining another who might install himself in that which they consider, in a more or less remote future, as a thing peculiar to themselves. Carrying the spirit of conciliation to the limit, the most that it is possible to admit is that the North Americans have without wishing it developed an action beneficial to us, as the Europeans, also without desiring it, are rendering us a service in making us see the danger which is growing in the North. In this balance of interests which nullify each other the secret of salvation is concealed by chance. Although the United States bind themselves to preserving us from Europe, we may allow them to have the task, on condition, naturally, that Europe defends us from the United States. It was said to
me that if the old Continent could not intervene yesterday to wrest concessions of commercial interests, neither could it be able to protect us efficaciously tomorrow, and that in this order of ideas we have given away the future in bartering for the security of the moment and have adopted for our generation the role of Louis XV for his monarchy. 54

Ugarte's appraisal of the Monroe Doctrine exhibits a not too surprising unfamiliarity with its history. In saying that no European country clashed with that "rigorous affirmation," Ugarte overlooked our forced indifference in 1825 when we did not have a fleet and the French ships-of-the-line were operating off Haiti, again in 1833 when Great Britain, the foremost naval power in the world, swooped down upon the Falklands or Malvinas, and again in 1830 to 1841 when that same naval power was violating Central American territory. Perhaps Ugarte thought that Polk's message of 1845 put a stop to the Anglo-French blockade of La Plata. 55 Perhaps he thought we had the naval force prior to 1900 to make our diplomatic wishes respected; if so, he was unaware of the lamentable difference between the belligerency of some Yankees and the fighting power of our insignificant Navy. (As a matter of fact, it was not until 1919 that England had cause to deem us a potential equal or superior).

54 Ibid., 157-158.

55 If so, Professor Perkins disagrees with him. Hands Off, 67-87. It is pointless to cite other violations of the Doctrine, such as the Maximilian episode. Perkins places our interest in the Doctrine in the naval appropriations of 1895-1896, Ibid., 185-186. The Doctrine came of age when the British recognized it in 1902, Ibid., 224-225.
In saying that "It seems useless to repeat that the United States has never sheltered the dream of securing our independence in that which is understood by the definition," Ugarte was not on solid ground. Far from desiring to fence off a private preserve in South America for our future use, our statesmen of 1823 formulated a statement of our foreign policy as enunciated by "our enlightened citizens" over a period of fifty years, which came to be known much later as the Monroe Doctrine. The preservation of the Latin American status quo was Canning's idea.56 Ugarte broke his promise of the chapter's opening sentence by balancing off the unintended favorable results of the Doctrine with the unintended service rendered by the European warning of Yankee intentions. At least he spared his readers the quotation of Louis XV, "Après moi le déluge."

There is no evidence that he read or did not read the actual Seventh Annual message of 1823. At any rate, he did not quote from it nor did he see the difference between the Doctrine and the new, or imperialist policy, which we discussed in our first chapter as stemming from the War with Spain. He went on to ridicule the notion that the Doctrine was still justified on the grounds that European nations had designs upon the former Spanish colonies. Only Yankee greed kept the Doctrine (now Imperialism) alive. He repeated his undeveloped statement that the diversity of nations and interests made the European menace harmless. He did not think that Europe would waste her blood and

56 Ibid., 28-54.
treasure like a Louis Napoleon on far flung conquest when the European situation demanded continual vigilance and strength at home. Besides, actual conquest could not give these countries more than they actually possessed through pacific means. "All South American commerce is in their power," he said, forgetting momentarily that he had a few pages previously railed against the advance of the Yankee dollar. "The Spanish Republics are their best clients. And their interest resides, on the contrary, in maintaining that which already exists." 57 He rejected the notion that the same was true of the United States and scornfully pointed out that this nation which held only one eighth of all South American trade greedily aspired to control all. Economically, then, Yankee influence was only important in the Caribbean area, but the Americans' appetite for a monopoly of commerce was the overwhelming danger confronting the Latin Republics: the United States extended the "tenacles of its industry and has a stomach which can digest anything. How petty seem the Hispanic-American civil wars that we can cite, against the great conflicts that we can see ready to erupt very soon." 58

Ugarte warned that these great conflicts would not come in the old way with fire and sword. Modern conquests could be realised politically without recourse to arms. 59 He thought material usurpation

57 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 159.
58 Ibid., 165-166.
59 Ibid., 167.
was the consequence of a long period of infiltration which corroded a people's defensive armor. Thus, in Chapter VI, "La conquista comercial," he expressed his opinion of the strategy which would be used to obliterate South American independence:

...When an imperial neighbor decides to appropriate to itself in a tangible way a region which it possesses morally, it has only to evoke the pretext of its economic hopes, as in Texas, in order to consecrate the triumph in a country that is prepared to receive it. Hence, in thinking of the Yankee peril, we ought not to see a brutal aggression, but a gentle work of subterranean invasions that go on increasing themselves with gradual conquests, and which, as we have already seen them, irradiate each time with greater intensity from the frontier on the march to the Hispanic territories.

It is not a new thing to say that we have entered an epoch in which the relations between people depend more upon the purse than on the soul. The wars of yesterday had their origin in self-respect; those of today derive from more palpable reasons.50

His generalization of "The wars of yesterday had their origin in self-respect" as contrasted with the economic interpretation he placed upon modern wars, is a trifle naive. It is, once again, a fine phrase, but ignores the motives, for example, of an aggressive monarch like Louis XIV. Economics had not just become important in 1910.

He emphatically warned that mere material wealth would not be the solitary strength of the Yankees: "In the future conflicts, the United States will carry in addition to the weapon of gold that of

Ugarte, El Porvenir, 167-168.
audacity," he said. But why fear that? Did Ugarte forget that the Spanish conquistadores, who had left their strain of blood on the Continent, were the most daring men of all times? "A special education has prepared its inhabitants to confront life with fewer prejudices than other men. They are not slaves of precedents. They are not prisoners of the dead. Faced with necessity, they do not hold conferences to find out what has been done, but what ought to be done. Hence the originality of their inventions. And hence their triumph." 61 Ugarte did not adequately expand his notion of what constituted the "special education" of the Yankees. Instead, he referred to the ever-increasing numbers of Commercial Clubs who listened respectfully to speakers like Mr. Root. These Clubs, in conjunction with Chambers of Commerce, sent out young men to study business opportunities in South America. With the support of wealthy men and a sound organization, the young Yankees had an enormous advantage:

The new North American generations—inversely to ours—are admirably prepared for the fight. This youth, in which has been cultivated initiative, will and spiritual recklessness, and in whom is bred as many things as might be useful for great enterprises, will tomorrow be scattered in our territories carrying out fantastic projects, bringing into our confines the spirit of their nation and possessing themselves in all parts of the strategic points of our life...Hispanic-American youth modeled in old forms, are stupified in the atmosphere of little local universities, victims of the most painful prejudices; can they

61 Ibid., 170.
obstruct the advance of the triumphant phalanx? Will the Greek and Latin with which the Fathers instruct us result in a useful weapon in the struggle of practical skills which is going to be the life of tomorrow? When we picture the future and know positively the reality of what is coming, it is impossible to restrain a feeling of sorrow for the fate that is lying in ambush for a part of the South American nations. 62

With this weakness, in his opinion, inherent in classical instead of practical education, Ugarte did not feel that there was time to bring South Americans to the level of the Yankees before the invasion was complete. Still, it had to be undertaken. During the period of re-education, it was absolutely mandatory for Europe and particularly Spain to retain their relative positions—Spain because she had given her civilisation to the colonies, and Europe in general, because the balance of influences constituted the first principle of South American autonomy. Should that balance be upset, as the balance existed in Ugarte's mind, the feeble nations would be literally wiped off the map.

The critical movement to watch was that deadly Pan-Americanism.

Reiterating his warning that the conquest would not come through the slaughter of military operations, Ugarte crisply summed up his thinking in a sentence that made the chapter almost superfluous: "To govern a country by money and products is really to possess it." 63 He

62 Ibid., 173-174. This seems to be the most prophetic of Ugarte's passages—also one of the clearest.

63 Ibid., 175.
foresaw that this commercial conquest would in all probability be full
grown within a few years:

Within ten or fifteen years, when four or
five hordes of North American entrepreneurs
hurl themselves into action to diffuse their
nationality peacefully in our America, with a
smile on their lips and a pencil in their pocket-
books, they will acquire mines and forests,
raise factories, construct canals, shape products,
multiply the metalled roads and extend their
feverish ardor as far as the frontierlands;
when the natives of each country feel them-
selves inferior in ingenuity, vigor, reasoning power, and after great struggles yield
authority to those who are transforming the
nation and making it prosperous; thus affirm-
ing a certain right to political domination,
then, only then, will we comprehend the init-
ial error of the Latin-American mind.

