PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL FILE

PPF 9
Gifts I
1941-1942

PPF900370

SALLOWM, Mr. and Mrs. M.
Brooklyn, N.Y.
1-28-42

The Secretary of the Interior
Headwaters Farm
Olney, Maryland
Jan. 2, 1941

Presidential thank you note for gift of McKay's Practical Ship Building - (book).

See - PPF 3650

VW

PP7
9-1

SALLOWM, Mr. and Mrs. M.
Brooklyn, N.Y.
1-28-42

Sent the President an ink stand.

See P.P.F. 9-S

act

P.P.F.
9-I

vah.

MEMORANDUM - January 7, 1941
To STATE DEPARTMENT

P.P.F. 9-I

On above date Miss LeHand referred:-

2 copies of books "Mussolini Red and Black", by Armando Borghi, translated by Dorothy Daudley, published by Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 45 West 17th St., NYC., sent in by the Italian Committee for Freedom, of the NYC address as above.

See P.P.F. 9-B

January 7, 1941

My dear Mr. Bozzani:

The President was delighted to receive the basket of fruit and nuts which you presented to him on behalf of the Italian-American Democrats of California. He more than appreciates this evidence of good will and asks me to extend his very best wishes to every one concerned for health and happiness throughout the coming year.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Amerigo Bozzani, Esq.,
361 Tamarac Drive,
Pasadena,
California.

mgs



TO WISH YOU A MERRY CHRISTMAS

AND EVERY HAPPINESS

IN THE NEW YEAR

ackʼd
1/6/40

Mr. Amerigo Bozzani,
Chairman

Italian-American Democrats
of California

361 Tamarac Drive

Pasadena California

basket containing figs, dates
nuts + fruits. please ack.

× P.P.F.
3338
× P.P.F.
6446

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

Ralph Ingersoll, Esq.
27 Sixth Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

RB:rlk


SEASON'S
Greetings

Ingersoll, Ralph — Pres Study

January 21, 1941

PPF 9-I

My dear Mr. Ingersoll:

The President has asked me to drop you a line and thank you for the copy of your book, "Report on England". He was delighted to have it and thinks you are mighty nice to remember him.

He also wanted me to arrange for you to come down and see him some time during the next two weeks. If you will, therefore, be good enough to let me know what day between now and the end of the month would suit your convenience, I will arrange a definite hour.

× PPF 9-B

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

× P.P.F. 3338
× P.P.F. 6446

Ralph Ingersoll, Esq.
27 Sixth Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

RB:rlk

terling 3-2501

Respectfully forwarded to the President:

Eww.
E.M.W.

Thank him very much for the
book and let me have it back.
Give him a date within the next
two weeks.

F. D. R.

Brig.-Gen. Edwin M. Watson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR PA

Thank him very much for the book and let me have it back. Give him a date within the next two weeks.

F. D. R.

Brig.-Gen. Edwin M. Watson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

terling 3-2501

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r

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the
a
ithin

peeches,
word

PM
5 cents
NEW YORK DAILY

27 Sixth Avenue, BROOKLYN, N. Y. Sterling 3-2501

January 10, 1941

Dear General:

Many thanks for your cheery note.

I'd thought of sending the boss a copy of my book but then said, "Hell, that's what everybody does."

Of course, I would be enormously flattered if you think he would like one. Under separate cover a copy is on its way -- in your care.

I have hesitated to suggest it, because I know the enormous load you are carrying in the White House, but I would much admire to have a half hour's conversation with the President within the next week or two. As usual, for my own editorial guidance.

As to how I felt about the last two speeches, I put it as clearly as I knew how in PM. The word magnificent is a serious understatement.

My best,

Ralph Ingersoll

Brig.-Gen. Edwin M. Watson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

TELEGRAM

Feb 6th

The White House
Washington

file

36wuki 7 6:10 p.m.

pm,BROOKLYN, N.Y., Jan. 29, 1941

BRIG. GEN. EDWIN M. WATSON:

Eleven thirty on February sixth fine. Regards.

RALPH INGERSOLL.

changed to 12:00 o'clock

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

Ralph Ingersoll, Esq.
27 Sixth Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

RB:rlk

Feb 6
11 30

January 27, 1941

My dear Mr. Ingersoll:

Thank you for your note of January twenty-third.

If you would care to come down and see the President on Thursday, February sixth, I will be glad to set the hour at 11:30 a.m. I will, however, await confirmation from you.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

Ralph Ingersoll, Esq.
27 Sixth Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

RB:rlk

PM 5 cents NEW YORK DAILY
27 Sixth Avenue, BROOKLYN, N. Y. Sterling 3-2501

January 23, 1941

Dear General Watson:

It was good of you to write me such a pleasant note.

I'm delighted that you can arrange for me to see the President during the next two weeks. Of course, any time that's convenient for him will suit me perfectly.

I do, however, have one or two engagements that I ought not to break -- a speech in Toronto next Monday and a short radio talk on Tuesday.

But otherwise I am entirely free, and I shall look forward to your setting a time.

Sincerely,

Ralph Ingersoll

Brig.-Gen. Edwin M. Watson
The White House
Washington, D. C.

not 27 or 28

January 24, 1941

My dear Mr. Hall:

The President has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January seventeenth and to thank you ever so much for forwarding him a copy of the Inventory to which you refer. He appreciates your courtesy in bringing it to his attention.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Thomas R. Hall, Esq.,
500 North Dearborn Street,
Chicago,
Illinois.

FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY
WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION
OF ILLINOIS

CHARLES E. MINER
ADMINISTRATOR

500 North Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois
January 17, 1941

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

1 The Illinois Historical Records Survey is happy to present to you a copy of the Inventory of Livingston County, the twenty-fifth publication in its county inventory series. This is being sent to you under separate cover.

This volume was published at the expense of the Board of Supervisors of Livingston County.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas R. Hall

Thomas R. Hall
State Supervisor
Illinois Historical Records Survey

TRH:sf

BOOK ON STRIPPING DESK

got here - must
have gone down
to record

WRIGLEY, Tom,
The Committee for the Cele
New York, N.Y.
Jan. 23, 1941.

Letter to Gen. Watson, re the presentation of the birthday cake at the White House on Monday. The cake is a gift from the International Bakers' and Confectionery Workers Union. It will have 59 candles and each candle will have a check for $100 from one of the bakers' unions as a contribution to the infantile paralysis fund. It will be baked in Washington and brought up to the White House just before the presentation. Presenting the cake will be President William Green of the AFL, President Myrup of the Bakers' Union of Chicago and one or two other officials of the union. - Attached is a wire to Mr. Early dated 1-20-41 from Mr. Keith Morgan, in re presentation of cake. - Also a memo 1-21-41 that Mr. Hassett says this involves a contribution of $5900. It was done last year, and Mr. Early thinks it should be done again this year.

See P.P.F.4885 Committee folder

P P F
9-I

br

Mr. Jones

Miss Le Hand

P.P.F.

WRIGLEY, Tom,
The Committee for the Celebration of the President's birthday,
New York, N.Y.
Jan. 23, 1941.

Letter to Gen. Watson, re the presentation of the birthday cake at the White House on Monday. The cake is a gift from the International Bakers' and Confectionery Workers Union. It will have 59 candles and each candle will have a check for $100 from one of the bakers' unions as a contribution to the infantile paralysis fund. It will be baked in Washington and brought up to the White House just before the presentation. Presenting the cake will be President William Green of the AFL, President Myrup of the Bakers' Union of Chicago and one or two other officials of the union. - Attached is a wire to Mr. Early dated 1-20-41 from Mr. Keith Morgan, in re presentation of cake. - Also a memo 1-21-41 that Mr. Hassett says this involves a contribution of $5900. It was done last year, and Mr. Early thinks it should be done again this year.

See P.P.F.4885 Committee folder

P P 7.
9-J

br

Mr. Jones

Miss Le Hand 7

P.P.F
9-I

January 31, 1941

My dear Mr. Raymond:

The President has asked me to thank you and Mr. Irvine for your kind thought in sending him a copy of The World Almanac for 1941. He is very glad to have this useful gift.

E. Eastman

P.P.F.
9-B.
P.P.F.
9-a

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. Lolland
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Arthur Raymond, Esq.,
New York World-Telegram,
125 Barclay Street,
New York, N. Y.

get

Thank.

The World Almanac

Published by the
New York World-Telegram
125 BARCLAY STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

asked 1-31-41

January 20, 1941.

Dear Mr. President:-

I am sending you by this post, with the compliments of the Editor, Mr. E. Eastman Irvine, a leather-bound, personal copy of The World Almanac for 1941, which I trust will be found useful for reference purposes throughout the year.

Sincerely,

Arthur Raymond

Arthur Raymond,

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Mr Hall's

Sent to house 7

February 5, 1941

P.P.F. 9-I

My dear Mr. Kelsey:

The President was especially pleased to receive that handsome box containing Coachella Valley dates, which your Lodge was good enough to send him through the courtesy of Congressman Harry R. Sheppard. He has noted with a great deal of interest all that you say in your letter of January sixteenth and wants everyone concerned to know that he sincerely appreciates the friendliness and good will which prompted this presentation.

P.P.F. 9-D

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Fred J. Kelsey, Esq.,
Lodge No. 445, I. O. O. F.,
Coachella,
California.

mb

February 5, 1941

My dear Mr. Sheppard:

The President has received your note and the enclosed communication. He is delighted to have that beautifully packed box of choice dates and a note of thanks has been sent direct to Mr. Fred J. Kelsey of I. O. O. F. Lodge 445 of Coachella, California.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Honorable Harry R. Sheppard,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

mb

ACW
Please have the representation of the leaders of the dates & oranges typewritten. Thanks.

12

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR
SOCIAL SECURITY AND LABOR

Rec'd. 2-5 HB

United States
esentatives
, D. C.

nuary 27, 1941

The Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Mr. Fred J. Kelsey, Chairman of a committee representing I.O.O.F. Lodge No. 445 of Coachella, California, has shipped to me a box of Coachella Valley dates to present to you in behalf of Mr. Kelsey's committee.

The box containing the dates was made of mesquite wood with maple inlay by two members of his Lodge. The contents consist of four different varieties, DegletNoor, Saidy, Hyana, and Kadrowi, and contain all of the proverbial sunshine of the great State of California.

I know, Mr. President, that those gentlemen would be most appreciative if they were advised that you had received the dates, and, of course, any opinion pertaining to them that you care to convey.

Wishing you complete enjoyment of the contents of this box, I am

Your friend,

HARRY R. SHEPPARD, M.C.

HRS:ek

HARRY R. SHEPPARD
19TH DIST. CALIFORNIA

HOME ADDRESS:
YUCAIPA, CALIF.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR
SOCIAL SECURITY AND LABOR

12

Ackd.
2-5
MB

January 27, 1941

The Honorable
Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Mr. Fred J. Kelsey, Chairman of a committee representing I.O.O.F. Lodge No. 445 of Coachella, California, has shipped to me a box of Coachella Valley dates to present to you in behalf of Mr. Kelsey's committee.

The box containing the dates was made of mesquite wood with maple inlay by two members of his Lodge. The contents consist of four different varieties, DegletNoor, Saidy, Hyana, and Kadrowi, and contain all of the proverbial sunshine of the great State of California.

I know, Mr. President, that those gentlemen would be most appreciative if they were advised that you had received the dates, and, of course, any opinion pertaining to them that you care to convey.

Wishing you complete enjoyment of the contents of this box, I am

Your friend,

Harry R. Sheppard

HARRY R. SHEPPARD, M.C.

HRS:ek

COACHELLA LODGE, No. 445

I. O. O. F.

Coachella, Calif.
Jan. 16th, 1941.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of United States
Washington D. C.
Dear Mr Roosevelt;

It was a great pleasure to be appointed and serve as a committee of one for such an important assignment.

The box is made of Mesquite wood, the inlay on the cover is maple. Made by our Noble Grand Brother A.K.Wregren assisted by Brother C.A.Shope.

My wife Sister Jean Kelsey of Sahara RebekahLodge No.279 Coachella, assisted by Sister Rosetta Boomer of Sunkist Rebekah Lodge No. 368 Indio, packed it.They used four varieties of dates. Most of the two bottam layers are DegletNoors, the top layer are Saidy, the border is made with Hyana and the dates wrapped and inside the links are Kadrowi.

Trusting you will get half as much enjoyment out of it as we have in sending it to you ,

Coachella Lodge No. 445 I.O.O.F. sends you with this box of Coachella Valley Dates there best wishes.

Sincerely and Fraternally yours

Fred J. Kelsey
Committee

/

Mr. Davis

Museum

1

P.P.F.
9-I

February 8, 1941

My dear Mr. Isserman:

The plaque which you sent the President has been received by him, and he has asked me to thank you for it and for your letter of January twenty-second.

I am sorry indeed to have to tell you the President is so over-whelmed with urgent official matters that it is impossible at this time to arrange such an appointment as you suggest. You may be assured, however, that he is happy to have the symbolic token and deeply appreciates your kind wishes and prayers in his behalf.

With assurance of his thanks,

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

Alexander Isserman, Esq.
40 Clinton Street
Newark, New Jersey

LD:rlk

he was successful. You, today, are directing your endeavors toward liberating from bondage and slavery, the peoples of the world.

I am certain that God is with you and that you likewise will

ALEXANDER ISSERMAN
40 CLINTON STREET
NEWARK, N. J.