Trabajar es defenderse. 64

In such a description, it is interesting to ask why Ugarte, who was aware
of the general facts, did not see fit to aim a similar spear at the
British or Germans, who, in the time he was writing, had a foreign trade
respectively of $5,440,000,000 and $3,898,000,000 against our $3,124,000,
000, which indicated we still have much to do in our own back yard before
taking on foreign investments. Even his beloved France was not far
behind the United States, having a trade of 2,910,000,000 and about a
third of our population. Ugarte gave us more credit than foreign
bankers were willing to extend. 65 "To work is to defend ourselves," he

64 Ibid., 175-176.
65 Issac Lippincott, The Development of World Trade, New York, 1936, 156.
said, because by beating the Yankees to the exploitation of natural resources and the construction of industry, South Americans could both forestall any seizure of opportunities by the Yankees and arm themselves for economic warfare. He must have realised that such a program would involve further expenditures by the British and Germans, such as he had earlier expressed appreciation for, yet there is not a trace of worry in these pages that the British or Germans had imperialistic designs. Evidently the challenge flung down before England by the Kaiser's determination to compete with the Royal Navy made no impression whatever upon Ugarte. Still, Ugarte was all but ignorant of the facts of international politics which Mahan had so lucidly demonstrated in 1890, and if he perceived that ships involved colonies, he saw no further than those which were building in Cramp's yard in Philadelphia. It is little short of amazing that he saw nothing to fear in the operations off Venezuela except the reaction of Theodore Roosevelt.

In Chapter VII, Ugarte turned to "La defensa hispanoamericana." He refused to be downhearted. Latin America had the elements for successful resistance to the Yankee penetration. Geographically, there were several divisions due to natural barriers such as mountains and rivers, and this caused a situation which had to be remedied. "Marvelous ways of communications united us with the rest of the world, but among ourselves there are not any currents of intercourse." This was deplorable. "We know what is going on in China, but we are ignorant of what is
happening in our own Continent." He did not see, however, that such isolation had resulted in absolute or true nationalism:

No fundamental antagonism separates us one from the other. This fractionated territory is more harmonious than many European nations. Our grievances are purely conventional. Hatreds, if there are any, hardly date for many years and exist more between flags than between governments. In their limits is divined the caprices of little men who need miniscular countries so that they can be dominant. And looking above the pettinences, quieting rivalries, nothing in theory opposes itself to the likelihood of the United States of the South someday arising to counterbalance the weight of those in the North.67

The first requirement for the defense, then, was the creation of a good system of communications, but although the system was urgently needed, it should not be constructed by the Yankees for then the lines would lead to the North, and the South needed an interruption of traffic with the North, a breathing space, in which to gain strength for the struggle with the "invader-nation."68 To become acquainted with themselves through this network of communications would confirm the South Americans' sense of their moral unity, and "in the sympathy of

66 Ugarte, El Porvenir, 178.

67 Ibid., 179. As for "quieting rivalries," Ugarte had forgotten the vicious war involving Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil against Paraguay in the 1860s, and he had no way of predicting the devastating Chaco War of the 1930s.

68 Ibid., 181-183.
Spanish blood, our America could erect an invincible resistance."69

What would be the shape of this "invincible resistance?" What could the resurgent republics do to actualize the potentialities of their true strength? Ugarte had the answer, the answer of Bolívar and the others we met in our first chapter, although he ignored the fact that Elaine's Pan-American program was promoting some of the Liberator's ideals:

Action could be translated into congresses, special diplomatic missions, treaties of commerce, agreements to establish lines of communication, a numerous consular body selected from the people of word or pen, the creation of arbitration tribunals and a hundred similar initiatives which are in the conscience of all. From this first step it does not seem difficult to climb to another of a height where public spirit itself penetrates all angles of the need for strength. The special newspapers would be founded, the conferences would be multiplied, an interchange would be had of commissions charged with studying other viewpoints in State administration, the international mail service would be perfected, there would be collective trips to become acquainted with America organized by students delegated by each faculty, the regular exchange between the newspapers of the different capitals would be expanded, laws would be proclaimed to reduce the naturalization of Hispanic Americans from other republics to a simple written declaration, and with the lines of communications in every way more rapid and complete, with the efficacious propaganda of our writings, industrialists, consuls and public leaders, it does not seem impossible to predict a renaissance of idealism and fraternity at the end of a few years.70

69 Ibid., 185.

70 Ibid., 187.
Where was the money to come from for the financing of these congresses and missions, lines of communications, consular bodies, tribunals, and the "hundred similar initiatives?" Ugarte does not say. Who was to be sovereign within the organization, what state would exercise hegemony? Ugarte does not say. He offers only the goal, and in his negative way, fails to offer a chart of how to sail to port. This is Utopianism. "Good sense is enough to put things in their places." Ugarte felt that he had done his duty by pointing out what had to be done.

Chapter VIII dealt with "Un factor nuevo; El Japan." Referring to the famous around the world voyage of "Fighting Bob" Evans, Ugarte wrote: "The squadron of the United States circumnavigated Spanish America in 1907, as if it wished to trace a circle of protection, marking with the keels of their ships the limits of their ambitions." After its victories in the Far East, Japan was abruptly a danger to the power which had stolen the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands. While he did not wish the United States to run into catastrophes, Ugarte would not have been greatly saddened by a crash between the two naval powers, particularly if the United States were to be bested. He ridiculed the notion that Japan was a menace to South American security. However, "It is undeniable that Japan will always be a source of inquietude for North America. Let us employ this circumstance, and follow with

71 Ibid., 188.

72 Ibid., 191.
sympathy the growth of that people, once endangered, who by a prodigious effort on their part have liberated themselves from foreign influences, to affirm their autonomy by an indisputable manner and to undertake within their Continent the work of emancipation which is beginning to check the ambitions of Europe.\textsuperscript{73} This applause, of course, isn't quite in keeping with his previous gratitude towards Europe, and to some extent is inconsistent: if Europe had ambitions in Asia, why didn't their ambitions nullify each other as Ugarte calmly assumed they would in South America?

In Chapter IX, Ugarte broached the explosive subject of "Congresos panamericanos y congressos Hispanoamericanos." He set his lance in rest and cantered to the attack:

The Pan-American Congresses rest upon a fiction and a voluntary forgetfulness of realities. We know that there are two Americas and that between them there is no common bond. The origin, idiom and religion are different. How can the future of two countries, two races, two civilisations be discussed in common? To persist in saying that the United States and our republics have an identical destiny because they have developed within the same continent would be equivalent to thinking that France and Germany ought to follow a common policy because they are both European nations. Proximity, far from favoring peace, makes it difficult, and Pan-Americanism is the most dangerous hoax, the most sorrowful and capital error. In its title, we elaborate our ruin and favor the interests of the nation which endan-

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 196-197. This prediction of Japan's growing power is verified—cf. Clinard as in note on p. 28.
gers us. What have been the benefits up to now? The act of grouping ourselves from time to time under the tutelage of the Yankees has not contributed to the resolution of a single one of the problems that face us. Indeed, the regulated manifestations from Washington have only served to underscore our role of satellites. 74

He roundly criticised the manner in which diplomatic and government officials fawned on Root during that gentleman's visit to South America. Such obsequiousness merely stood as a signpost on the road leading to complete subjection. He spoke of his own visit and mentioned a few of the disturbing sights he had seen. "Our tactic ought to be inspired by that which France followed during a certain conflict: neither with those nor with these." 75

Feeble though the Hispanic-American Congresses have been, Ugarte felt that they deserved applause for at least having groped towards salvation:

If the Pan-American Congresses are sterile, the Hispano-American Congresses have that from which fecund germs may come. Instead of going to the back part of the carriage belonging to strangers in confused assemblies that only serve to maintain the prestige of a tutor and to give atmosphere to their ambitious movements, let us fortify our sympathy of race, multiplying international conferences within our overall nationality. No confounding interests with those of a neighbor, no discussing affairs under the unjustifiable


75 Ibid., 202. What was the "certain conflict?" The Russo-Japanese War?
presidency of a master. The Hispanic American republics ought not to let themselves be dazzled and silenced by the tumult of the North. The point of reunion and design is in the South, in the very center of our tradition and culture.

Taking the Hague Conference as an example, Ugarte was certain that nations could work together harmoniously, and hoped that South America would be made the home of peaceful arbitration. Just what did he mean by that? He thought that such an organization could unite the South Americans under the sanction of international law to oppose the Big Stick! It is difficult to see how much peaceful arbitration would emerge from the deliberations of a body in which the members representing one side are inflexibly opposed to the policies of the other.