TELEPHONE:
MITCHELL 2-8531

REAL ESTATE
MORTGAGES

January 22, 1941

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I trust you will not deem it presumptuous on my part if I should take the privilege of encroaching upon your most valuable time, for a few moments.

As one of your fondest admirers, there has always been in my mind and heart a deep desire to convey to you, in some manner, an expression of my sincere admiration for you. I have recently celebrated my 70th birthday, and have, throughout my life-time, been a scholar of the Bible.

As I view the momentous happenings taking place in our present day and age, and compare them with the past, I have come to the conclusion that the colossal endeavors which you have undertaken, and the goal which you are striving to attain, are far greater than the achievements accomplished by Moses, in his time.

As interpreted from the Bible, God said unto Moses, "You proceed against Pharaoah, and I will always be with you." Moses proceeded to accomplish the liberation of his people from Egypt, and he was successful. You, today, are directing your endeavors toward liberating from bondage and slavery, the peoples of the world.

I am certain that God is with you and that you likewise will

ALEXANDER ISSERMAN
40 CLINTON STREET
NEWARK, N. J.

TELEPHONE:
MITCHELL 2-8531

REAL ESTATE
MORTGAGES

be successful. History alone will record your triumphant achievements, and eventually, the "integrity of democracy" will be "protected and perpetuated." May God continue to grant you good health and long life.

As an expression of these sentiments, coming from the very depth of my heart, I have taken the privilege of sending to you, under separate cover, (via Railway Express Agency), a token symbolizing your great purposes. I trust you will accept the same in the spirit in which it is being tendered.

It is my deepest hope that I may be accorded the privilege, with your kind permission, to see you and to express to you, in person, my affectionate regard for you.

With sincere congratulations upon your 59th birthday anniversary, I beg to remain

Most respectfully yours,

Alexander Isserman

ALEXANDER ISSERMAN

AI

Pres Study

NASH, John Henry
Eugene, Ore.
2-5-41

Wrote a letter to the President enclosing two items of printing to add to the items he has previously sent.

See PPF 1384

mp

PPF 9-I

Pres Study

Print case 7

P.P.F.
9.I

March 3, 1941

My dear Mr. Israel:

Thank you, in the President's behalf, for the drawing. He has asked me to express his cordial appreciation of your kindness in sending it to him.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

M. B. Israel, Esq.,
418 West Tennessee Street,
Florence,
Alabama.

mb

Pres Study

tached to file of letter to:

M. B. Israel, Esq.,
418 West Tennessee Street,
Florence,
Alabama.

Dated 3-3-41, Signed: M. A. LeHand

March 6, 1941

P. P. F.
9-I

My dear Miss Johnson:

I have received your note of March third and shall be glad to bring the enclosed booklet to the attention of the President. Meanwhile, you may be assured that your courtesy in sending it is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Miss Ethel M. Johnson,
Director, Washington Branch,
International Labor Organization,
734 Jackson Place,
Washington, D. C.

mb

Pres Study

Miss L. Hand

March 6, 1941

P. P. F.
9 - I

My dear Miss Johnson:

I have received your note of March third and shall be glad to bring the enclosed booklet to the attention of the President. Meanwhile, you may be assured that your courtesy in sending it is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Miss Ethel M. Johnson,
Director, Washington Branch,
International Labor Organization,
734 Jackson Place,
Washington, D. C.

mb

Pres Study

rec'd.
3-6
TDB

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE

734 JACKSON PLACE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 3, 1941

Miss Marguerite LeHand
Secretary to the President
The White House

Dear Miss LeHand:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a study just issued by the International Labor Office entitled Studies in War Economics.

It occurred to me that because of the interest in this country in the subjects treated you might perhaps wish to bring it to the attention of the President.

Sincerely,

Ethel M. Johnson
Director
Washington Branch

P 7
444
450
PPF
9-R
x 422.a

Pres Study 1

archives 1

P.P.F 9-I

April 3, 1941

Dear Frank:

Since the first moment I stepped into my office Tuesday morning the pressure here has been terrific and I have had little chance to go through the accumulation of mail. However, there is one "must" on my desk. And that is to thank you for the recordings in Spanish of the President's address of March fifteenth, which you left at my office last week.

I know the President will be delighted to have them and you may be sure that, ultimately, they will find their place in the Hyde Park Library.

Many, many thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Frank C. Page,
International Telephone and
Telegraph Corporation,
67 Broad Street,
New York, N. Y.

x PPF 444
x 450
x PPF 9-R
x 422-a

Pres Study

HENIE, James, Pres.,
The Vanguard Press,
New York, N.Y.
March 28, 1941.

Writes to President, that at the suggestion of Sec. Ickes, he is sending him an advance copy of FREEDOM OF THE PRESS TODAY, which has been planned and assembled by Mr. Ickes. (Acknowledged by President to Mr. Ickes 4-16-41.)

See P.P.F.3650

PPF 9-I

br

Pres Study

1

INGERSOLL, Ralph,
Brooklyn, N.Y.
5-6-41. (F. 7-10-41.)

Writes he is sending Gen. Watson a copy of his book, "America is Worth Fighting For". Also is sending a copy for the President.

See P.P.F.6646

P.P.F.
9-J

br

Pres Study
7

June 13, 1941

PPF.
9-I

My dear Mr. Ireland:

Thank you in the President's behalf for the copy of THE TIME IS NOW! by Pierre Van Paassen, as well as for the copy you enclosed for me. I can assure you that your friendly thought is greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Tom Ireland, Esq.,
13000 Beachwood,
Cleveland,
Ohio.

mms

CABLE ADDRESS: DIALPUB, NEW YORK IN CANADA: McCLELLAND & STEWART, LTD.

Kindest regards

Thanks McClelland from

Tom Ireland

Achgd. 6-13-41 mms

Cleveland

Office: Bulkley Bldg.

Cleveland, Ohio

Sent to Miss Leland & the Pres.

no letter until 6/12/41

Letter arrives

achwood

his

hone, MURRAY HILL 5-2776

y 3, 1941

an advance
w book by
RS. It will

eful to you,

omments you

rs,

Hoffman

k

no letter on file 6/12/41

Home: 13000 Beachwood

Cleveland Ohio

Office: Bulkley Bldg.

Cleveland, Ohio

Sent to
Miss Leland &
The Press

...hone, MURRAY HILL 5-2776

...y 3, 1941

...an advance
...w book by
...RS. It will

...eful to you,

...omments you

...rs,

bk

CABLE ADDRESS: DIALPUB, NEW YORK

IN CANADA: McCLELLAND & STEWART, LTD.

Pres Study

Dr. Goshen

THE Dial Press INC. 432 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK Telephone, MURRAY HILL 5-2776

Form letter
file

May 3, 1941

(WDH)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We have today sent you, under separate cover, an advance complimentary copy of THE TIME IS NOW, the new book by Pierre Van Paassen, author of DAYS OF OUR YEARS. It will be published on May 7th.

We have felt that you might find this book useful to you, and you have our permission to quote from it.

We should appreciate receiving from you any comments you may care to make on this book.

Respectfully yours,

Burton C. Hoffman

Burton C. Hoffman
President

bk

Acknowledge.
File.

CABLE ADDRESS: DIALPUB, NEW YORK IN CANADA: McCLELLAND & STEWART, LTD.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1941

PP.7.
9-I

My dear Mr. Friedman:

The President was more than pleased to have that especially fine turkey. He wants you and the members of the Highway Turkey Growers Association to know that you have his hearty thanks for your kind thought in sending it to him.

xPP.7.9-T

xP.P.7.
9-B

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

X

M. D. Friedman, Esq.,
X Highway Turkey Growers Association,
121 S. W. Fifth Street,
Des Moines,
Iowa.

bk

Highway Turkey Growers is wrong
should be Iowa Turkey Growers Assn.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Thanks
yes

Dressed turkey received
from
M. D. Friedman
Highway Turkey Growers Asso
121 S.W. 5th St.,
Des Moines, Iowa.

Have not sent anything
before. Placed on
White House Rathskeller Box
last nite.

SECRETARY-TREASURER
M. B. FRIEDMAN, OTTUMWA

Association

P. O. BOX 117
TUMWA, IOWA

WHITE HOUSE
Nov 19 11 35 AM '41
RECEIVED

y Growers Association
il a choice Iowa corn
ksgiving dinner. We
ound of Iowa butter
which we suggest be

this turkey with the
owers. A butter baked
delicacy and we want
on Thanksgiving Day.

fully,
Iowa Turkey Growers Association
M. B. Friedman
Iowa Turkey Growers Association

File:

The Iowa Turkey Assn has been thanked & will probably be coming to you shortly.

DJS

ESIDENT
I, CHARLES CITY

SECRETARY-TREASURER
M. B. FRIEDMAN, OTTUMWA

Growers Association

P. O. BOX 117
OTTUMWA, IOWA

WHITE HOUSE
Nov 19 11 35 AM '41
RECEIVED

November 18,1941.

DIRECTORS

OLIVER VILAS
STORM LAKE

HENRY GRUENWOLD
BLAIRSTOWN

T. S. ALBRECHT
GREENE

VICTOR FRYE
INDEPENDENCE

FRED A. WILCOX
MAQUOKOTA

CHARLES HEEZEN
MUSCATINE

M. B. CLARK
HILLSBORO

JOHN MOLINE
MANSON

MURL R. BALLANTYNE
LAMONI

MELVIN DORR
MARCUS

R. I. GOULD
HARLAN

LEON SMITH
SHENANDOAH

SHIRLEY SCHULTZ
IDA GROVE

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Iowa Turkey Growers Association have to-day sent to you via airmail a choice Iowa corn and milk fed turkey for your Thanksgiving dinner. We have included with the turkey a pound of Iowa butter and a butter baked turkey receipt which we suggest be used in preparing this turkey.

Please accept this turkey with the compliments of the Iowa Turkey Growers. A butter baked turkey off an Iowa farm is a rare delicacy and we want you and your family to enjoy this on Thanksgiving Day.

Yours Very Respectfully,

Iowa Turkey Growers Association
M. B. Friedman

Iowa Turkey Growers Association

PRESIDENT
CHESTER R. SCHOBY, BODE

VICE-PRESIDENT
H. G. PATTON, CHARLES CITY

SECRETARY-TREASURER
M. B. FRIEDMAN, OTTUMWA

Iowa Turkey Growers Association

OFFICE OF
SECRETARY

P. O. BOX 117
OTTUMWA, IOWA

WHITE HOUSE
Nov 19 11 35 AM '41
RECEIVED

November 18,1941.

DIRECTORS
OLIVER VILAS
STORM LAKE
HENRY GRUENWOLD
BLAIRSTOWN
T. S. ALBRECHT
GREENE
VICTOR FRYE
INDEPENDENCE
FRED A. WILCOX
MAQUOKOTA
CHARLES HEEZEN
MUSCATINE
M. B. CLARK
HILLSBORO
JOHN MOLINE
MANSON
MURL R. BALLANTYNE
LAMONI
MELVIN DORR
MARCUS
R. I. GOULD
HARLAN
LEON SMITH
SHENANDOAH
SHIRLEY SCHULTZ
IDA GROVE

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Iowa Turkey Growers Association have to-day sent to you via airmail a choice Iowa corn and milk fed turkey for your Thanksgiving dinner. We have included with the turkey a pound of Iowa butter and a butter baked turkey receipt which we suggest be used in preparing this turkey.

Please accept this turkey with the compliments of the Iowa Turkey Growers. A butter baked turkey off an Iowa farm is a rare delicacy and we want you and your family to enjoy this on Thanksgiving Day.

Yours Very Respectfully,
Iowa Turkey Growers Association
M. B. Friedman
Iowa Turkey Growers Association

Iowa Turkey Growers Association

M. B. Friedman, Sec.

December 5, 1941

r.r.7.
9-I

My dear Mr. Fergus:

The President has asked me to send you this little note of thanks for the inscribed copy of the Iroquois Club booklet which you were kind enough to send him. It is extremely gratifying to him during these trying days to have such a wholehearted expression of friendliness and good will as your words convey.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Robert C. Fergus, Esq.,
President, Iroquois Club,
Hotel Morrison,
Chicago,
Illinois.

cmr

December 5, 1941

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Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Robert C. Fergus, Esq.,
President, Iroquois Club,
Hotel Morrison,
Chicago,
Illinois.

cmr

December 27, 1941

POWELL, Samuel Irving,
Tacoma, Wash.
12-22-41.

Write they are sending the President some new ice cream created by A.R. Sanna by air express. (Acknowledgment sent 12-27-41 to Farm Maid Ice Cream Co.) (Ice cream melted and thrown away.)

See P.P.F.9-F

br

Jas Eber

PPF
9-I

December 27, 1941

My dear Mr. Leonard:

The President has asked me to tell you how pleased he was to receive the choice cut of Prize Beef from the International Live Stock Exposition. He more than appreciates your kind thought in sending it to him.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Arthur G. Leonard, Esq.,
President,
Union Stock Yard and Transit Company,
Chicago,
Illinois.

1ft

ARTHUR G. LEONARD

PRESIDENT
UNION STOCK YARD & TRANSIT CO. CHICAGO, ILL.

TO
HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

CHOICE CUT
OF
PRIZE BEEF

MERICA that you sent

ou ever so much and

ishes for the coming

ly yours,

ACE G. TULLY

Pondfield Court,
Bronxville,
New York.

jt



TO
HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

CHOICE CUT
OF
PRIZE BEEF

INTERNATIONAL
Live Stock
EXPOSITION
UNION STOCK YARDS
CHICAGO
U. S. A.
1941

...use - 2
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...AMERICA that you sent
...you ever so much and
...wishes for the coming

...ely yours,

...RACE G. TULLY

jt

x87

V

atin America

Betty Bowlen
"Et" at the house - I envied them all!
Mary

F

to have the copy of LATIN AMERICA that you sent him. He asks me to thank you ever so much and to convey to you his best wishes for the coming year.

x87

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman,
Pondfield Court,
Bronxville,
New York.

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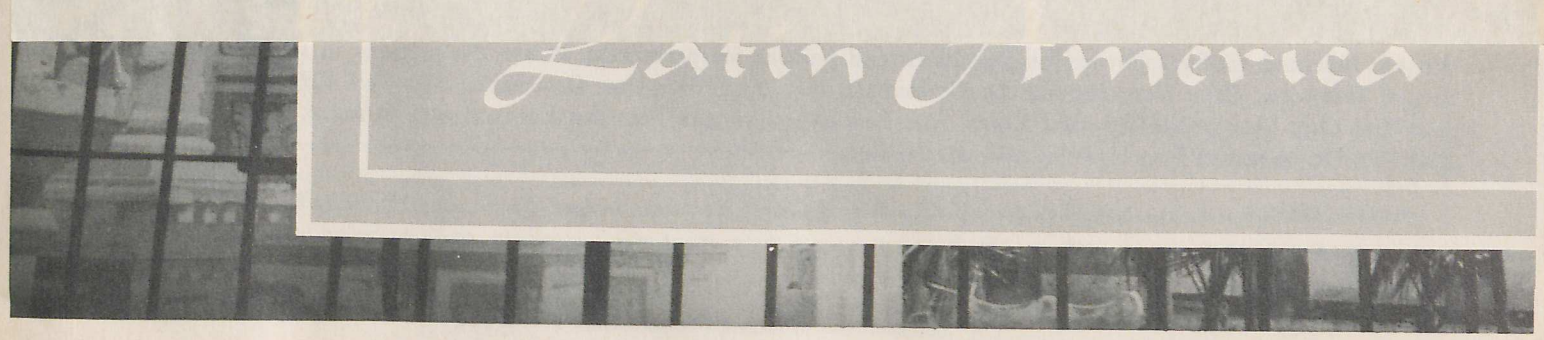

PP 7
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January 6, 1942

7

My dear Dr. Inman:

The President is especially pleased to have the copy of LATIN AMERICA that you sent him. He asks me to thank you ever so much and to convey to you his best wishes for the coming year.

x87

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman,
Pondfield Court,
Bronxville,
New York.

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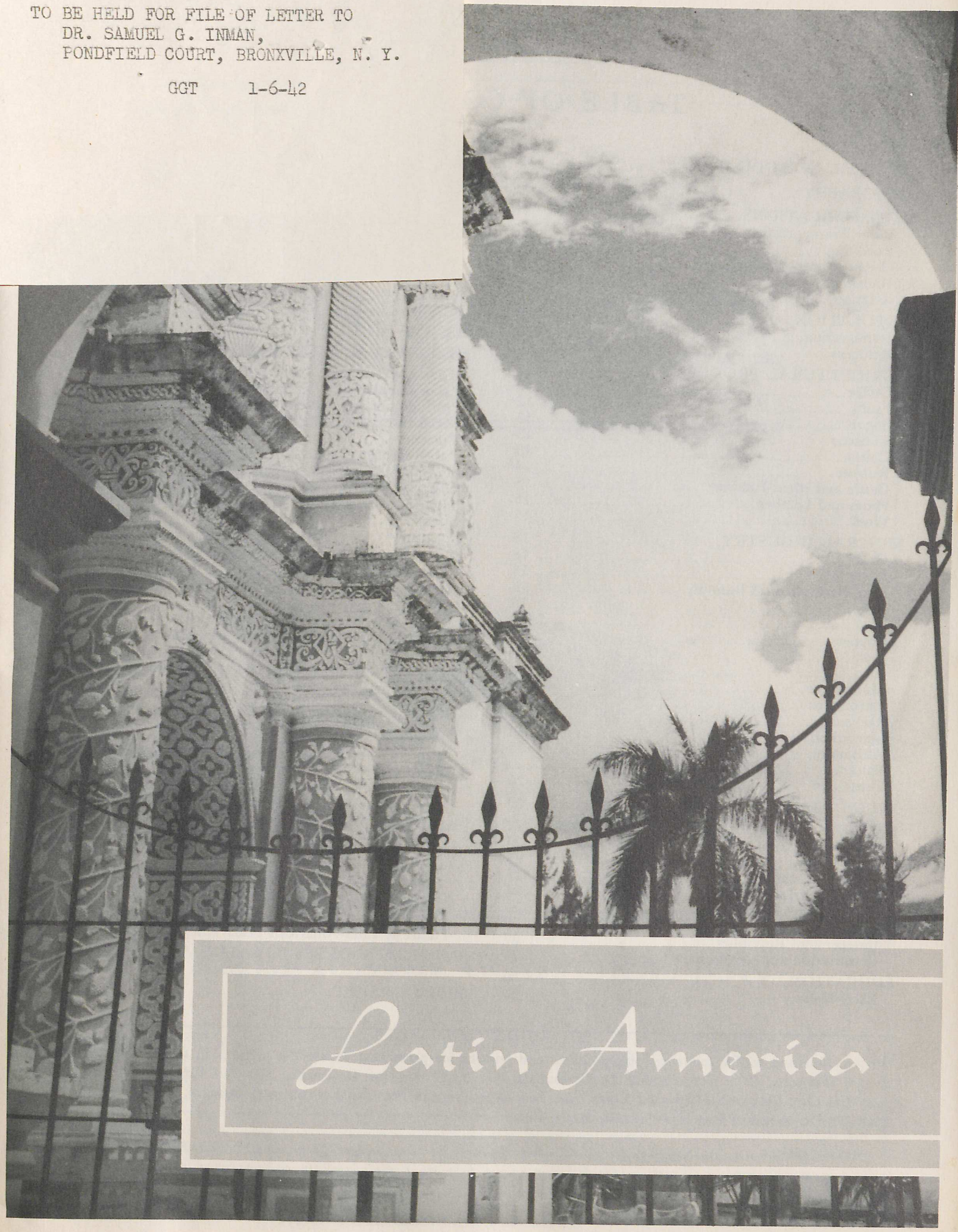
TO BE HELD FOR FILE OF LETTER TO
DR. SAMUEL G. INMAN,
PONDFIELD COURT, BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

GGT 1-6-42



Latin America

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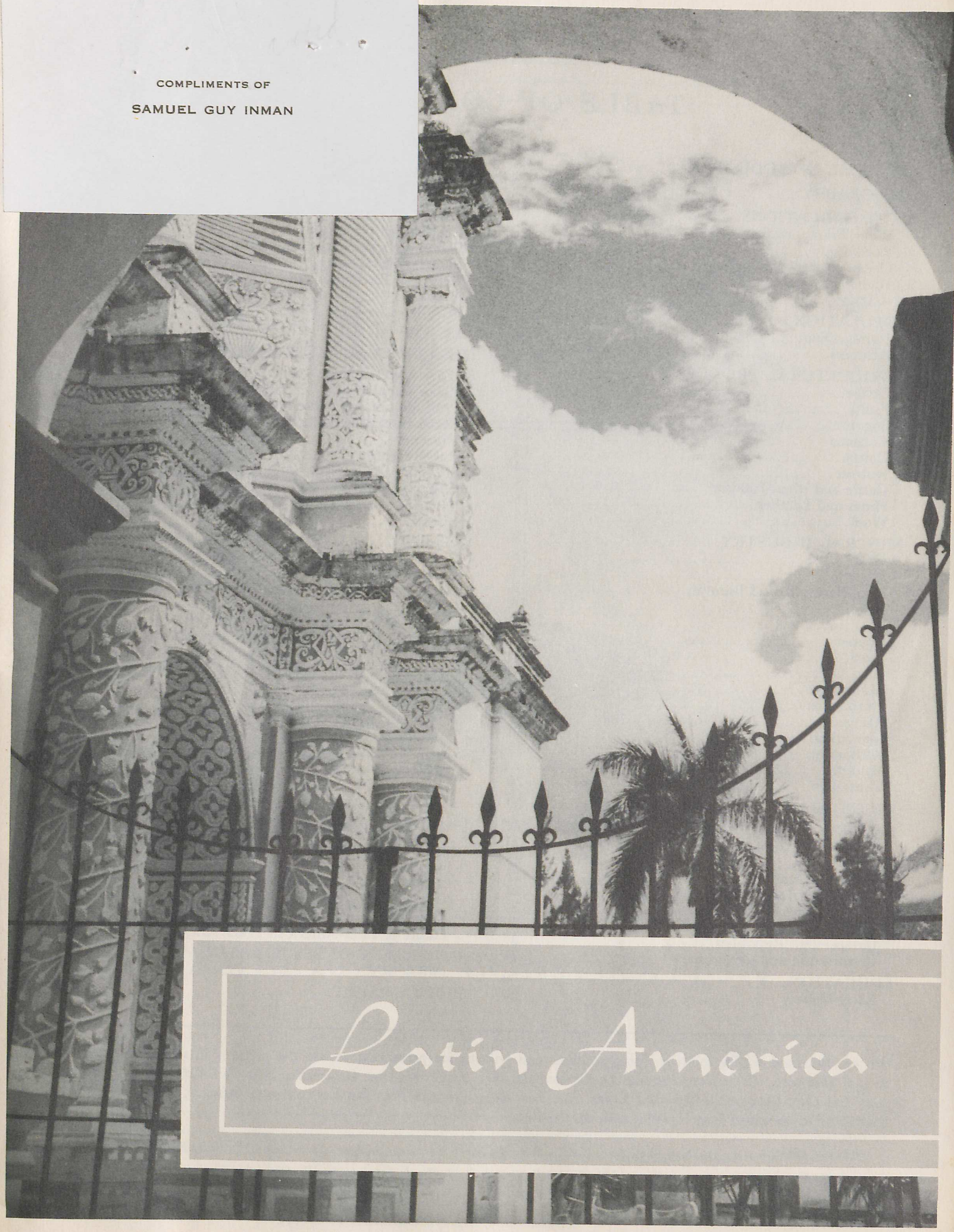

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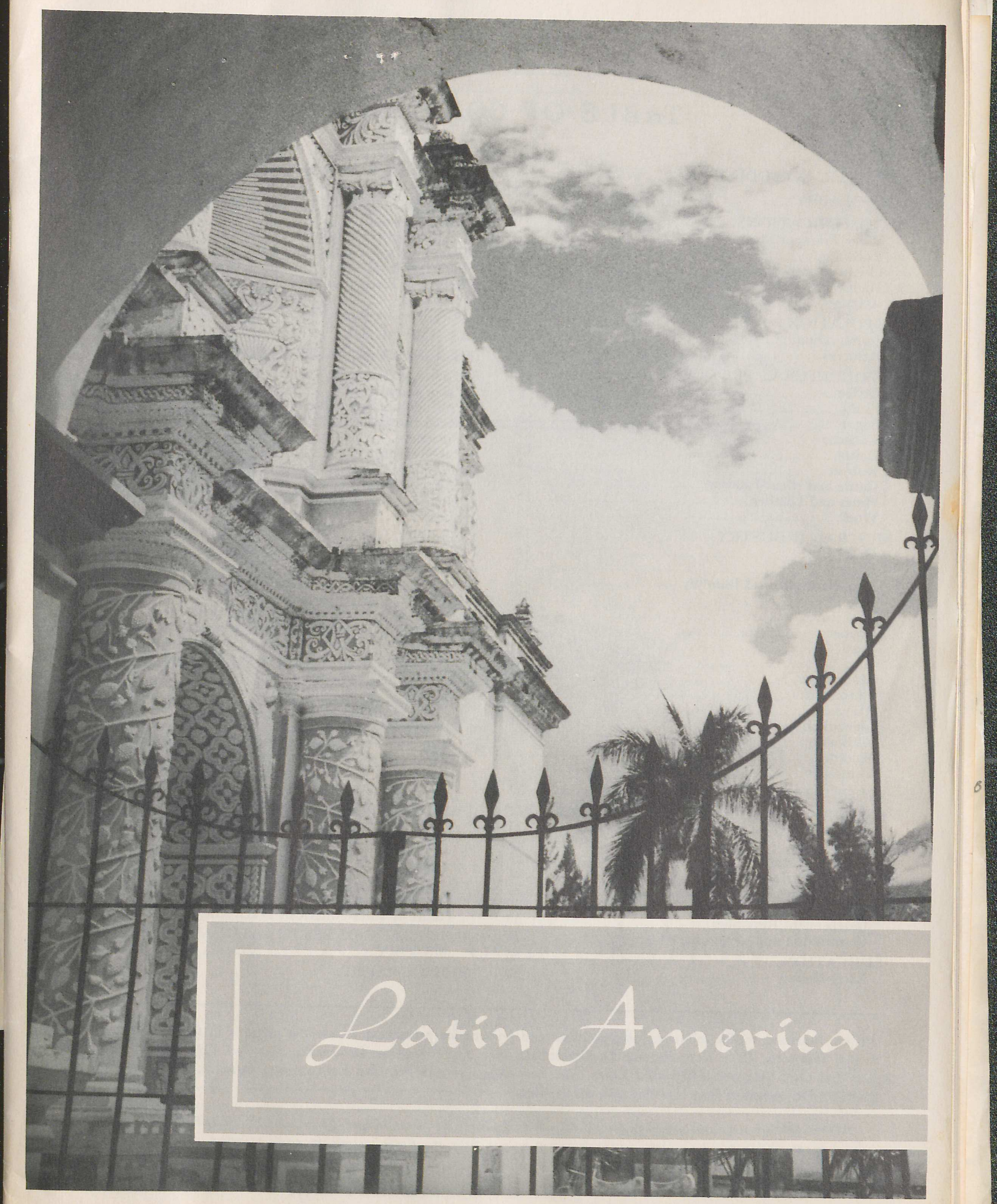