Chapter X, "La patria unica," summarised the heterogeneous arguments of Part Two. In an oratorical passage, Ugarte declared fulsomely:

Hispanic-Americans cannot do less than say to themselves: "To the North, in immense territories, another race dominates in all the splendor of its genius. Its strength is growing every minute; its ambition has no limit. It is a sea which is going to cover the plains. Mexico has lost several provinces. Cuba groans sadly under a protectorate. The autonomy of Santo Domingo does not exist. The canal absorbs Central America. The dollar is strangling the lesser republics. And no one knows before what river or mountain will be stopped the advance of a country whose growing population demands an indefinite expansion. The Yankee has already permitted conjecture on what he can do. Nothing will impede his gobbling us up if his felicity demands it. Does he by any chance hide his hope of extending domination like an ocean? Do we believe that eyes cannot see the

Ibid., 202-203.
future? Whirled about by the wheel of puerile vanities—are we going to abandon ourselves to the melancholy of seeing the wave which will submerge us increase? Is the absorption of the Latins by the Anglo-Saxons inevitable? Are we humbling ourselves by fatalism? Are we passively going to accept the land grabbing sic and the big stick sic policy? Instead of uniting ourselves to avert the landslide, are we going to continue multiplying our discords? Are we only going to awake to danger when it has crushed us?

A short time ago, an Anglo-Saxon declared that "because of the Panama Canal, Central America will soon be with respect to the United States in the same condition in which Cuba has been for some time." For the advancing invasion, we can blame no one but ourselves.

That which has imperilled us up to now has been the concept we have of nationality. The frontiers are much farther off than is imagined by those who only want to maintain ephemeral dominations, without understanding that over the interests of the group stand those of the nation and over those of the nation stand those of the moral confederation comprised by the Spaniards within the Continent. 77

The last sentence demonstrates a particular weakness. Habitually, it seemed unnecessary to Ugarte to mention Brazil, which comprised half of the Continent of South America, possessed of a larger population than any of the Spanish-speaking republics. Also, by using the term "Spaniards," he undoubtedly offended patriots from Mexico to Chile who had been bitten by the bug of nationalism. He also lacked realism in thereby ignoring deeply ingrained tendencies towards separatism and localism. However, Ugarte probably used the term advisedly; he was seeking to save

77 Ibid., 206-207.
not only independence, but a civilisation itself. Ugarte was no love of a foolish nationalism: "That which has jeopardised us until now has been the notion we have of nationality." 78 Spanish Americans had no rational excuses for being clustered in a score of republics; Ugarte cited the unification of Italy and Germany as instances of proper nationalism. South America had the self-same ingredients for a single nationality. He proposed that Montevideo, because of its central location, be made the "Washington of the America of the South,"79 the capitol of the people who had the same glorious ancestry. This union of Hispanic America, he reiterated, had been desired by the men who had won independence, the great men like Bolívar and San Martín.80 The disruption came after them, with the outbreak of passions and factions within the ranks of the liberating armies. To Ugarte, this was shameful, but not even petty men could break up the historic unities he described:

From the moral point of view, we already form a definite block. What difference is there between Chilean and Uruguayan literature, between that of Venezuela and Peru? With light shades, a single spirit ranges from North to South. With regard to institutions—haven't we all adopted republicanism, and do we not all glory in the same qualities and the same defects? And with regard to idiom, which is the essential bond between

78 Ibid., 207.

79 Ibid., 209.

80 As we observed in Chapter I, none of the great men of independence had in mind the type of union Ugarte credited them with desiring. Both San Martín and Bolívar were more realistic than Ugarte, and aimed only at what they thought could be reasonably achieved.
groups—do we not all preserve the culture which was given us by the motherland? In many cases, are not our heroes common?

Let us take faith in the future. 81

He sounded a final warning. "The Panama Canal is modifying the perspectives of the world and our great cities of the South, partially oriented towards the practical idealism which predominates among the Anglo-Saxons, have the duty of leading the crusade, opposing the victorious civilisation which flourishes on the Atlantic coasts to the aggressive avidity of the new conquistadores." 82

81 We will recall that Ugarte elsewhere in his work excoriated his fellow Latin Americans for having an imitative art, leaning heavily upon Spain and France for inspiration. Be that as it may, without presuming to be an authority on Chilean and Uruguayan literature, it would seem that Ugarte in this passage is stretching a point to give all Hispanic-American literature a common denominator which makes one author's inspiration similar to another's except for "light shades." What country besides Chile glories in the Araucanian Indians who contributed so heavily to her blood and history? Can the relatively white population of Uruguay boast of a similar strain? Were Ugarte's own famous short stories—tales of the pampas—fully appreciated in mountainous Peru? Lists of best sellers indicate that literature draws heavily upon history for material; would Ugarte seriously maintain that South America had a common history? If so, then why his emphasis upon the primary need for better communications so that South Americans could get to know each other better? Omitting comment upon the other rhetorical questions, let us consider the vague "In many cases, are not our heroes common?" Aside from Bolívar and San Martín, and being generous as it is in exempting them, what other heroes could possibly be considered common in the tradition of Spanish America? Miranda? If so, his treatment by Bolívar makes it necessary to condemn Bolívar. O'Higgins? But he is a Chilean, and Ugarte learned in 1912-1913 that Peruvians and Bolivians did not like Chileans. Ugarte should have named his common heroes. Ibid., 211-212.

82 Ibid., 214.
Chapter I, "La democracia hispanoamericana," as might be expected, discussed the superiority of that variety to the democracy practised in the United States. Ugarte was not sorry that Spanish Americans lacked mechanical genius: "...our interior mechanism holds the clumsy simplicity of the classical clocks."83 Was this simplicity a drawback? Of course not!

After a few more bows to Spanish American democracy, Ugarte criticised it from his propaganda viewpoint. First, he attacked "the contradiction between the amplitude of the constitutions and the meanness of political life."84 The right to vote was often a phantasy, because governments or parties maintain themselves over the will of the people, through the medium of fraud or revolution."84 Did such a situation arise with the people's consent? Not at all. The cause was a lack of political education, and in another chapter Ugarte intended to suggest a remedy. He cited a "Yankee writer," unnamed, naturally, in the North American Review, article and issue not noted, who seemed to think that South America was a nest of dictators, whose followers overrode constitutions. "Discounting the inevitable pompous exaggeration," Ugarte said about the Yankee writer's accusation, there was nevertheless

83 Ibid., 220.

84 Ibid., 223. Amplitude is "amplitud" in the text.
a certain element of truth in that appraisal.\footnote{Ibid., 226. This writer has been unable to find a single instance in the history of Latin America during the nineteenth century of what we would call a free, democratic election.} Dictators may have been necessary in the formative years, but they had long since ceased to be desirable.

Chapter II undertook to explain "Costumbres politicas." Perhaps in answer to Crichfield's principal charge, Ugarte declared: "Persistent revolutions have diffused the conviction that the South American republics are entities subject to the caprice of absurd little tyrants."\footnote{Ibid., 230.} Ugarte felt obliged by candor to admit that there was too much truth in that conviction.

It is clear that the riots without plan and doctrine, which are multiplying in some States do not contribute to the betterment of anything. But that which raises the hopes of the adventurers below is the success of the usurpers above, and to destroy revolting caudillos, the most efficacious method will be to finish with the tyrannical governments which assert the criminal idea that the direction of collective affairs belong to the bold and those who know how to substitute themselves for the will of the group.\footnote{Ibid., 232.}

Ugarte did not tell his readers how they were to do away with these tyrannical governments, but pointed out that some countries which were habitually in revolution simply could not last much longer, when the United States was standing by to intervene during extensive disorders.
He said that personalism is "the base of our policy." Unfortunately, "we have a particular predilection for valor and grand gestures," but the battle he envisaged was dull and undistinguished. Political parties were based upon minor differences. "One group judges that the president is governing badly, declares that it will govern better and the revolution is made." Fortunately, politics, which had so long been in the hands of professionals, was beginning to interest the public, and they were slowly beginning to make themselves heard. Social reforms were actually being initiated; the movement was still in gestation. Progress would creep so long as "The Hispanic American of certain regions needs...the right of obtaining it [progress] without moving himself from his hammock." The Yankee was dangerously different, but Ugarte took consolation in the fact that his people would make their advance in the tradition of the humanistic classicalism of the Olympian Greeks. In the end, their advance would be better than that of the materialistic Yankees.

88 Ibid., 233.
89 Ibid., 234.
90 Ibid., 236. In speaking of social reforms, Ugarte was perhaps paying a compliment to his friend Palacios, who, as the first Socialist Deputy in Argentina, joined forces in 1905 with the progressive Joaquin V. González, to initiate a series of laws in Argentina relating to such matters as Woman and Child Labor. Levene, "Decepciones, II, 588-589. In the decade or so prior to this, Chile had embarked upon her social legislation. Galdames, Chile, 445-448.
He resumed his attack upon the politicians who utilized the combativeness of the Indians and mestizos. It was easy enough to make suffrage an actuality in the cities, but so long as the Indians and mestizos in the country and small towns were swayed by caudillos, national suffrage was impossible. Crusaders rose to change the system of political tyranny and encountered the passions of large, ignorant groups. Finally embittered, these crusaders were warped into critics of the social system. "This explains why the majority of the young writers of Spanish America are revolutionaries in the most elevated sense of the word." Their numbers were growing, and in time, they would be the deliverance of their countrymen, as they joined and guided political parties, or remained, like Ugarte, aloof from politics in order to be free to criticise. "But all form a mountain where the healthiest of each country are codified." What was the nature of these laws? The most important dealt with the study and adoption of well-balanced electoral systems which would be a firm guarantee of equity for the parties and which would establish very heavy punishments for presumptive caudillos.