Latin America

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We are indebted to the following organizations and persons for permission to use the pictures in this monograph: Ralph Hancock, *Costa Rica;* Phillip D. Gendreau, *New York City;* Don Glassman, *New York City;* Grace Line, *New York City;* Moore-McCormack Lines, *New York City;* Chilean Nitrate Educational Bureau, *New York City;* Mexican Government Railway System, *Mexico City.*

FRONT COVER—*A view through the portals of La Merced Church in ancient Antigua, Guatemala*—Photo by Ralph Hancock

BACK COVER—*Botofogo Bay and the famous Corcovado Peak, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*—Photo by Philip Gendreau

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s monograph:
GRACE LINE,
New York City;

lph Hancock
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LATIN AMERICA



Reprint of an article by Dr. Samuel Guy Inman from the 1941 printing of the Encyclopedia Americana · Price, $1.00

AMERICANA CORPORATION
2 WEST 45TH STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y.
333 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO



Encyclopedia Americana Gives You the Key to

LATIN AMERICA

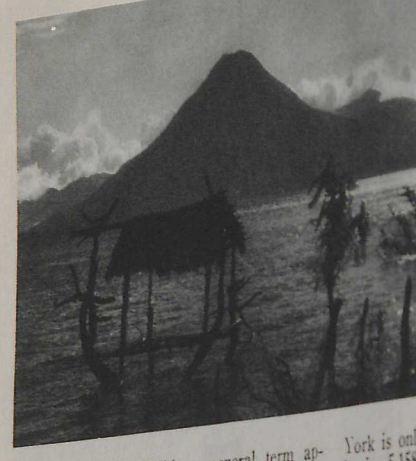
RAPIDLY CHANGING world conditions are bringing into closer relationship all the republics of the Western Hemisphere. *The Americas* today are more interested in one another's way of life than ever before. Their collective destiny shapes toward a new era in the New World.

With the object of bringing to the people of the United States a clearer knowledge of our neighbors to the south, and in deference to many requests, the ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA presents this reprint from the pages of its 1941 edition.

This monograph is offered to the student, the educator, the industrialist, and to the general reader. In doing so, the Americana Corporation is glad to acknowledge its debt of gratitude to the writer of this story on Latin America, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, whose reputation as an authority on the subject is so widely recognized.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Ralph Hancock, news correspondent on Central American affairs, for his advice in the preparation of this booklet and for permission to use from his collection of pictures those on Central America which are here reproduced. We regret space did not permit reprinting Mr. Hancock's excellent articles written for THE AMERICANA on Central America and the Central American countries.

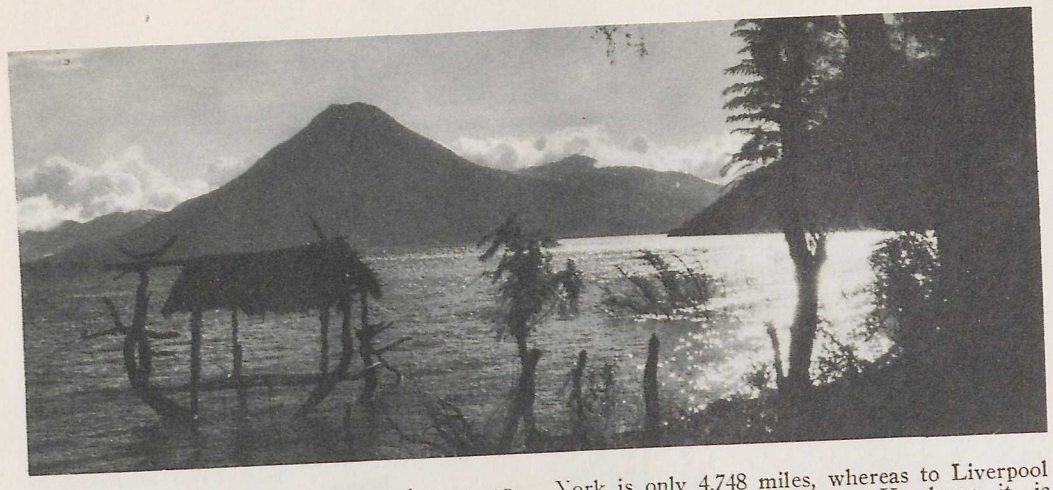
AMERICANA CORPORATION



LATIN AMERICA, a general term applied to the 20 independent republics of the New World with a Latin background. These 20 countries, along with the United States of America, make up the 21 independent nations that have united to form the Pan American Union. It is to be noted that this term does not include the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Holland on the American continent. Eighteen of these countries, Spanish America, speak Spanish. One, Brazil, speaks Portuguese, and another, Haiti, speaks French, following the mother countries that colonized them. The term *Latin America* is not altogether satisfactory. Those who emphasize the dominant influence of the Iberian Peninsula prefer *Ibero-America* or *Hispanic America.* Those who emphasize the dominance of the Indian population would use the term *Indo-America.* Strongly nationalistic citizens of countries like Argentina often object to the use of any common terminology to designate all these countries, for outsiders are likely to group them all together under one pattern, whereas each country has its own distinct and peculiar life. However, some generic name is necessary and proper to designate a section of the world that, while differing within itself, has, in the aggregate, a common colonial history, a common movement for independence, a common republican form of government, a common religion, and it might almost be said, a common psychology and a common language, since those speaking Spanish and Portuguese can mutually understand each other. Practically, therefore, the term *Latin America* is gradually coming to be universally accepted.

Those beginning the study of Latin America should be careful to use correct terms. European colonies, like Jamaica and the Guianas, are not included, nor is Puerto Rico, a part of the United States. Neither are South America and Latin America to be used as identical terms.

Ten republics only out of the 20 lie in South America. The other 10 are near neighbors to the United States. Yet well-known writers have recently based important conclusions on statistics drawn from South America, when they were arguing about Latin America as a whole. Others even base their conclusions about Latin American trade on conditions that apply only to Argentina. Amateurs who suddenly discover that the «bulge» of Brazil is much further east than is New York or Miami jump to the conclusion that Latin America is closer to Europe than to the United States. The actual distance from Rio de Janeiro around the «bulge» to New



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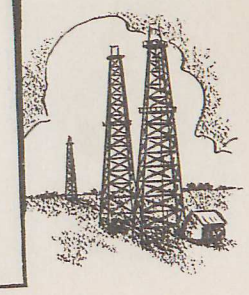
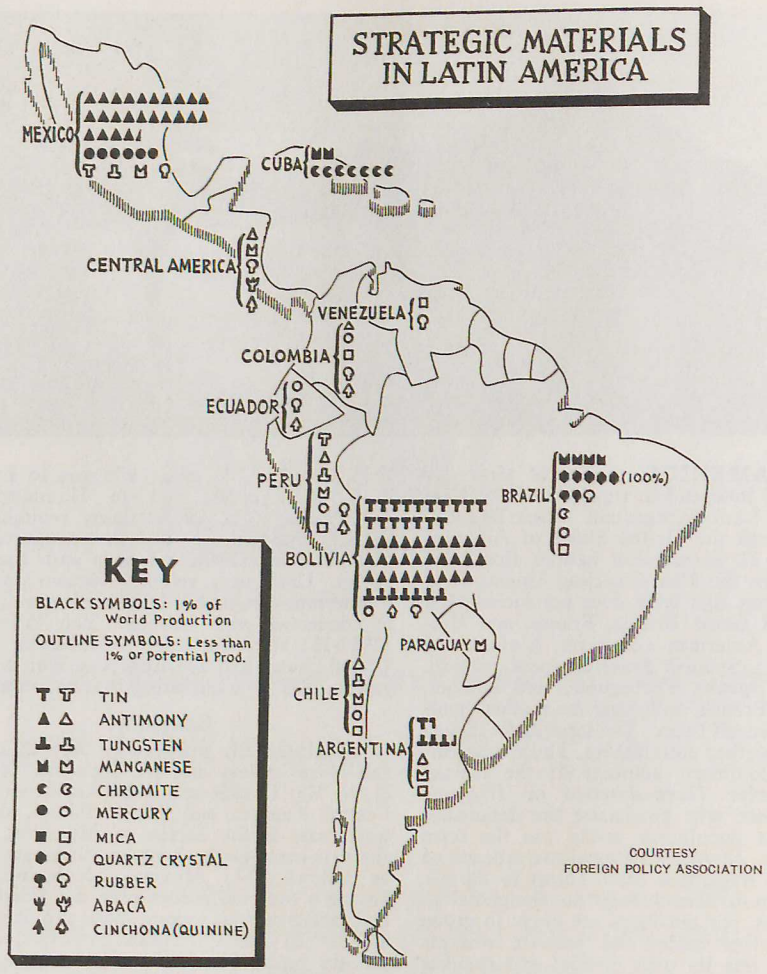
Geography

Geographically and socially these 20 countries fall more or less into six divisions. Beginning at the Rio Grande and going on down through Central America and the Caribbean, down the west coast to the Straits of Magellan, then up the east coast to the Amazon, these sections are as follows: (1) Mexico, which, because of having a common border with the United States and facing various unique social problems, stands alone; (2) the Caribbean countries, including the six republics of Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama) and the three island republics (Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo); (3) the two northern countries of South America, Colombia and Venezuela (although these might likewise be included in the second division, since they also border on the Caribbean Sea); (4) the four Andean republics of the west, (Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile); (5) the three eastern South American Spanish-speaking countries, (Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay); and (6) Portuguese-speaking Brazil—an empire in itself, as large as all the rest of South America together. While these six divisions today are arbitrary, in colonial days something of this same grouping was actually maintained. The total area of these 20 countries is about 8,500,000 square miles. From the northern boundary of Mexico to the southern extremity of Chile it is a distance of some 7,000 miles—practically as far as from London to Capetown. Brazil is about the size of the United States plus Alaska. Argentina, if as thickly populated as the state of New York, would contain 225,000,000 people, instead of its present 13,000,000. Peru is the size of Texas, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. If Chile were placed across the United States, with its northern boundary across the coast of Maine, its southern section would overlay a part of Washington and extend into the Pacific Ocean. Mexico is about one-third the size of the United States.



STRATEGIC MATERIALS IN LATIN AMERICA



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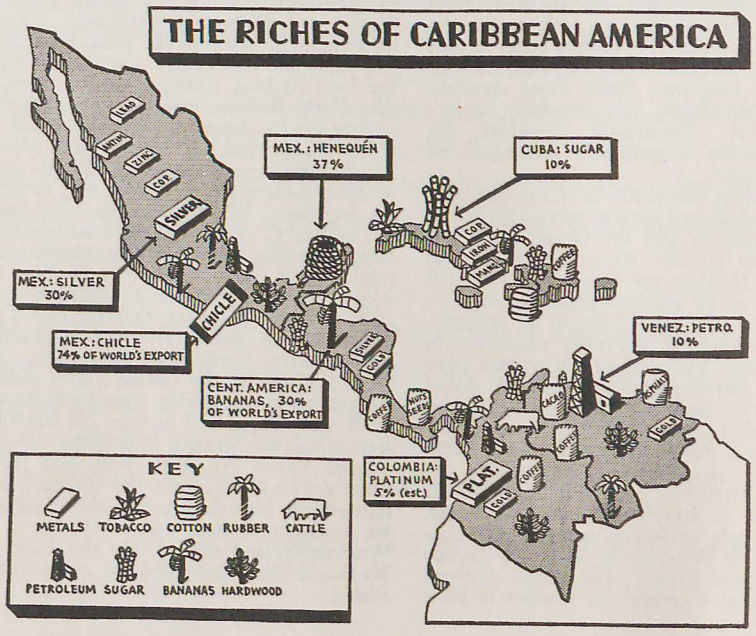
THE RICHES OF CARIBBEAN AMERICA



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The outstanding geographic feature of the Americas is the tremendous Cordillera which extends the entire length of the continent from the Antarctic through South and Central America and Mexico and joins with the Rocky Mountain system in the United States. In southern Argentina and Chile, the mountains are comparatively low, but gradually rise higher as they advance northward. The dominant peak on the continent is Mt. Aconcagua, near the Argentine-Chilean frontier, 23,094 feet high. In Chile and western Argentina the Andes constitute a single range of mountains, but in Peru and Bolivia and extending northward through Ecuador, they branch out and form two distinct chains. In this area there are several peaks 20,000 or more feet high and many others only slightly lower. In Colombia three distinct chains traverse the country.

It is only in Central America that the height of the mountains drops sufficiently to have made possible the construction of an interoceanic canal at Panama. In northern Central America and in Mexico the mountains again rise to higher altitudes, and in the latter country two distinct chains exist, one along the Atlantic and the other along the Pacific coast.