91 Ibid., 237. Ugarte was not, we may suspect, deliberately humorous in the following passage: "Creeds rest upon pedestals of words. Z and X declaim grandeloquent periods which end in 'liberty,' 'progress,' or 'constitution,' and we take part with one or the other, without any noteworthy reason, as we choose face or shield in a game of chance."

92 Ibid., 239.

93 Ibid., 240. Ugarte seems to use the term "mountain" in the sense of Revolutionary France.
"La educación" formed the subject matter of Chapter III. "If education would consist in having everyone able to read and write," he declared, "nothing would be easier for a people than to scale the loftiest heights of culture."\(^94\) There was, however, more to education than simple literacy. It was necessary to teach the principles and inspirations which should dominate in the national conscience. This, however, was difficult to do, compared with the patriotic systems of England, Germany or France, because the republics of Spanish America had artificial origins. It was absurd to expect true patriotism from the members of so many fragments of a once proud unit of government. There was, Ugarte admitted, a patriotism of a sort in the schools, but it was the wrong kind of patriotism. Children had to be educated to the fact that the inhabitants of the continent of South America had to realise their Iberian ancestry and submerge their differences, before the Yankees of the continent of North America took away the opportunity to teach even distorted, local patriotism. Next to this goal, and almost as important, Ugarte demanded that the "modern" system of education be substituted for the classical Greek and Latin. The Yankees worshiped pragmatism, "which uses the ideas which aid the common development and disdains those which are contrary to it."\(^95\) Distasteful though it was to their collective "alma," Spanish Americans had to do the same.


\(^95\) *Ibid.*, 253. Further in the same paragraph, he said, "William James is the antipode of Frederick Nietzsche."
He took up "La noción del bien público" in Chapter IV. Unfortunately, the rulers of each republic acted as chiefs, not as representatives. The personalist notion of rule, the "follow the leader" type, persuaded them that the Presidency was a private matter. In international relations, they spoke as man to man, not as nation to nation. "There is lacking the communion of the governed with the governors, and as a consequence of that, the inquietude of the public good."96 People did not see the need to assert their force as a collectivity. He suggested the establishment of an agency to assert it: "A !Comisión Superior de Cuentas! formed in each country by the most honorable men and by those who because of their fortune would be virgin of all injurious friction, could be the base and mechanism of a campaign of sanitation and depuration."97 Ugarte did not say whether he would be qualified by virtue of his million pesos to be a member of such a Commission, but the suggestion indicated what he understood by "public good," even though he stayed clear of defining his terms. Presumably a tyrant who installed an efficient sewage system would be acceptable to Ugarte, unless, of course, the tyrant made an extortionate amount of money from the enterprise, and Ugarte was sure that such would be the result. He railed against the titles and honors appropriated and distributed by the Continent's rulers, using terms harking back to 1789:

96 Ibid., 259.

97 Ibid., 261. Translate as "Superior Commission of Accounts."
While in France or Switzerland the Presidents are Monsieur X, Y, or Z, and while in most civilised nations the ministers bear the same title, among us everything tends to multiply subtle styles of address and fatuous Excellencies, forgetting that in a democracy the most honored title is that of simple citizen."

"La justicia" occupied his attention in Chapter V. Herein was a great strength of the North Americans and a corresponding weakness of the South. "That which favors ambitions, makes possible the dessaissement [sic] of the tribunals, justifies in a sense before the foreigners the proceedings by which they abuse some, is the lamentable disorganization of a Judicial Power sometimes without independence in the face of presidents, at least without prestige before opinion and perhaps without respectability before its very self." As it was at the top, so it was at the bottom, particularly among the justices had to be reorganized with England, Germany, Switzerland and Spain serving as examples. He did not explain his choice of these nations with their divergent traditions of law, but declared, "Nothing [could be] easier than to perfect a system, when to attain it it is enough to imitate the dispositions which other countries have adopted after multiple attempts." Every-

98 Ibid., 262-263.

99 Ibid., 266-267. "dessaissement" means "abandonment."

100 Ibid., 270. As an argument, it may be pertinent to enquire how Ugarte can reconcile this willingness to adopt foreign institutions, when he had elsewhere decried the imitative nature of Spanish American art and pleaded for the development of wholly indigenous institutions.
thing adopted, to be sure, had to conform with the Spanish American "alma." As for personnel, he struck a sound note. "It is impossible to demand that all judges be incorruptible, when the public which supports them drains off the reserves of falsehood and deceit. So that a more pure justice may exist, it will be necessary that the people have a higher conception of it." 101

Contrary to what may have been expected by his espousal of socialism, Chapter VI does not give short shift to "La religion." He spoke respectfully "from the national point of view." He divided "the enormous mass of beliefs, venerations, traditions, idealism, ceremonies and hierarchies," into four divisions: deism, ritualism, clericalism and morals. 102 He took them up separately. He accepted a belief in God: "Superstition! say the intransigents. Superstition, why? In the kingdom of hypothesis, when all the certainties we know are added up to float anew into the darknesses, it is as much licit as to imagine a materialistic fable as an ideal explanation. If juridical proofs are lacking in that sense, they are also lacking in the other." 103 Men of reason, Ugarte said, had to accept the concept of the Supreme Being, because there was no other reasonable explanation of the world. He was not as flatly decisive about "El ritualismo," which he said was

101 Ibid., 272. These two sentences approach being platitudes.

102 Ibid., 273-274.

103 Ibid., 275. The phrase "tan licito es imaginar una fabula" is strained in my translation.
sometimes "a mixed current where the highest beliefs and the most censurable appetites were confused."\textsuperscript{104} He mentioned Tolstoi's argument that we had to break clear of the false religion to which we are accustomed and return to simplicity. He expressed tolerance for the different religions stemming from Christianity, but called upon Robespierre, of all people, to give arguments for doing away with the hierarchy of the Church. This anti-clericalism was perhaps to be expected of him after his residence in Paris, and he wrote in 1910 as a Deist. Fortunately, he subscribed to the existence of a morality, with or without religion. His conclusion was surprising, in view of his naturalistic rambling on the subject of religion: "In the campaign to check the North American infiltration, Catholicism holds what may be one of the forces of resistance and help."\textsuperscript{105} As such, Ugarte finally admitted, it should be left intact. More harm than good would be done by attempting to carry anti-clericalism into execution.

He dragged in "Las reformas sociales" in Chapter VII, which consists of a digest of his social ideas discussed in our fourth Chapter. The five years since \textit{El Arte y la Democracia} had done little to modify or advance his socialism. He still insisted that "A nation grows strong in proportion to the benefits which it accords to its laboring classes."\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Ibid.}, 277.

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Ibid.}, 285.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid.}, 299.
"La familia" was the subject of Chapter VIII. Ugarte was conservative. "Far be it from me to discuss the good estate of this essential, elastic body, which conserves all the virtues bequeathed to us by Spain. The purity of woman and the cohesion of the components are a secure base for the conquests of the future." Then, of course, Ugarte proceeded to give his views upon the virtues of the family as a social institution. He considered it to be absolutely fundamental and deplored the vice and immorality which threatened its security.

Chapter IX dealt with a matter dear to his heart: "El arte." Forgetting some of his previous arguments about the need to borrow from Europe, Ugarte pleaded for the development of an art which would take inspiration from Spanish American traditions. "A strident patriotism persuades them to consider themselves superior to the foreigner," he said of his fellow Spanish Americans, but despite this patriotism, France exercised an "ideological hegemony" during the last half of the nineteenth century. It was time to end this state of affairs. The new art did not have to be aristocratic, contrived or precious, but it had to be indigenous and creative, not simply imitative. "If Hispanic American literature has not up to today obtained from the critic the attention which it merits, it is because of its excessive internationalism and its excessively fragmentary nature. Because of this I urge

107 Ibid., 302.
108 Ibid., 310-311.
that we strengthen the localistic preoccupation and unify the work of the whole which has the same ideals and writes in the same language." 109

Ugarte summarized his book in Chapter X, "El porvenir." Despite the errors he had pointed out, he looked to Spanish America as the hope of the world. "A territory which in a century of free life has obtained the fabulous prosperity which we evidence, holds that which reserves for its inhabitants—and for all humanity upon which its production radiates—the most pure and improbable surprises." 110 However, this very fertility was not a shield, but a temptation to great Powers so long as the republics remained weak. It was absolutely necessary to form a solid block. To achieve this, Spanish America needed men, ostensibly like himself, who would make sacrifices without recompense. "But it is not enough to guarantee autonomy in all parts, he warned. 111 Democracy had to be made to live, instead of remaining locked up in paper constitutions. Spanish America had suffered enough from revolutions, dictatorships and social piracy. Local patriotisms had to go; he considered it completely ridiculous that "There are twenty republics in Spanish America and each one of them considers itself superior to its neighbor." 112 Those republics had to realise

109 Ibid., 316-317.

110 Ibid., 318.

111 Ibid., 325.

112 Ibid., 327. As usual, Ugarte blithely included Brazil in his Spanish America.
collectivity, not necessarily in one great, all-powerful organization, with rights and duties prescribed by law, but, he says rather vaguely, they had to realize their collectivity. Only then, would they come to their rightful place in the world.