All the mountainous area in the Americas continent is not, however, confined to the western portion. On the east coast, in eastern and southeastern Brazil, there is a range of mountains paralleling the coast; and in northern South America are the Guiana Highlands, covering the Guianas and considerable portions of Venezuela.

Despite these tremendous land masses, the area of the continent is not dominantly mountainous. On the contrary, much of the area is relatively low ground. As most of the mountainous territory is along the Pacific coast, the greater proportion of low ground lies to the east of the mountain ranges. The mountains along the Pacific rise almost perpendicularly out of the sea, so that, generally speaking, there is a very narrow coastal plain. On the eastern side of the continent, however, the broad pampas of Argentina extend from the coast to the foothills of the Andes, with only an imperceptible rise in the level of the ground as one travels westward. In Brazil there is a coastal plain the width of which varies at different points, and in the interior of the country an enormous area of valleys and plains.

This is indeed a world of wealth where the products of the globe can be successfully cultivated, where all races of mankind can live and thrive. The Mexican and Central American Cordilleras, and farther south, the mighty Andean range, offer an unbroken chain of lofty peaks, wide valleys, and extensive tablelands affording all climates and zones, all kinds of soil and minerals. The water supply is plentiful in most parts of Mexico and the Central American republics, and there is nothing which can be compared to the hydrographic areas of northern and central South America, consisting of the Orinoco Basin with its 400 affluents, offering a total navigable length of about 4,000 miles; the mighty Amazon, having three times the volume of the Mississippi and navigable for over 2,0 miles, and the network of great rivers emptying into it; the Paraná and the Rio de la Plata, with twice the volume of the Mississippi; and a thousand other streams too numerous to m

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The Magdalena River in Colombia has always been one of the main arteries of transportation in connecting the interior of the country with the coast; and in Central America, the San Juan River serves a similar purpose.

Among the lakes of the Americas are Titicaca, in the Andean highlands between Boliva and Peru, the highest steam-navigated body of water in the world; Nahuel Huapi and other lakes of the Chilean-Argentine group—a region of unsurpassed scenic beauty; Nicaragua, in the republic of the same name, and important because it is a link in the proposed Nicaraguan canal; Maracaibo, in the Venezuelan oil region, and in reality, a large narrow-necked bay.

Among the natural wonders of the Americas are a number of magnificent waterfalls. Travelers to South America are beginning to discover and visit such marvelous cataracts as Iguazu, on the Brazilian-Argentine border; Sete Quedas, on the Brazilian-Paraguay border; Salto de Lajas, in Chile; and Tequendama, in Colombia.

Considering the extraordinary length of the American continent, it is obvious that in such a vast area, extending over four of the earth's terrestrial zones, every conceivable type of climate can be found. Beginning at the extreme end of South America one encounters the bitter cold of the Antarctic; in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, and southern Brazil and Paraguay, the moderate climate of the South Temperate Zone; in northern South America, Central America, and Mexico, the tropical heat of the Torrid Zone; and in the United States, the moderate climate of the North Temperate Zone.

But climate, it is important to realize, is greatly affected by altitude. Many cities and towns near the equator enjoy delightfully cool and temperate climates because they are situated at high elevations. Ocean breezes also play an important part in modifying the climate along the coastal regions of the tropics. Snow-capped peaks within the limits of the Torrid Zone are not uncommon.

Communications

The briefest glance at the physical features of Latin America suggests the fundamental problems involved in communications. An outline of transportation conditions further emphasizes geographic facts. The Andes form the longest and highest mountain range in the world and may be considered, in studying transportation problems, as extending on up through Central America and Mexico. From the United States border down through Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile they dominate the land and divide each country into high peaks and low valleys.

The Central Railway of Venezuela from Caracas to Valencia passes through 87 tunnels in dropping down to the Valencia plain; the line from Guayaquil, Ecuador, reaches Quito only after scaling the divide at 11,481 feet; the Central Railway of Peru reaches a height of 15,680 feet within 106 miles of the sea after passing through 65 tunnels, over 67 bridges, and



using 16 switchbacks; the Southern Railway of Peru crosses the divide at 14,688 feet; the Arica-La Paz Railway, after miles of cog-track, reaches the divide at 13,986 feet; the Antofagasta-Bolivia, at 12,970 feet; and the Trans-Andine, connecting Valparaiso and Buenos Aires, another cog-track, enters the great tunnel at 10,512 feet.

In the enormous Amazon Valley whose jungles run to the very feet of the Andes, the torrential rains, the hot steaming earth, and the overnight growth of vegetation make railroad and highway building even more costly in money and men than it is over the towering mountains and the deep valleys. The only sections of Latin America favorable to the construction of transportation facilities are the great plains in southern Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, and the relatively level sections of land in some of the Caribbean countries.

River Transportation.—Here, at least, nature has contributed to the aid of transportation as far as South America is concerned. In the 10 northern countries, rivers are often too swollen in the rainy season and too shallow in the dry season to assist greatly in carrying passengers or goods, although the San Juan, separating Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and the Panuco of Mexico are important.

There are four great river systems in South America on which vessels ranging in size from the small canoe of the Indian to the great ocean liners carry manufactured goods to the interior and bring out rubber, cacao, and a dozen other tropical products. These are the systems of the Plata, the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Magdalena. So extensive are these systems that with a comparatively few miles portage one can go by boat, except for rapids, from Buenos Aires to the mouth of the Orinoco. The great Amazon, of course, leads in the extent of navigable waterways, and ocean liners go regularly as far as Manaos and even Iquitos, almost to the boundary of Ecuador, 2,500 miles from the Atlantic. The Paraná and its tributaries, the Paraguay and the Pilcomayo, stretch far into the heart of the continent and afford an outlet for the interior plains of Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina. In the north the Orinoco is as yet little utilized because the country it serves is but thinly settled; but the grassy plains through which it flows will support millions more cattle than they do, and until railways are built to the coast, their only outlet will be by way of the river. In Colombia, the Magdalena forms the only highway, unless the air route is counted, by which freight and passengers move between the interior and the Atlantic Coast.

Railways.—Although several countries lay claim to having the oldest railway in South America, it appears that the first road to be actually opened for service was a line five miles long, finished in British Guiana in 1848. In the next year a line was completed between Caldera and Copiapo, Chile, and in 1857 the first road began operations in Argentina. Brazil followed a year later. Since that time construction has been practically continuous, and now every country in Latin America has its railway system. Naturally, expansion of railway transportation has been most rapid in the level plains of Argentina, and it has made least progress in the west and north, where mountain construction often runs the cost up to more than $100,000 a mile.

Despite mountain barriers, two transcontinental lines exist. The first railroad connecting the two oceans in South America was the Trans-Andean from Valparaiso, Chile, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, a distance of 886 miles. Recently, a severe landslide washed out a section of the railroad, but traffic continues to move over this portion by means of buses and trucks. The other transcontinental line is from Buenos Aires, through northern Argentina, into Bolivia whence three routes are available to reach the Pacific coast: one via Antofagasta, Chile; another via Arica, Chile; and a third by way of Mollendo, Peru, crossing Lake Titicaca, the highest lake in the world with steam navigation.

In Central America, although the mountains are not as high as farther south, they have, nevertheless, proved an obstacle to railway development. Notwithstanding, three transcontinental lines exist: one in Panama, from Colon to Panama City (built in 1855); another in Costa Rica, from Limón to Punta Arenas; and a third in Guatemala, from Barrios to San José. The various railways of Mexico connect the inland plateau with both coasts, as well as with the borders of the United States and Guatemala. Consequently, travelers from the United States can go by railroad through Mexico, and as far as the port of La Union, Salvador, on the Gulf of Fonseca.

The broad, open pampas of Argentina are ideally adapted to railway building. Consequently, the most extensive railway development has taken place in this section of South America, with lines radiating in every direction from the great port of Buenos Aires. In Uruguay, and in southeastern Brazil, although the land is more hilly, the economic development of these regions has been such as to require the construction of adequate means of transportation.

Whereas in the United States all the railroad lines are privately owned, many of the railways in Latin America are owned and operated by the governments.

Ocean Transportation.—The fact that a large part of the foreign trade of South America has been with Europe has caused a great development of ocean transportation service between the two continents. Until a few years before the World War (1914–18) the only regular communication of any importance between South America and the outside world was by means of the ships that ran to European ports. It was customary for passengers bound for South America from the United States to go by way of Liverpool or Hamburg; and a great deal of freight was also routed via these ports. While this has now changed and the United States enjoys reasonably good service with South America, it is nevertheless true that in normal times transportation facilities to and from Europe are much better than to and from the United States. This is due in large part to the nature of the resources and commerce of Europe, South America, and the United States. South America is distinctly a continent of raw materials, whereas Europe is a producer of manufactured articles and moreover, has been a large investor of capital. A heavy volume of oversea traffic and a consequent growth of shipping was, therefore, very logical.



The United States, on the other hand, has until the last 20 years supplied itself with most of its foodstuffs and other raw materials, and has not strenuously sought foreign markets for its factory products. Direct transportation facilities to South America, therefore, have been in demand only for a comparatively few years. Even after direct service was well established, goods were carried largely in foreign bottoms. Before the beginning of the World War of 1914–18 a triangular trade route had been evolved by which vessels carried manufactured goods from Europe to South America; coffee, hides, and other staples from South America to the United States; and various American exports thence to Europe. This important merchant shipping of European countries played an important role in the upbuilding and solidification of their commercial relationships and activities in South America.

Following the World War, efforts were made to develop United States shipping lines with Latin America. In 1940 the following lines were operating to South America: The Good Neighbor Fleet, Moore McCormack Line, between New York and the east coast of South America; Grace Line, operating between the Pacific coast of the United States and the west coast of South America; between North Atlantic ports of the United States and the west coast of South America; and between North Atlantic ports of the United States and Venezuela and Colombia; Pacific-Argentina-Brazil Line, between Pacific coast ports and the east coast of South America; Mississippi Shipping Company, between Gulf ports of the United States and the east coast of South America; United Fruit Company, between the United States and Caribbean ports. Various smaller lines ply between Gulf and Caribbean ports.

Along the coasts are scores of towns and cities, mostly communicating with each other and the outside world by water, which serve as inlet and outlet for the commerce of a comparatively narrow hinterland. In some cases the towns and villages of this hinterland are reached by railways; in others, by river boats; but very often the only communicating road from the coast is a rough trail, where even wheeled vehicles will find no thoroughfare.

Ocean transportation between the United States and nearby ports of the 10 northern republics has, of course, been far superior to shipping connections with the distant ports of South America. The lack of such connections and high rates for freight and passenger service have been a constant source of complaint. Pan American conferences continually discuss the problem. The United States government has recently provided heavy subsidies for its lines. The governments of Chile and Brazil, especially, have begun their own lines. But the problems of inter-American ocean transportation still remain one of the important disturbances in Pan American relations.

Highways.—It was not until the fifth Pan American Conference, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, that the republics became sufficiently «highway conscious» to devote special attention at one of the official international assemblies to highway construction and motor transportation. At this conference, provision was made for the celebration of Pan American Highway Congresses to discuss highway construction and

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The most interesting feature of highway construction in the Americas is the project of a Pan American highway to extend from the United States in the north to Argentina and Chile in the south, and connect all the countries of the Americas. The greatest progress has been made in the section between Panama and the United States, known as the Inter-American Highway. The longest of the completed sections is the road between Laredo, Texas, and Mexico City, which was opened to traffic in July 1936. Since then, thousands of American tourists have motored down to visit their southern neighbors. The second section extends from Guatemala City, through the Republic of El Salvador, to San Lorenzo, Honduras. From there a spur line goes up to Tegucigalpa, thereby connecting the capitals of the three countries. The third important section of the highway runs between Panama City and David, which is just a short distance from the Costa Rican border.

In South America, the Bolivar Highway extends through Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador: beginning on the Atlantic coast at La Guaira, it goes through Caracas, Bogotá, and Quito, and comes to an end on the Pacific coast at Guayaquil. In addition to the foregoing international highways, nearly every country of the continent is engaged in carrying out a local program. Several of the American republics already have extensive networks of roads.

Aviation.—Aviation has made extraordinary progress throughout the Americas, and probably no other region of the world is more «air-minded.» This circumstance grows out of the difficulty experienced in many sections of the continent in providing other means of transportation. The airplane has made it possible to overcome these obstacles. Latin America has more miles of airlines in regular operation than the United States or Europe, and it also boasts the first successful commercial air service in the world. This is the Scadta line in Colombia, inaugurated in 1920. It furnishes rapid means of transportation in a country which, because of its exceptionally rugged topography, has always been confronted with a serious transportation problem. In 1940 this line was absorbed by Pan American Airways.

National airlines exist in nearly every country, and, in addition, international services connect all the republics with one another and with the United States. The Pan American Airways extends from the United States to the islands of the West Indies, through Mexico and Central America, and down both the east and west coasts of South America, encircling the continent. This company entered the field in 1927 with the inauguration of a line between Havana, Cuba, and Key West, Fla. Since then it has



experienced a steady growth and in 1940 had over 41,000 miles of airlines in operation. With the inauguration of its transatlantic and transpacific services, Pan American Airways now links the Americas with Europe and the Orient. The traveler can now go from New York to Buenos Aires in three days; by sea the trip takes almost three weeks. The airplane has also been of great value to the mining industries, and many formerly inaccessible regions are now being successfully exploited. South America is also in air communication with Europe. Aircraft from Germany and France cross the South Atlantic from Africa to the easternmost point of Brazil, and then proceed down the coast, across the Andes, and up the west coast, thus placing these countries in close communication with the nations of Europe. Following the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, however, several of these lines were temporarily suspended leaving a large part of this business to Pan American Airways and the smaller national lines.

Population

Latin America with an area of 8,660,000 square miles, has a population of 125,000,000 or 14.8 per square mile. The United States has 3,022,387 square miles with a population of 131,669,275 or 43 per square mile. At the beginning of the 19th century the United States had a population of 5,000,000 and Latin America somewhere between 15 and 20 million. Europe with a population of 465,000,000 has 3,875,000 square miles of territory or 120 people per square mile. Only El Salvador in Latin America equals that average of density, unless we count Puerto Rico, which has over 500 people to the square mile. It is interesting to remember that Cuba, with a territory about as large as Java, has a population of 4,000,000 as compared with Java's 38,000,000.

The world's population is increasing at the rate of 160,000,000 every 10 years. These new peoples must find «a place under the sun» and, facing an ever-rising standard of living, they must find food with which to sustain themselves. All of this is to be found in Latin America where there are great undeveloped agricultural and mineral resources, vast wealth in tropical forests, and untouched electrical power in the remarkable river systems.

The five countries that have the largest populations are Brazil, 45,000,000; Mexico, 22,000,000 (1940 census); Argentina, 13,000,000; Colombia, 9,000,000; and Peru, 7,000,000. The countries with a specially dominant Indian population are Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. White people are well in the majority in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, and Cuba. Negroes are overwhelmingly dominant in Haiti and are well mixed with the population in the Caribbean countries, and in Brazil. Latin Americans are peculiarly lacking in race consciousness or prejudice. Three racial tendencies are illustrated by the three largest countries. Brazil desires to amalgamate all peoples within her borders. She encourages the intermarriage of Indians, Africans, Orientals, and Europeans in order to develop a loyal Brazilian citizenship, inheritors of the best from all the races. Mexico, true to her great past and to the majority of her present-day inhabitants, is emphasizing the Indian tendencies in life. Argentina, having eliminated most all of the Indian, African, and Oriental elements, is thoroughly committed to white-European race dominance.

Immigration.—Modern immigration from Europe to Latin America began in the early part of the 19th century. The traditional attitude of all Latin American countries is to welcome immigration and to frown on any kind of racial distinction. In South America the number of Italian immigrants exceeds that of any other nationality. Buenos Aires has become a greater Italian city than Rome. Brazil has more than two million people of Italian descent; more than a million in the state of São Paulo alone. The Italian population is easily assimilative. The Spaniards, of course, are found in all these lands in large proportions except in Brazil, where the Portuguese form the basis. Spaniards and Portuguese still continue to immigrate.

The English, the Scotch, and the Irish form comparatively small groups but are very influential. In the early records of the struggle for independence from Spain, the Nelsons, the Edwardses, the O'Higginses, and many similar names appear frequently. Today, among railway, banking, and business interests many leaders are of British descent.

Poles, Russians and people of the Balkans are scattered through sections of eastern South America. The Japanese are particularly strong in Brazil (300,000) and in Peru (60,000). Chinese are found chiefly in Mexico, Peru, Panama, and Cuba. There are between 160,000 and 180,000 Mohammedans from the Near East and India in South America, 30,000 of whom are in central Brazil and the Amazon Basin.

Among the earliest immigrants to South America were the Germans. The first group went to Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil, in 1824. Up until 1934, it is estimated that the immigration amounted to 84,570. German sources, however, estimate that the total number of people of German blood in the three southern Brazilian states are 921,000 (105,000 of whom are German citizens). The situation of these Germans is described by Runhard Maack (*Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939) as follows: «The regulations of the Brazilian government cannot destroy the national unity of all Germans, bound together by common blood ties and common culture. A German remains forever a German in a national sense, regardless of the country to which his destiny has led him or on what continent he was born.» Because of this dual status, figures relating to the number of Germans in Latin American countries are difficult to state satisfactorily. From the German viewpoint, the total for Brazil would reach a million and about the same total for all the other Latin American countries combined, with 300,000 in Argentina, 100,000 in Chile, 20,000 in Colombia, 10,000 in Guatemala, 40,000 in Mexico, and considerably smaller numbers in remaining republics.

That Latin America will have difficulty in maintaining its doctrine of race equality is illustrated by the tremendous efforts made to extend into South America the Hitler concept of races. This propaganda entered South America through the embassies, legations, and consulates of Germany.

Clubs, schools, commercial and cultural organizations conducted by German colonies or influenced by them, were rent in twain by the struggle between Hitlerites and anti-Hitlerites



for their control. The swastika flag is flown above the German schools, clubs, and cultural societies.

This development of naziism is bringing to South America a persecution of the Jews who hitherto have enjoyed, with only a few minor exceptions, the same display of fraternity as have other races. There are some 360,000 Jews in South America and 16,000 in Mexico. By far the largest Jewish group is found in Argentina, numbering 225,000, thus making this country twelfth in Jewish population in the world. In Buenos Aires there are four Jewish banks, the largest one being the Banco Popular Israelita of Buenos Aires, which has 4,422 members and capital of $1,101,800. There are two daily papers in Yiddish and numerous reviews; the Jews represent some of the most talented writers in the Spanish language.

There are about 75,000 Jews in Brazil, some 40,000 of them having arrived since the World War of 1914–18. They are mostly in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, except for the colonies established in Rio Grande do Sul by the Jewish Colonization Society. German sources in Brazil arouse considerable opposition to the Jews, in spite of the protest of leading Brazilians. In Uruguay there are 50,000 Jews, two thirds of whom are found in the city of Montevideo, where prominent citizens speak with pride of the commercial and residential districts where Jews enjoy the liberties and social privileges which Uruguay is accustomed to offer to all its residents. In Chile there are reported to be 20,000 Jews, and in Peru about a seventh of that number. In Colombia, where there are some 8,000, the district of Antioquia is famous for its early Jewish settlers. In Guatemala some of the best-known economic leaders are German Jews.

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There are four chief difficulties which confront immigration in Latin America. One is the system of great landed estates prevalent in most of these countries. In some cases one can travel for days within the limits of a single estate. Since the income from these large estates is sufficient to keep absentee landlords in luxury in the cities, there is little incentive for intensive development of the lands. The immigrant can find a place only as a day laborer, or at best, may become, precariously, a renter. This is no doubt a principal reason why more than two million of the immigrants who have come to Argentina during the last 70 years have returned to their homes. Similar landed estates exist in practically every other Latin American country. Mexico is the only one that has taken serious measures to break them up. This was not done to draw outsiders, however, but to provide better livelihood for her own people. In fact, Mexico is one of the very few Latin American countries with little interest in attracting outsiders; she prefers to concentrate her attention on bettering the position of her own citizens.

Another detriment to immigration has been the recurrence of revolutions in most of the Latin American countries. These upheavals disturb the peace and result in the destruction of social life and progress, especially in less densely populated areas. They also mean the risk of having the new government refuse to abide by the assurances of the old one. A third difficulty is the lack of educational facilities in many new territories; for Latin America is just beginning to give attention to rural education. Mexico is now leading in this direction, but at the present rate of development it will take years to make any deep impression on the mass of her population.

A fourth obstacle to be overcome by the immigrant is the lack in most of these countries of good titles to land holdings. Often legal processes for acquiring permanent titles are not clear, nor do they always prove to be permanent. A fifth difficulty has recently arisen, due both to influence concerning racism and an excessive nationalism.

Refugees.—Natural expectation that Latin American countries, with great unoccupied territories, would open their gates to the ever-increasing number of refugees from Europe has not been altogether fulfilled. Mexico up to 1940 had received some 20,000 Spanish Loyalists and Chile, 3,000. Various countries, notably the Dominican Republic and Ecuador, opened their doors also to colonies of Jews. The latter have found entrance as individuals, when friends within have guaranteed their support, in every Latin American country. Owing, however, first to the economic depression and later to the world-wide alarm that newcomers might spread dangerous doctrines and bring about complications with foreign governments, the entrance of refugees and all other immigrants has become exceedingly difficult. Opposition is especially strong to city dwellers who will compete for jobs and business. If any considerable number are to find places, they will have to abandon the hope of fitting into the more or less comfortable sociable life of the cities and begin to regard the job as one of pioneering. If they are willing to undertake the settlement of the great unoccupied spaces, overcoming the hardships of frontier life as did the early settlers traveling in covered wagons in the United States and South Africa, a challenging adventure awaits them. But for large groups of refugees either to crowd into industrial centers and fight to overcome their competitors, or to agree to go on farms and then rapidly drift into the towns, will only give rise to racial prejudices, boycotts, and other limitations unbearable for all concerned.

The governments of Latin America are not altogether to blame for their recently developed restrictions on immigration. Various schemes for colonization have been badly planned and executed. Rivalries between those endeavoring to help the refugees as well as between the refugees themselves have too often explained the failure of an enterprise. Naïve schemes by well-intentioned people who lack knowledge of conditions of the proposed site for settlement and of the economic and spiritual conditions of the proposed settlers, are other explanations of failure. Refusal of the newcomers to adapt themselves to new conditions often arouses opposition.

Citizens from the United States and other countries with high living standards should be careful about efforts to establish themselves in Latin American countries simply on the basis that these are lands of promise. Only when connections have been made with well-established commercial or other institutions should residence be undertaken. The importance of a thorough knowledge of the language



of the country and a willingness to adapt oneself to its mode of life should be prerequisites for moving to a Latin American country.

Many of the factors that have discouraged immigration in these countries are now disappearing. Science is contributing heavily to eliminate the drawbacks of the tropics. The automobile, the tractor, the airplane, and the radio are transforming these lands. Rubber, fruits, and other tropical products are increasingly demanded by the rest of the world. Tropical diseases are being conquered. Comfort is being assured by the rapid development of air-conditioned houses, electric refrigerators, and other appliances. Political life is becoming more stable and liberties are more assured. However, Latin America is not growing in population as rapidly as might be expected. One reason for this is the recent habit of copying the extremes of nationalism dominant in other parts of the world. But Southern statesmen should realize that fairly dense populations are necessary to impel social and inventive processes; that sparsely settled countries find it difficult to command influence in the modern world.

Agricultural Products

Latin America is evidently destined to become one of the world's greatest suppliers of food, fibers, and other raw products. Already tremendous strides have been made. Latin America provides one-fifth of the cattle hides used in the world's tanneries; a very high proportion of the world's coffee supplies; about one-third of the world's cane sugar; one-third of the world's supply of cacao; and in addition, large supplies of rubber, bananas and other fruit, nuts and oil seeds, cotton, tanning materials, dyes, drugs, and so on.

Two great needs have always been paramount—to develop communications and other facilities, and population to serve as agricultural labor and as consumers. The natural increase in population now evident, together with government programs to admit agricultural colonists, indicates that the latter problem is in process of solution. The United States government has recently made possible the lending of its technical men and other facilities. Greater crop diversification and improvement are noticeable, and agriculture, at least in the temperate parts of Latin America, even now is generally in a thoroughly prosperous condition. Agriculture has acquired a greater dignity among the professions in Latin America, to such extent that one authority has recently pointed to what he terms «South America's return to Agriculture.»

Coffee.—Most of the world's coffee is grown in Latin America, and two-thirds of the Latin American crop is the production of Brazilian coffee trees. The United States consumes nearly half of the world's production, as its people are the greatest coffee drinkers, using 12½ pounds per capita annually. Coffee is universally shipped in bags of 132 pounds, and the United States imports from Latin America about 11,000,000 bags annually. Besides Brazil, Colombia, and the Central American states, Venezuela, and Mexico export coffee in quantity.

Coffee is by far the most important product of Brazil, which leads the world in the production of this staple. The states producing the bulk of the coffee crop are São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Espiritu Santo, and Bahia.

In the great family of Latin American republics, Colombia ranks next to Brazil both in the production and exportation of coffee. About 25,000 bags are retained for home consumption, the remainder being shipped to the United States and to European countries.

The principal coffee-producing districts are the department of Cundinamarca, which produces the renowned Bogatá brand, the Ocana, Cucuta, and Bucaramanga districts, in the department of Santander, and the Tolima and smaller valleys of the Cordilleras.

Coffee takes its place as the principal crop of Guatemala. The districts best suited to its culture are Antigua, Barbereno, Costa Chuva, Alta Verapaz, Costa Cuca, Costa Grande, Pochuta, and Tumbador. In some of the districts coffee of very fine quality is grown at an altitude of 5,000 feet, but the yield of the trees is comparatively light. The best coffee is grown in the department of Alta Verapaz.

The cultivation of coffee has been carried on in Costa Rica for many years, and until banana culture assumed its present proportions, was the leading industry. At one time as much as 45,000,000 pounds were produced, but the crops now average much less, owing to the enormous crops of other Latin American countries and the consequent fall in value. But Costa Rican coffee is still highly prized in Europe, especially in England, where, on account of its exceptional quality and flavor, it commands a good price.

The coffee crop of Mexico, which ordinarily may be produced in the highland regions throughout the republic, varies from 77,000,000 to 110,000,000 pounds annually, about 40,000,000 pounds, or 43 per cent, being exported, and the remainder held for home consumption. Mexican coffee of the best brands is highly esteemed.

The coffee crop of Salvador has become the most important of its agricultural products. The United States is the largest customer, followed by Germany.