There, in brief, is a digest of El Porvenir de la América Española, the most important book Ugarte wrote. Opinion in the world was almost universally favorable, and almost as universally uncritical. The forty-six citations of press reviews included in the book are indicative of the reception it met at the hands of those who were not interested in a scholarly appraisal of his work. Francisco García Calderón said it "...is a pretty book and a good book. In these pages are felt the fever of a great enthusiasm. No one has comprehended until today as Ugarte the American patriotism." Alcides Arguedas said it "...is a grand, tremendous cry of alarm. Its author has undertaken to place a continent on guard, and already the action itself is a magnificent act." The editors of Export, Berlin, said, "The author is a completely independent spirit." The Times of London reported, "The book demonstrates an extensive and exact knowledge of the major parts of the Latin American nations, of their ideals, mentality, and is especially recommended to the partisans and enemies of the Monroe Doctrine." In general, this is the tenor of all the citations.

As a matter of fact, the book is fairly well organized, and does present a complete argument for Hispanoamericanismo. The validity of his arguments are another matter entirely. Ugarte wrote
passionately, not clearly, subjectively rather than objectively, and is annoying in the repetition of ideas, especially so in his constant use of abstract ideas rather than concrete. He contributed nothing that could not be found in a combination of Bunge and Arguedas. He was not so much an original thinker as he was a propagandist. Judged by scholarship, he scarcely merits consideration. His errors of fact are numerous. His predictions, except those few noted, did not come true. Indeed, as Professor Bemis has pointed out, economically the shoe proved to be on the other foot, as United States investors were victimised by defaulting or expropriating Latin American governments.

Ugarte raised a battlecry which went unanswered by more than a handful of sympathisers, and these were in the ranks of writers, and did not include industrialists and public leaders. His strength was in his appeal to youth, but there is no indication that his influence went with youth into maturity. We know about Ugarte and his lucha because he won followers in a vocal group, the literarios, who bestowed considerable publicity upon him. This was not enough. Despite the fact that Ugarte had placed writers high in his list of leaders, he knew that he could not realise his dream of La patria única without the powerful industrialists and politicians. He and his companions failed to incite a mass uprising against the Monroe Doctrine because the denounced weaknesses were too strongly embedded to be torn out. Nor did he persuade all Latin American writers, one of whom said of the book, "It is a false alarm, a groundless rush of fear of
Americanism which has inspired these pages.\footnote{113}

This last judgment may well become the epitaph of Manuel Ugarte, ardent champion of a foredoomed cause.

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CHAPTER VIII

UGARTE'S PLACE IN HISPANOAMERICANISMO
It is our contention that Professor J. Fred Rippy did not do Manuel Ugarte a great service when he sponsored the translation of *El Destino de un Continente*. North American critics for the most part use this translation to judge Ugarte, and, if this is the only one of his works consulted, a completely adverse opinion is inevitable.\(^1\) *El Destino* is not an outstanding literary production, as William Rex Crawford, quondam cultural attache to our Embassy at Rio de Janeiro, sarcastically pointed out:

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\(^1\) The typical textbook attitude in even recent works ranges from the brief Yankeephobic dismissal in Wilgus, 370, to the brief appreciation in Dexter Perkins, *Hands Off*, 318. The question might be asked: Why did Rippy translate this? Rippy was an anti-Imperialist (see his *Bankers of Bolivia*) and in the twenties the attack on imperialism was on in full swing from the Hughes repudiation of it in St. Paul in 1923 to the official condemnation by Ruben Clarke's *Memorandum* in 1928. What is amazing is that the constant attack was on the Monroe Doctrine interpretation, rather than Imperialism. En. A. B. Hart, 1917, condemned the M.D. as hurtful - but obviously he means the Imperialism in its Big Stick and Dollar Diplomacy aspects. Ugarte also knew that from Bryan on there were numerous antagonists in the U.S. howling against imperialism, and hence he feared not to say what he may well have heard here. Moreover, it is very, very probable that his sponsors here were in sympathy with the exploited Latin Americans, downtrodden Haitians, Cubans, etc., and criticized the U.S. policy in these places and in the Philippines. For opinions, cf. Herbert W. Bowen "The Monroe, Calvo, Drago Doctrines," in *The Independent* IXVII, April 18, 1907, 903. Elbert F. Baldwin, "Three South Americans and their Doctrines," *The Outlook*, LXXXVII, Sept. 21, 1907, 120.
If Ugarte had not made so much noise in the world, and if the English translation of his book The Destiny of a Continent (New York, 1925) did not in its introduction call him one of Latin America's most brilliant thinkers and writers, an opinion in which many Latin Americans have concurred, the writer would follow his personal predilection and omit him. The historians of the short story will have to take him, in any case. To support commonplace thoughts with great vehemence and doubtful facts is hardly enough to make a pensador...

Ugarte felt called upon to carry his message of warning against the United States throughout Latin America, and did so in the years following 1911 with a success that he is not slow to chronicle. There were plenty of hotheads ready to agree with him, for the same opinions are held and the same emotions felt, perhaps even in more extreme form, by as many today, although they do not rank among serious thinkers. 2

In this appraisal, our cultural attacks at Rio de Janiero shows an unfamiliarity with El Porvenir, but it is safe to assume that he would have shot at it with the same shotgun of ridicule. Equally informed and less sophomorish is the judgment of the distinguished diplomatic historian of Yale, Samuel Flagg Bemis:

One of the bitterest of all Yankeeophobia critics of United States imperialism, was the Argentine writer, Manuel Ugarte, author of the notorious polemic, The Destiny of a Continent. He despised the United States and its people as materialistic and imperialistic, devoid of all ideals. He never understood them. He drank in the European propaganda against them.

and licked his lips over it.3

These statements are based upon a more or less autobiographical work, which was as conceited and bombastic as both Crawford and Bemis claim. As we have seen, however, Ugarte is best represented by El Porvenir de la América Española, and Americans of the North who have read this obra de lucha adopt a milder attitude towards him. The diplomatic historians John Holladay Latané and David W. Wainhouse called him the chief apostle of Hispanoamericanismo: "He was so impressed by the material progress and extraordinary vigor of the American people," they wrote, "that he became convinced that they were destined to extend their sway, either through conquest or economic imperialism, over the less enterprising and aggressive peoples of Latin America, unless the latter could be aroused to a full realisation of their danger."4 Haring said:

Ugarte is perhaps the ablest of all the Latin-American critics of the United States. He is much less personal and more discriminating in his judgments than is Blanco-Fombona. But as in the case of so many South American publicists, his "history" is weak and his knowledge at best superficial. He is frequently content with the hearsay evidence of journalists, and the argumentum ad hominem he so often resorts to. He fails to remember that many of the things he criticises are phenomena familiar in all modern countries of European origin. His writings, therefore, present a curious mixture of truth and fiction, and

3 Bemis, Latin American Policy, 294. Professor Bemis told this writer that Rippy's book was the only one of Ugarte's writings with which he was familiar.

sometimes involve him in contradiction. He still believes that the revolution of Francisco Madero in Mexico was fomented by the United States which had become hostile to the government of President Díaz, and he makes good use of Woodrow Wilson’s policy towards Victoriano Huerta. Although as a sociological observer he deplores the political frivolity of the more backward American states, his propaganda inevitably makes him appear the protagonist of such adventurers as Huerta, José Zelaya and Cipriano Castro. He apparently thinks that Mexico can live in isolation from the United States and should. As a patriotic Argentine he believes that his own country is destined, because of its greater material progress, to initiate the movement of coordination among its sister republics and to lead in the opposition to foreign encroachment.  

Haring’s estimate is the most judicious of the North American critics. Edward Perry, in speaking of El Porvenir five years before ElDestino appeared, ventured an opinion which would have delighted Ugarte, but which we cannot subscribe to: "A number of passages in the work quoted suggest that it was the product of a student rather than of a special pleader."  

J. M. Hernández of the University of Oklahoma might even be considered a convert:

Among the writers of America who have raised their voices in the holy ministry of enlightening the public and the government of their respective countries, Ugarte occupies first rank. He has used the forum and his pen in a frank attack upon foreign encroachment in

5 Haring, 159-160.

Latin America. He has done this not as a partisan of a Ku Klux Klan, but as a true patriot and a believer in Indo-European culture and social potentialities.7

A fairly well balanced opinion, naturally, is that of the principal authority on the subject of Ugarte, and the one to whom Crawford found exception. Well acquainted with Ugarte's other work, as well as the background of Yankeephobia against which Ugarte wrote, J. Fred Rippy said in introducing The Destiny of a Continent:

It is not the raving of a maniac or the mere frothing of a lone radical. Ugarte is a radical and an idealist, but...many of his compatriots--more even than Ugarte in his moments of discouragement may realise—share his convictions and aspirations. In my opinion, many of his statements are one-sided and inaccurate...From our present viewpoint, however, these blemishes in Ugarte's work are not of great significance. Americans in the United States should be concerned first and foremost to know what our Latin neighbors are thinking of the policies of our government, and of our masters of finance and captains of industry. If the notions of these neighbors are erroneous, they should of course be corrected, but we can do little until we know what these notions are.

... What citizens of the United States need at present is an understanding of the viewpoint of men like Ugarte.8

7 J. M. Hernández, review of La Patria Grande, Books Abroad, XIV, (1940), 193.

8 Rippy, Destiny, xvi–xvii.
There is little that is not eulogistic criticism of Ugarte in Latin publications. That is to say publications like *Nuestro Tiempo*, *La España Moderna*, and *La Pluma* are generically unable to say more than: "Europe will perhaps regret not having seen as clearly as he." These reviewers of his works, from the essays to the *obras de lucha*, found Ugarte to be a "fresh," "dynamic," "powerful," "clear," "modest," "able," "admirable," "forthright," and "learned" writer. We have noted that


10 See, for example:

*Mercur de France*: XLI (1902), 564-565.
XLVIII (1903), 549-550 & 557-558.

*La España Moderna*: T. 156 (1901), 166-168.
T. 166 (1902), 192-200.
T. 181 (1904), 160.
T. 220 (1907), 172-182.
T. 226 (1907), 161.

*Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid): III (1903), 412-413.
V (1905), 359-361.
VI (1906), 545-546.
VII (1907), 84-86.
VII (1907), 355-358.
VIII (1908), 272-273.
IX (1909), 130.
XX (1920), 330-332.

#8 (1912), 79.

V (1922), 230-231.


*Razon y Fe* (Madrid): IX (1921): 244-246.


*Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias* (La Habana):
XXXIII (1923), 230-231.
in October, 1933, a group of outstanding South American writers joined in Paris for the purpose of petitioning the Argentine government for a pension that would recognize Ugarte's services to Hispanoamericanismo. This group included Gabriela Mistral, José Vasconcelos, Francisco García Calderón, Rufino Blanco Fombona and many others of similar standing. Their opinion may be taken as typical of the whole body of Latin criticism, as they placed the laurels of his crusade upon Ugarte's brow: "In the moments when he lets himself go, Ugarte is the continuer, the realiser of Rodó's Ariel. He is like a vision." Comparison to Rodó by such a prominent group confirms the appraisal made by Haring and Rippy of Ugarte's significance, for Rodó was the hero of his generation. Latin Americans could say no more. Anything else would be bringing the proverbial coals to Newcastle. Nevertheless, some of these petitioners elsewhere expressed their personal views.

Gabriela Mistral, famed today for winning a Nobel prize in literature, said, "Ugarte rose very early with his truth and everything became glorious through his good will and the ardor of a self-appointed lookout." García Calderón remarked: "Manuel Ugarte has expressed his ideas upon The Future of Latin America in a notable book which has been eulogised without reservation by the overseas newspapers and writers...Ugarte believed in the North American peril, and analysed

11 Martín, cited in Chapter II, supra, 66-72.
12 Carrion, cited in Chapter III, supra, 15.
it with rare precision."¹³

Benjamin Carrion wrote a sympathetic essay about Ugarte: "The ideal which he predicated, addressing himself principally to the young men, he afterwards took courageously into these campaigns. An ideal of hatred? No...A powerfully affirmative man, Ugarte was unable to espouse such a definite negation as hatred."¹⁴

Even the Aprista, Haya de la Torre, acknowledged a debt to Ugarte, who"...was a grand annunciator, in an epoch when the Yankee peril necessitated a clarity of admonition to our America...I believe that he had for our generation and especially for Apra the mission of solidifying, of cementing the diffuse and vaguely lyrical campaign of ten years ago, realistically presenting, in the face of imperialism's offensive, our integral counter-offensive."¹⁵

Carlos Deambrosis Martín, an ardent disciple of Ugarte, paid him a typical tribute:

The elegant story teller, the forger of verses, the resplendent novelist, the literary essayist, took off his artist's vestments—the great artist there was and is in him—and devoted himself soul, body and fortune to the fundamental problem of his continent. He studied, wrote texts and tracts, visited libraries and archives, interested himself in all that bore upon the history, politics, social and

¹³ García Calderón, cited in Chapter II, supra, 99.
¹⁴ Carrion, 79.
¹⁵ Haya de la Torre, cited in Chapter I, supra, 270.
economic geography of the people of the North and South, and with a messianic generosity, offered himself to the future as the caballero of the New Crusade. 16

Such a fulsome tribute would be more palatable if Ugarte had given much evidence of his visits to "libraries and archives."

The violent denouncer of the United States, Salvador R. Merlos, had extravagant praise for Ugarte, who had awakened him to his own career of castigating the United States. "All his books are of great utility," he said uncompromisingly, and further: 17

If in the origins of our political life, Bolívar might be considered the founder of latinoamericanismo, actually then Manuel Ugarte ought to be considered the most finished exponent of those ideas and the most renounced Apostle of such worthy aspirations. Manuel Ugarte, Argentine by birth and Latin American in heart, is one of the grandest figures in Spanish America, not only because of his purely literary labor, which is beautiful and fecund, but for the influence which he has exerted and is exerting upon the political events of the Continent. 18

Such eulogies were too strong for the taste of Hispanophilic Bolivian Joaquín de Lemoine, who considered El Porvenir de la América Española to be more or less a false alarm, marred by inaccuracies. And yet, even de Lemoine felt obliged to concede that "Many books have been

16 Martín, 69.
17 Merlos, cited Chapter I, supra, 295.
18 Ibid., 293-294.
written in Europe about America, but few can compare with the work which bears the title of this article. Its criticism is vast, its opinions, high, its concepts, profound: it is not a book to be read, but studied.\footnote{19}

He further believed that it was necessary for Ugarte to have been an expatriate to be able to write such a book, because he could not have done so in the atmosphere of America.\footnote{19}

Reviewing a later book, Enrique Méndez-Calzada said: "Manuel Ugarte, story-teller, sociologist, poet and critic, in whom the youth of the America which speaks Spanish see one of their conducteurs, remains faithful to the mission which he imposed upon himself, and continues to be, in the pages of El dolor de escribir, the standard-bearer of a noble ideal of human fraternity."\footnote{20}

On the other hand, a countryman, Antonio Aita, rather dispassionately appraised Ugarte, stating a judgment which Argentine scholars might find more easily defensible:

Writer of a social character more than literary, the work of Ugarte has been diverted towards the problems of political and social order which so preoccupy the peoples of the American continent. His aesthetic ideas lack originality and interest, his articles for the most part are written as simple, informative facts. The reputation and prestige which this writer's name enjoys in our America, does not rise from the value of his literary work, which is very limited, but from his arduous political campaign against the pro-

\footnote{19}{de Lemoine, 8-9.}

\footnote{20}{Enrique Méndez-Calzada, review of El dolor de Escribir, Mercure de France, #864 (1934), 326.}
ceedings of the Yankee government in the internal life of several republics. This genus of literature is easily confused with the other, when some European writers pretend to discover us and offer opinions upon our intellectual value. 21

F. García Godoy is more flamboyant than the sedate Aita, but less worshipful than Merlos. "Such is the figure presented in full color within the pages of this book of real interest for all Hispanic Americans who wish to give themselves approximate count of the formidable danger which menaces those people of Iberian derivation. In this book, notwithstanding a certain optimism, equanimable, peaceful, reasonable, glimmers at each step the agonized and anxious inquietudes of a selective spirit. 22

The opinion of Hernán Díaz Arrieta is but a little more considered: "Man of his age, which he lived fully, Manuel Ugarte after forty years keeps a fresh spirit and agile speech, as agile and fresh as his erstwhile stories, stirring up memories now remote, writing timely articles holding a vitality of happy clarity, enlightened resilience, yet sometimes pained by melancholy reproach." 23

A Spanish Professor on the faculty of the University of Valladolid naturally hewed to the line of Pan-Hispanism when discussing


22 F. García Godoy, La Literatura Americana de Nuestros Días, Madrid, (no date), 61.

Ugarte's 1912 polemic about Knox's visit to Cuba. Vincente Gay called this a "Vigorous, sincere letter which makes manifest all the gravity of the problem provoked by the conduct of the Yankees and their government towards the rest of America." 24

An Ecuadorean, less of an idolator than his countryman, Arroyo, wrote a doctoral thesis in 1930 entitled Hispanoamerican para los hispanoamericanos. This Gerardo Falconi R. owed a heavy debt to Ugarte, but did not care to acknowledge it, patronizingly dismissing his predecessor in the field with the following judgment:

Manuel Ugarte, feverish and tropical, toured through all the countries predating the new good with the sincerity of the convert. His labor may be found actually written into four bulky volumes... The primordial problem according to Ugarte is to create in our America the living forces which would exploit our riches and assure us of the integral and durable position of our land. He urges reaction—he says—against individual and geographic localisms. Because of these localisms, we are where we are. 25

The young doctoral candidate certainly had an odd notion of what constituted a bulky volume.