Fruits.—The most impressive fact in the history of the cultivation of valuable fruits in the Latin American tropics is not that so much has been accomplished but that so much still remains to be achieved. The past success amply justifies a confident outlook for the future in this great industry.

The records of achievement relate chiefly to the *Musa sapientium* or banana, the fruit of which was not produced on a large scale in the Latin American tropics until citizens of the United States had established the banana trade in 1866—at first importing from Colon only—and then had developed the industry during years and decades of unremitting effort. Northern commercial methods have supplied new transportation and communication facilities, and, taking in their stride obstacles that for centuries had been regarded as insurmountable, have expelled tropical fevers from their strongholds. As F. U. Adams writes in his 'Conquest of the Tropics' (New York 1914): «In 1871 there was not a mile of railroad in all of Central America (the republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) with the exception of a short line having its terminal at Puerto Cortez, Hon-



duras. There were no dependable foot or wagon roads from its capitals.

There was no steamship service from the United States or from any part of the world. . . . . There probably was no inhabited spot on earth more isolated. These republics were cut off not only by the sea but also by barriers of pestilential lands, which the natives dreaded to cross and which the outside world could not enter. Today these former wildernesses constitute one of the most productive agricultural sections of the globe. Today ships from all the world enter the beautiful harbors of Central America and land their passengers in ports which are as sanitary as those of Massachusetts. Today most republics of Central America are served with well-managed and modernly equipped railway lines. Furthermore, tens of millions of dollars have been advanced to those who otherwise would not have been able to use their lands for banana cultivation, such loans having been made at reasonable or relatively low rates of interest—much lower than the prevailing rates for similar advances in the same localities—to residents in, or citizens of, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Guatemala, and other Caribbean regions that have become important sources of fruit supply. The problems of tropical sanitation have been attacked and mastered.

Sugar.—The cane sugar production of the world for the past few years has averaged approximately 19,000,000 tons or 38,000,000,000 pounds. Of this quantity the countries of Latin America—not including any foreign possessions in America—produce about 7,000,000 tons or 14,000,000,000 pounds, which is equivalent to more than 35 per cent of the world's total crop of cane sugar. The United States is the largest consumer of sugar per capita of all other countries, importing about 5,000,000 tons a year, over 85 per cent from Cuba.

The republic of Cuba is now the largest cane sugar-producing country in the world. For a long time it ranked next to British India, which is now in third place below Java. Brazil, Peru, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic also produce cane sugar amounting to about 40 per cent of Cuba's total.

Climatic conditions and the soil of Cuba are so well adapted to the growing of sugar cane that nearly one-half of the tillable area of the island is devoted to this crop. The cane matures in from 12 to 18 months, but the crop is so planted that it is harvested more or less throughout the year, though the principal harvest season is from December to June. Lands in the western provinces have been planted in cane for so many years and have become so impoverished that not more than four to seven crops can be harvested without replanting. In the newer and richer lands of the eastern provinces 10 or 12 crops, and sometimes twice as many, may be harvested without replanting.

The principal sugar plantations of the Dominican Republic are located on the southern coast. In the adjoining hinterland are many of the most important sugar centers of the island.

The large area suitable for growing sugar cane on the west coast of Peru is limited only by the available supply of water for irrigation. There is also a small area east of the Andes planted in cane, but at least 97.5 per cent of the crop is grown in the rich valleys along the coast.

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Practically the entire lowland region of Mexico is adapted to growth of sugar cane, and 18 of the 28 states produce cane.

Tobacco.—Small in amount, the domestic production of tobacco in the Argentine Republic is used exclusively in the domestic cigar and cigarette factories.

Brazil, largest of the Latin American countries, is the greatest producer of tobacco, an industry that has been carried on since the days of the colonial governments. Ninety-five per cent of the exports are made from Bahia, the chief port of the tobacco district, and the greatest amount is sent to Europe. Taken in its entirety, tobacco is the ninth in size of all Brazilian exports, the republic, besides supplying her own domestic needs, supplying some part of the requirements of her neighboring countries.

While Cuba is not as voluminous a producer of tobacco as certain other countries, the reputation which its raw and manufactured product has achieved has made the name Havana synonymous for excellence of tobacco, a reputation that the island has held since its first discovery. Next to sugar, it is Cuba's most important crop, and amounts to about 66,000,000 pounds annually.

Perhaps the most widely cultivated, although not the most important, crop in Paraguay is tobacco. Its production was formerly carried on extensively, and a ready market was found in Europe, particularly in Germany, but owing to internal troubles its acreage decreased, and until recently it was practically unknown beyond the Paraguayan borders. It is now under the special patronage of the Banco Agricola, the government institution concerned with betterment of agricultural matters. Soils have been analyzed, seeds from Cuba introduced, and scientific instruction given as to the cultivation and handling to meet the demands of export buyers.

With the right amount of encouragement, Colombia promises to be one of the important tobacco-producing countries of America, as the plant thrives in almost every portion of the country.

The Dominican Republic at present ranks third among Latin American countries in the raising of tobacco, and the normal yield annually runs 25,000,000 to 27,000,000 pounds.

In Mexico the use of tobacco is universal and its consumption large, with the result that large quantities are raised of which no estimates are given. Being of universal use, it is grown everywhere.

Other Latin American countries producing tobacco include Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Peru; some in sufficient quantities to have an exportable surplus.

Cotton.—Local consumption of raw cotton has increased with the number of spinning mills opened in the South American countries and their existence helps to stimulate cotton-growing efforts. The crop is one demanding at certain seasons close attention from the cultivators, but in Brazil it is found that cotton calls for less labor than coffee. In northern Brazil, cotton



was largely replaced by sugar planting upon the abolition of slavery. A considerably larger tract than the cotton belt of the United States is suitable to the crop in Brazil and the yield per acre much exceeds the North American average.

The coastal valleys of Peru yield some 265,000 bales, and much of it is of superior quality. The plateaus of Colombia offer potentialities which have commended themselves to delegates of the International Cotton Federation.

Cotton growing was introduced into Paraguay by the Jesuit fathers, and now attention has been given to raising cotton upon a commercial scale in those northern parts of Argentina which most resemble Brazil in climatic respects, notably the Chaco, Corrientes, Santiago del Estero, and Formosa. Planting begins early in October, after preliminary work on the soil, and the picking season runs usually from April to the end of June. Insect pests present a severe trial, and the prices realizable for seed are fixed for the small cultivator by the local storekeeper who is his creditor for supplies during the year. The general methods of ginning and grading leave room for improvement.

Planters have been no more immune from disappointments in South America than in other quarters of the world. The cost of picking has proved high in districts where the plants do not ripen simultaneously. Natural calamities in the form of drought and severe floods have interfered with progress. Defects of organization have disclosed themselves and been in part repaired.

The recent rapid development of cotton in Brazil has been one of the most sensational happenings in South American economics. The export of this staple in 1937 was 10 times as much as in 1927. The state of São Paulo, where coffee dominates the economic life, is now becoming the center of a world cotton market. In 1937 Latin America produced 727,000 tons, about 8.8 per cent of the world's output. In 1925–29 the annual average production was only 258,400 tons or 4.5 per cent of world's total. Both Brazil and Argentina have enormous amounts of land suitable for cotton and will no doubt increase their production considerably. Mexico and Peru, while having lesser potentialities, are enlarging production to meet local demands.

Rubber.—Before the development of the rubber plantations in the East, Brazil was by far the chief source of rubber, and trees taken from Brazil to the rubber-producing countries still afford the main supply. The type collected in Brazil, and known as «up-river, hard-cured fine Para,» is regarded as the best in the world. The great age of the trees and the native method of curing are held to account for the superiority. Exports: 1929—19,861 tons; 1932—6,220 tons; 1933—9,453 tons; 1934—11,124 tons.

Nuts and seeds are collected in lieu of rubber from certain areas when the rubber market is low, although seldom in the Xingu Valley, whence comes a large proportion of the Caucho variety. Manaos is the largest center of rubber collection, followed by Para, and the exports include a small proportion from Iquitos (Peru).

Foreign labor would be required were rubber trees to be cultivated systematically upon any large scale in the Amazon forest; hence, the prospective cost of this labor has deterred planters from embarking upon an experiment. One such experiment has, however, been undertaken by the Ford Motor Company of Para upon a concession of virgin tableland on the Tapajos River, where about 5,000 acres have been planted.

Brazil, as well as other sections of Latin America, have recently taken important steps to recapture their dominance in the rubber industry. In 1937 Latin America produced 1.7 per cent of the world's supply, as compared with 1.0 per cent in 1932 and an average of 4.5 per cent in 1925–29, when high prices stimulated Brazilian wild rubber production. Rubber production is concentrated almost entirely in the Brazilian states of Para and Amazonas, although the rubber tree is found in many other sections of the Latin American lowland tropics. The Ford Motor Company has properties in Para said to total 12,792 square kilometers, on which 3,000,000 rubber trees have been planted, and about 5,000,000 additional trees are ready for transplanting. By 1944 these trees should be producing a substantial amount of rubber, and if the experiment proves successful, further attempts will probably follow. The chief obstacles to plantation rubber development in Brazil are lack of efficient labor and the difficulty of securing capital for a highly speculative and long-term venture. The Brazilian government is actively interested in fostering the development of the domestic rubber industry, which long held first place in world production, and part of the credits contemplated in the financial agreement concluded with the United States in March 1939 may be used for this purpose.

It is estimated that there are several million acres adapted to rubber in Central and South America. Furthermore, Latin America can produce some 2,000 pounds per acre against 700 pounds in Dutch East Indies and a world average of 400 pounds.

The Department of Agriculture of the United States government has recently given much time to aiding Latin America in rubber planting. The department proposes to give special attention to testing soil, eradicating leaf disease, and enlarging the total of the crop. This is only a part of the plan of aiding various agricultural developments in Latin America. Henry A. Wallace, when Secretary of Agriculture, said: «We find that some limited facilities exist in the Americas for research in tropical agriculture. But, for a long-time program that would call for continuing research designed, on one hand, to develop and promote tropical agriculture on a scientific basis, and on the other hand, to train agricultural leaders of the future in this field, more adequate facilities than now exist are indispensable.» For that purpose, Mr. Wallace advocated the establishment of «an institute of tropical agriculture in some Latin American country where facilities for tropical research are suitable.»

Present world conditions emphasize the great desire of the United States, using more than half of the world's rubber supply, to obtain this as far as possible on the American continent. In 1939 the United States used 592,000 long tons out of a total world consumption of approximately 1,000,000 long tons. By far the largest part of production was in British



Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and other sections within striking distance of Japan.

Cattle and Meat Industry.—The world demand for meat, and particularly beef, has directed attention to Latin America as the most promising field for its production. Locally, there are but few places in either the northern or southern group of countries where cattle have not been raised with success since the Spanish settlement. Owing, however, to the lack of transportation facilities and extensive meat-preserving plants, until recently their great value in export trade was almost entirely in their hides. In consequence, the native stock deteriorated through interbreeding and acclimatization to the tropical and semitropical conditions, the result being a nonfat-producing animal of small size, whose beef was unsuited to the tastes of foreign buyers. But with a foreign demand, and the installation of packing, refrigerating, and transportation facilities, cattlemen of the pampas of Argentina early recognized the need of scientific methods. Foreign pedigreed stock has been introduced for cross-breeding, fat-producing feedstuffs have been cultivated, sanitary regulations have been decreed and enforced, inland transportation has been facilitated, and markets have been established. Under such conditions the Argentine Republic is far and away the greatest livestock country of Latin America.

The packing houses of Buenos Aires, La Plata, and other Argentine cattle markets rank with the best in the world.

The cattle and sheep-rising industries of the southern half of the continent form the basis of the great export trade in refrigerated meat. The principal resources are estimated currently as follows:

	Cattle	Sheep
Argentina	32,211,855	48,513,221
Uruguay	7,128,000	20,558,000
Brazil	40,000,000	7,933,437

The livestock resources of the northern half of South America are for a variety of reasons of less interest as potential supplies of beef and mutton for consumption overseas, important as they are from other points of view. Colombia and Venezuela possess cattle in large numbers, and there are an estimated 12 million head of sheep in Peru.

More than half the meat sold in the Smithfield Market is of South American origin, and so is approximately one-third of all the butcher's meat consumed in Great Britain and Ireland. Approximately 80 per cent of the world's export beef comes from the cattle ranges of South America.

The extent of the supplies and the perfection of the organization of the meat trade allow of continuous operation, with consequent economy. Thus, nine meat refrigerating works in Argentina have a capacity of treating probably 10,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep daily. Four similar works in Uruguay are able to deal with 4,000 head of cattle daily, and five others in Brazil, with 6,000 head of cattle.

The *frigoríficos* of the Rio de la Plata have an enormous advantage in being situated within «chilling» distance of the European market. Their beef can be shipped in steamers fitted with apparatus for maintaining a steady temperature of 28° F. Consequently the beef arrives in a

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The *frigorificos* of the Rio de la Plata have an enormous advantage in being situated within «chilling» distance of the European market. Their beef can be shipped in steamers fitted with apparatus for maintaining a steady temperature of 28° F. Consequently the beef arrives in a condition hardly distinguishable from the home-killed article and commands a materially higher price than frozen beef, which is carried in chambers cooled to 17° F. The economy of the whole process is notable, for the *frigorificos* are operated upon a profit margin of roughly ½d. per pound on the gross weight, and chilled meat is carried by the steamship companies from the Plata to London at something less than twice the cost of sending beef by rail from London to Glasgow.