The editors of Nosotros, discussing their contributors, were duly appreciative of the old veteran of Hispanoamericanismo in 1942:


25 Gerardo Falconi R., Hispanoamérica para los hispanoamericanos, Doctoral thesis for the Central University, Quito, 1930, 16.
"Manuel Ugarte, enthusiastic, dynamic, full of youthful boldness, lifted up his eyes to our native sun, setting below the horizon, and in a passionate flight of a visionary, inverse to that of Estanislav Zeballos—which orator engaged in roiling the waters of La Plata to separate the two peoples of the banks—he proclaimed the spiritual unity of our Latin America."  

The Cuban Minister in Buenos Aires, Ramiro Hernández Portela, rendered homage in 1938: "Manuel Ugarte, prose-writer of vigorous expression, sociologist of deep root and spacious range, valiant agitator of noble ideas, has been for us a guide and an example."  

Luis Alberto Sánchez, the literary historian and Aprista, writing in 1940, summarised Ugarte's career in this fashion:  

Manuel Ugarte... is a mixture of literary man and propagandist. He spent many years of his life in a campaign against the United States, but only from the negative point of view of Rodó, without constructing an organization to replace that enslaving influence. His literary books, Jardines ilusorios, Cuentos de la Pampa, Letrados de América reveal his interest in the native, but shows as well the egotistic and ornamental sentiment of all the modernists. In El Porvenir de la América Española, El Destino de un Continente (1926), Mi campaña hispanoamericana and La Patria Grande, there are mixed truths, curses, slanders and boastings. El dolor de escribir shows him to be a pessimist, and today, after the intense anti-Yankee campaign, which is not the same as anti-imperialism, he suspects that the N.R.A. can  

26 Nosotros, #72 (1942), 326.  
27 Ramiro Hernández Portela, Vida de Hoy, II (1938), #16, 3.
concert with Pan-Americanism to open a field of experimentation to a phenomenon quite similar, by virtue of a more developed and expansive capitalism before that of semi-colonial countries without strong backbones.  

On the other hand, another literary historian viewed him in a more kindly light. Manuel Urruela said: "Whereas the anti-Yankeeophobia of Francisco Silva and Vasconcelos, vitriolic as it is, contains few constructive criticisms, and lays the blame for Latin American unrest mostly on foreign causes, Ugarte is a merciless critic of his own race. His broadness of vision commands involuntary attention. Having come in contact personally with his Latin American brothers in these memorable trips, his caustic remarks stand out with a boldness rarely found in the literature of anti-imperialism."  

Although he wrote in 1915, Armando Donoso would have agreed with Urruela rather than Sánchez:  

The literary case of Manuel Ugarte is rare and curious in our Latin America. No one has dedicated himself to letters like him with such ardent enthusiasm and noble disinterest. Born in a country wherein insociable aspirations of greatness disdained business and cultivation of its enormous territory, his intellectual personality represented the unusual case of a foreign flower born in an arid atmosphere, fighting for all the elements which it needs to survive. Nonetheless, in spite of all obstacles

28 Sánchez, Hist. Lit., 495-496.  

and in open battle with the hostile surroundings of a still rather embryonic society, Ugarte owed survival to good will and proud loftiness in his lucha initiated for the good of American culture, ideals and humanity.30

To honor the first anniversary of Vida de Hoy, a ceremonial banquet was held in Buenos Aires, September, 1937. More than two score persons attended and all congratulated the founder and editor of the magazine. Manuel Gálvez said: "Patriotism, sincerity, gallantry, these are three great virtues which Manuel Ugarte possesses in an heroic degree." Juan José de Soiza Reilly was more terse: "His life is one happy Grecian lesson of war and conduct." An old friend of the early days in Paris, Alberto Insúa, remarked: "Manuel Ugarte...is the youngest man in Argentina...I lift my cup to this youth—which is that of the spirit." Enzo Aloisi, representing the Ateneo Ibero-Americano, said: "In a certain sense time has now given victory to Ugarte...He is an example we ought to give to the generations of today and tomorrow."31

On the 30th of November, 1937, Ugarte spoke over Radio Excel­sior, being introduced by Josué Quesada in the following words:

Manuel Ugarte is without any doubt, the Argentine who with great sincerity and bold fervor, in a large and advantageous campaign,


31 Vida de Hoy, II (1937), #13, 10-12.
held the enthusiasms of Americanism. He travelled, during his years as a young man, the whole Continent, and his vibrant word was heard as the expression of the true sentiments of America. He did not sow in vain his doctrine of peace and confraternity. By this doctrine, he is today and enthusiastic paladin of the illustrious guest Roosevelt, who honors our country with his presence. Manuel Ugarte struggled for the space of twenty years in this redeeming crusade, and his gospel has come to head in this time, to sprout again in this magnificent coordination of spirits.32

Perhaps the best of all the Latin American judgments we will cite is that of his old comrade Roberto Giusti, one of the directors of Nosotros:

Nothing I could say would deny the essential truth of Manuel Ugarte's bitter reflections upon the doom of the spirit, expressed throughout this book in the form of commentaries upon writers whose outlines are sketched with rapid and telling lines, commentaries eloquent and noble, which rethread the string of ideas already stretched out in a previous book: El dolor de escribir. His error consists, in my opinion, in having lost faith in America and in circumscribing the demonstration of its ingratitude towards those who serve it through the medium of the pen, to the destiny of the generation to which he belonged.33

Many years ago, in 1902, Rubén Darío wrote a preface to his young protege's first book, and said things that seemed to be prophetic:

32 Vida de Hoy, II (1937), #4, 6. "Inspired critic in justice, elevation of concepts, equanimity, elegance; he is here the synthesis of thought animating Vida de Hoy."

33 Roberto Giusti, "Sobre el exito y el fracaso, a propósito del último libro de Manuel Ugarte," Nosotros, #84, 260-261.
"Poet, he has sung for the downtrodden; periodical writer, he has tried to diffuse among us the ideas which he believes are just and true. He has joined example to the sermon. Being a person of fortune, he leads a retiring, modest life; he studies and works."\(^{34}\)

What has been the result of this study and work, which proved to be more work than study? How deeply did he sink into the consciousness of his countrymen? These are difficult questions to answer, and we can only point to the opinions we have given of him to find a clue. He certainly left a mark upon many writers. Textbook historians automatically include him in their discussions of anti-imperialism, and that field has a broad literature. He won an undistinguished kind of fame: that of a competent rabble-rouser. Perhaps he erred in taking up the cause of Hispanoamericanismo. His energy and talent, if fully applied to purely literary pursuits, may have brought him a fame as a short story writer or even as a novelist. Instead, his words have stirred his audiences and then succumbed to the next barrage of well-delivered ideas by an orator. He could well be pessimistic in looking back upon the work of his generation, because he and Bunge and Blanco Fombona and García Calderón and the rest worked for an ideal that had little basis in reality. Their predictions of doom did not come true and they were discredited.

\(^{34}\) Manuel Ugarte, Misceláneas, Colección Ariel, (Imprento Alsina), San José, Costa Rica, 1912. Prologo de Rubén Darío (Paris, 1902), 7.
It is difficult not to sympathize with the small group of intellectuals and propagandists who banded with Ugarte to carry the banner of what they deemed was Bolívar's dream. In looking at their expenditure of effort, it is hard not to appreciate the historic sadness contained with the concept of Bolivarismo and the various offshoots that have as their main purpose the cohesion of the Iberian peoples of South America.

Contemplate the power which would arise in the world were all the resources of South America harnessed and exploited within a cooperative union, and you will have a glimmering understanding of the dream and career of Manuel Ugarte.

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In connection with collecting material, I am indebted to Dr. Francisco Aquilera, Assistant Director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress; the late Dr. Leo S. Rowe of the Pan American Union; Dr. E. Taylor Parks, Director of Historical Research, Department of State, and Mr. Marion Chambers, Archives Liaison Officer, Department of State. Having repeatedly and unsuccessfully since 1940 attempted to establish correspondence with Señor Manuel Ugarte, I acknowledge no debt to him whatsoever in unearthing the material for this dissertation.

Of all the sources of supply, the Pan American Union had the greatest amount of pertinent material, with the Library of Congress and Yale University close behind. Harvard has a tremendous amount of material but as of 1946 it was not yet completely catalogued.

For a more intensive investigation of the movement of Hispano-americanismo, one could begin by consulting the following works:


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With these as a start, an investigator could then turn to the annual Latin American handbooks, as well as the bibliographies given in the historical reviews.

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(226)
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Oliveira Lima, Manoel de, The Evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spain and Anglo-Saxon America, edited by Percy Alvin Martin, Stanford University, 1914. Oliveira Lima would like to include Brazil in the dream of la patria grande.

Palacios, Alfredo L., En Defensa de las Instituciones Libres, ediciones ercilla, Santiago de Chile, 1936. The old Socialist friend of Ugarte. There is no trace of the quarrel with La Vanguardia having disrupted their personal relations.


Pereyra, Carlos, *Breve Historia de América*, 2 v., Editorial Letras, Santiago de Chile, no date. The equivalent of a North American high school textbook; unreasonably anti-Yankee.

In the characteristic fashion of hispanoamericanismozantes, Pereyra confused the Monroe Doctrine with Imperialism. Whatever he calls the North American policy, he doesn't like it.

------------, La doctrina de Monroe, el destino mani‐festó y el imperialismo, J. Ballesca y Cía, Mexico, 1908. The groundwork for the preceding volume, which was better known.

The beginning of what is probably our classic work on the subject.


Popularizes the foregoing three volumes. Very readable text, different from the monographic treatment he ordinarily gave his material. He was familiar with and respected El Porvenir de la América Española.


In conjunction with Martin and Enciclopedia Espasa-Calpe, provides the skeleton for Ugarte's biography. The 1947 edition states that Ugarte lived in Chile between 1939-1945, and mentions his appointment to Mexico as Argentine Ambassador.
Ramos, Samuel, Rodó, Prologue and selection by Ramos, Edicciones de la Secretaria de Educación Pública, Mexico, 1943.

Rippy, J. Fred, editor of translation by Phillips, Catharine A., *The Destiny of a Continent* by Manuel Ugarte, Knopf, New York, 1925. Rippy's introductory essay is a patient appreciation of Ugarte, which should have been a model for Arroyo who had the misused advantage of personal acquaintance with the subject. Rippy's footnotes are not too numerous, and started out to correct errors in Ugarte's text, though after a time, Rippy seemed to have tired of correcting items which were apparent to even casual North American readers.


----------, *Latin America in World Politics*, F. S. Crofts, New York, 1931.


Rodó, José Enrique, *Ariel*, translated by F. J. Stimson, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1922. The famous allegory of Prospero speaking to youth. It was actually a strong warcry of hispanoamericanismo. Stimson translated the book while he was our Ambassador to Argentina during the first World War.
Roldán Belisario, Discursos, José M. Miquez, Argentina, 1910.
Verbose.

Sánchez, Luis Alberto, Historia de la Literatura América, Ediciones Ercilla, Santiago de Chile, 1940.

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Silva, Francisco V., Reparto de América Española y Pan-Hispanismo, Francisco Beltrán, Madrid, 1918.
Silva is an Argentine radical, favorable to Spain.


An Englishman throws the torch to America. This book caused a stir in South America, and by emphasis upon the "Anglo-Saxon world," caused publicists to speak of "Latin" and "Anglo-Saxon" America. Altogether a curious book and one with which Ugarte was familiar.


Tansill, Charles Callan, The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1938.

Travesi, Gonzalo G., La Revolución de México y el Imperialismo Yancúi, Casa Ed., Maucci, Barcelona, 1914. A Mexican journalist, Travesi was strongly anti-Yankee.

Van Alstyne, Richard W., American Diplomacy in Action, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1944. A good thorough diplomatic history when used in conjunction with Bailey or Bemis.
The egotistic, fanatic literary curiosity.

Vasconcelos, José, *Hispano América frente a los Nacionalismos agresivos de Europa y Norteamericana*, Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1934.
Delivered to faculty of Ciencias, Jurídicas y Sociales.

Vaz Ferreira, Carlos, *Sobre interferencias de las ideales, en general, y caso especial de la imitación en Sud-América*, Universidad Nacional de Litoral, Santa Fe, 1941.
Vaz Ferreira is a philosopher, rather than a propagandist, but he offers a better phrased argument than Ugarte does for a native American art.

Ugarte on page 295.

Almost encyclopedic; particularly informative in the long bibliographic essays.

A trail-blazer in evaluating our Caribbean policy and the importance of the Clark Memorandum.

A grammar school text, indicative of the propaganda inspired by Vasconcelos in its attitude towards the United States.

**Articles and short pamphlets**

A discussion of Stead's work, written while Blanco-Fombona was the Venezuelan Consul at Amsterdam. Naturally a thorough-going repudiation of all of Stead's ideas.


Only 14 pages long.

Coloma, Luis, "Iberoamericanismo," Boletín del Instituto Nacional (Mexico), November-December, 1934.


Cox, Issas J., "'Yankee Imperialism! and Spanish American Solidarity: a Colombian interpretation," Hispanic American Historical Review, IV (1921) 256-265.


de Lamperez, Doña Blanca de los Rios; Bonilla y San Martín, Don Adolfo; Espinosa, Don A. M.; Cebrian, Don Juan C. y; Nuestra raza es Española, Reproductos de la Revista Raza Española y otros, Madrid, 1926. Pamphlet of 48 pp., pan-Hispanic.


Claims that Ugarte's birth in Buenos Aires left the mark of a city-dweller upon him, under the orderly government of General Roca. Thus, according to Donoso, this natal influence made Ugarte's style as correct and regular as the buildings which surrounded him in infancy.


Frugoni, Emilio, "Génesis y formación de un destino democrático," Nosotros, #84, Second Epoch (1943), 238-243.


---------------, "Sobre el éxito y el fracaso, a propósito del último libro de Manuel Ugarte," Nosotros, #81 Second Epoch (1943), 258-263.

Excellent criticism, contains a few biographical facts, but fails to answer the questions of why Ugarte ceased publication of Vida de Hoy and went to Chile.


Hispano, C., "Manuel Ugarte," Cromos (Colombia), #460, 13 June 1925.

Like Arroyo, Hispano is a disciple of Ugarte, and herein reports a visit to him at Nice.


Ingenieros, José, "Por la unión latinamericana," L. J. Rossa y Compañía, Buenos Aires, 1922. A 14 page pamphlet.
Mantorani, Juan, "Carlos Octavio Bunge," Nosotros, # 92 (1943), 116-128.

A Frenchman, Marius was interested in Ugarte as a literary figure and has given us a good sketch of him as a man.

Martín, Carlos Deambrosis, "Ugarte en la consciencia de América," Athena (Santiago de Chile), XXV (1933), 66-72.
The circumstances surrounding the Paris petition written to the Argentine government to grant Ugarte a pension for his services to America.


Discusses Ugarte's proposed conference in Buenos Aires towards the termination of his campaign tour throughout Latin America.


Oliveira Lima, Dr. M. de., "Los elementos de paz en el Nuevo Mundo," Helios (Buenos Aires), I (1918), 61-75.

Palacios, erstwhile Socialist Senator for the Argentine capitol, was obliged during Peron's purge of the opposition, September, 1945, to take refuge in the Uruguayan Embassy. (Cf. New York Times, 29 September 1945). He was subsequently restored to his seat, though muzzled.


Ramírez, Eduardo Aviles, "Manuel Ugarte se nos fué..." Reportorio Americano, XXX (1933), 376 & 378. Praise for Ugarte upon the occasion of quitting Paris to return to Buenos Aires.


Siches, Dr. Luis Recasens, "El Pensamiento Filosófico, Social, Político y Jurídico en Hispano-América," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, La Universidad Nacional de México, VI, #1 (1944), 83-121.


(Simkins, Francis B., "Latin-American Opinion of Pan-Americanism," The South Atlantic Quarterly, XXII, #3 July 1923, 216-227. The author mentions José María Vargas Vila, Carlos Pereyra, and Rufino Blanco-Fombona, but significantly omits notice of Ugarte. This is prior to the translation of El Destino.)


Wilgus, A. C., "Official Expressions of Manifest Destiny Sentiment Concerning Hispanic America, 1848 to 1871," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XV (1932), 486-506.

-------------, "Twenty Nations and One; an Analysis of the Achievements and Undertones of the Havana Conference," Fortune, September, 1940.


-------------, "Hispanismo e hispanidad," Reportorio Americano, XXXIX, #931 (1942), 71.


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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Robert Welter Daly has been read and approved by five members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Feb. 4, 1949

Date

Signature of Adviser