Mutton and pork are exported in a hard-frozen condition, and Rio de la Plata mutton and lamb do not occupy so commanding a position in the market as does beef from the same source, although in quantity the imports into the British market rival New Zealand.

Dry jerked beef preceded canned meat in districts where the supply of fresh animal food was difficult and is still an important article of export from Argentina to Cuba. Preserved in this form the meat retains its nutritive qualities for long periods under varied climatic conditions.

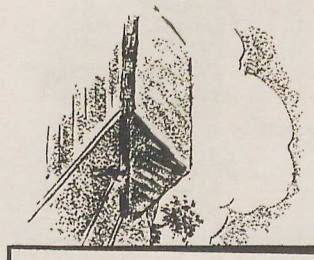
Hides and Leather.—Despite the output, little attempt has been made to use hides industrially in their respective countries. The great bulk is exported in its raw state, despite the vast quantities of tanning materials available throughout Latin America—quebracho, mangrove, divi-divi, and innumerable others. These tanning materials are, in their turn, particularly during 1930–40, an important export item, many shipments abroad being carried by the same bottoms that transport the hides for which they are intended.

Wool.—The wool industry is subject to climatic influences: while sheep thrive in the tropic and semitropic zones, nature, by its law of compensation, relieves them of the necessity of clothing themselves to withstand the cold, and their wool loses those qualities that the requirements of commerce have standardized. Applying this factor to Latin America, we find that the most successful exploitation of the wool industry is in the extreme southern countries of South America, or on the high tablelands free from tropic influence.

Ranking next to Australia, and on a par with the United States, Argentina occupies a pre-eminent position in the wool industry. Unlike the cattle and meat industry, woolgrowing has been of long standing. Throughout the entire statistics of the country, a fact generally true elsewhere, a close relation is noted between the production of wool and the price of mutton. When the latter is in demand at a good price, entire flocks of sheep are slaughtered, with a resulting diminution of the wool clip for the following few years.

Sheep are pastured throughout the republic, particularly in the central and southern part. Requiring cheap lands, they have been pushed farther south each year, with the result that parts of Patagonia and of Tierra del Fuego, considered a generation ago as uninhabitable for civilized man, have been found to be peculiarly adapted to the industry. The rapid development of this territory to its new capabilities, in connection with a similar development in the corresponding latitude of Chile, has made a distinct sheep-raising section of the southernmost part of the continent, tributary to a great extent to Punta Arenas, Chile, which until recently was a free port.





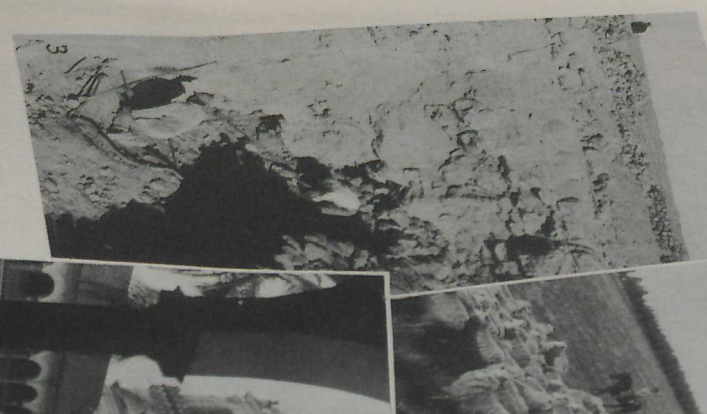
Country	Population	Area Square Miles	Capital	Population	Principal Exports	Foreign Trade—1939 (Approximate values in thousands of United States dollars) Imports[1]	Exports
Argentina	13,129,723	1,079,965	Buenos Aires	2,345,221	Wheat, corn, linseed, oats, barley, flour, frozen and chilled meats, hides, skins, wool, residuary animal products, meat extract, butter, cotton, and quebracho extract and wood	309,021	363,246
Bolivia	3,457,000	419,470	La Paz	250,000	Tin, silver, wolfram, antimony, lead, copper, zinc, gold, and bismuth	24,237	42,851
Brazil	45,002,176	3,286,170	Rio de Janeiro	1,896,998	Coffee, cotton, hides and skins, cocoa, oranges, carnauba wax, canned meats, lumber, chilled and frozen meats, and tobacco	296,127	333,674
Chile	4,677,089	286,396	Santiago	829,830	Copper bars, nitrate, gold and silver ores and concentrates, wool, iron ore, lentils, beans, hides, iodine, and fresh fruits	82,160	134,280
Colombia	8,701,816	439,828	Bogotá	330,312	Coffee, gold, petroleum, bananas, cattle hides, platinum, and tobacco	104,819	101,169
Costa Rica	639,197	23,000	San Jose	78,883	Coffee, bananas, gold, tuna fish, and mineral concentrates	16,885	9,086
Cuba	4,227,597	44,164	Havana	568,913	Raw sugar, refined sugar, molasses, leaf tobacco, cigars, bananas, copper and iron ore, manganese, alcoholic beverages, sponges, henequen, and honey	105,862	147,676
Dominican Republic	1,655,779	19,325	Ciudad Trujillo	71,297	Sugar, cocoa, coffee, yuca starch, leaf tobacco, corn, molasses, cattle, and bananas	11,592	18,643
Ecuador	2,921,688	disputed	Quito	215,921	Cocoa, petroleum and derivatives, cyanide precipitates, coffee, gold, rice, bananas, tagua nuts, hats (toquilla straw), rubber, hides and skins, wood (mainly balsa), and kapok	10,173	11,341
El Salvador	1,744,535	13,176	San Salvador	102,316	Coffee, gold and silver, sugar, balsam, and henequen	8,850	12,750
Guatemala	3,284,269	48,290	Guatemala City	166,456	Coffee, bananas, chicle, gold, honey and cattle hides	15,296	16,935
Haiti	3,000,000	10,700	Port-au-Prince	125,000	Coffee, raw sugar, cotton, sisal, bananas, and cocoa	8,180	7,268
Honduras	1,038,061	46,332	Tegucigalpa	40,000	Bananas, silver, gold, coffee, livestock, grapefruit, leaf tobacco, cyanide precipitates, and coconuts	9,703	9,867
Mexico	19,848,322	758,258	Mexico City	1,229,576	Silver, gold, lead, zinc, copper, crude petroleum, coffee, henequen, cattle, bananas, and chicle	121,597	176,569
Nicaragua	1,133,572	57,143	Managua	70,000	Gold, coffee, bananas, lumber, cotton, livestock, hides and skins, and sugar	6,365	8,301
Panama	573,351	34,169	Panama	82,827	Bananas, cocoa, meat, gold, coconuts, cattle hides, rubber, and mother-of-pearl	20,464	3,487
Paraguay	1,000,000	169,266	Asunción	104,819	Quebracho extract, canned meats, cattle hides, yerba maté, meat extract, oil of petit grain, lumber, and tobacco	7,731	8,075
Peru	6,762,881	disputed	Lima	450,000	Cotton, copper bars, petroleum and derivatives, sugar, wool, gold, and mineral ores and concentrates	48,088	71,707
Uruguay	2,122,628	72,153	Montevideo	703,518	Linseed, frozen beef, preserved meats, cattle hides, wheat, chilled beef, and sheepskins	32,655	50,632
Venezuela	3,491,159	352,170	Caracas	203,342	Petroleum, coffee, gold, cocoa, tonka beans, pearls, sugar, cattle, hides, and alligator and goat skins	101,810	298,871
United States	133,886,372	3,738,395	Washington, D. C.	663,153	Machinery, petroleum and products, automobiles and parts, raw cotton, iron and steel-mill products, unmanufactured tobacco, chemicals and products, wheat, and flour	2,276,099	3,123,343

Prepared by Pan American Union Statistical Division.

[1] Chief imports of the Latin American republics are mainly mineral oils, iron and steel for construction, leather and manufactures, furniture and office appliances, automobiles, aeroplanes, radios, ready-made clothing, textiles, tools and implements for mining and agriculture, hardware, lumber, engines and motors, electrical apparatus and material.

1. Flores, capital of the Peten Territory of Gautemala. 2. Lake Valencia, Venezuela. 3. Mining nitrate in Chile. 4. Sheep on the pampas, Argentina. 5. Coffee drying in the sun, Brazil. 6. Quito, Ecuador, The Franciscan Monastery. 7. New airport administration building and passenger terminal at San Jose, Costa Rica. 8. Loading sugar cane, Venezuela.











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la. 2. Lake Valencia,
on the pampas, Argen-
ito, Ecuador, The Franciscan
ding and passenger terminal
Venezuela.

THE AMERICAS AT A GLANCE


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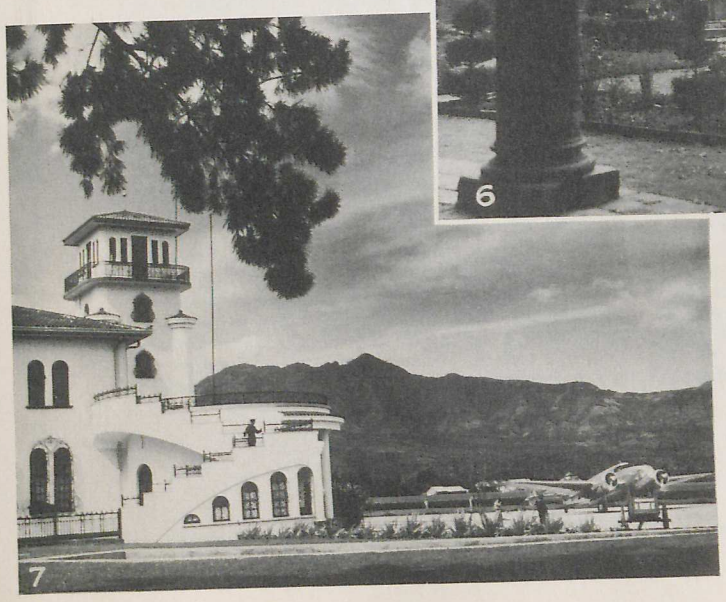
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8

Mineral Industry

The known mineral riches of Latin America exceed those of any other part of the globe so far explored. Most of the supply of the world's bismuth comes from Bolivia; by far the largest supply of thorium is furnished by the monazite sands of Brazil; the unparalleled nitrate deposits of Chile supply practically all of the world's consumption of nitric acid, as well as most of its consumption of iodine; Colombia is the only considerable source of platinum outside of Russia; the tin production of Bolivia stands second on the world's tally sheets; Colombia supplies the world's demand for fine emeralds; Brazil is second only to South Africa in the production of diamonds, and for many years was first; the asphalt lakes of Trinidad and Bermudez supply the world.

In striking contrast to the prodigious wealth awaiting development in Latin America is the notably disproportionate enterprise with which it has been attacked. The most serious hindrance is the lack of transportation, and comparable with this, the scarcity of water and dearth of fuel. The preliminaries of new undertakings in the mineral country require the investment of very substantial sums.

The mineral belt of Latin America is centered upon the great continental backbone which in the United States and Canada bears the general name of «The Rockies.» In Mexico it is a broad zone traversing the entire country from northwest to southeast. Through Central America it is lower in altitude and with apparently fewer treasure spots. In South America it appears again as the Andes, following along the entire western coast. Other smaller areas add their tribute, notably the coastal uplift of southeastern Brazil.

Gold.—In Mexico and Central America almost all the mining of gold is from the lode. In South America much the greater output is from the placers which for centuries have been accumulating fragments from lodes of unrivaled richness high up on the slopes of the Andes, and as yet undiscovered. The stores of gold and golden objects carried away from the Inca and Aztec chiefs by Pizarro and Cortes were doubtless the accumulations of many years, and in all probability were the product of the placers. Under the viceroys a very large amount of gold and silver was obtained under a system of forced labor at no expense to the taskmasters. In Bolivia alone the great placer deposits have been worked since the middle of the 16th century and are estimated to have produced $2,500,000,000. About the middle of the 18th century the leading gold-producing country of the world was the southeastern highland of Brazil in the present state of Minas Geraes. The workings were mainly placer, but there were some lode mines.

As to the immediate outlook it may be said there are enormous gold-bearing deposits on the summits and slopes of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes, and this section is probably richer than the most productive area now being worked anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. Glacial moraines miles in extent show gold in paying quantities, and great alluvial pampas are equally rich. In addition, gold may be picked out of every stream flowing down to the lowlands.



Silver.—Large as has been the total of gold produced by Latin America, the amount of silver has been many times larger. The records do not go back of about 1545, when Europeans found many silver mines yielding enormous quantities, and millions of dollars in silver ornaments, images, and objects of art. At the beginning of the 19th century the yearly silver output of Mexico was about $27,000,000; it is now about $65,000,000. The state of Zacatecas alone has produced nearly or quite $1,000,000,000 in silver. The most famous silver mine in South America is at Potosi, Bolivia, discovered in 1545. Fully $3,000,000,000 has been taken from this «silver mountain,» and its yearly output is about $2,450,000.

Tin, Platinum, and Bismuth.—In the world's production of tin Bolivia holds second place following the Malay States. In several instances former silver mines are now yielding tin ores, the silver having disappeared. Many rich lodes of tin ores have been located at high elevations in the Bolivian Andes, at places remote from transportation lines, and the claim is confidently made that this region holds the largest and most valuable tin deposits in the world. Formerly, a large proportion of the tin output of Bolivia was won from placers, and while these are by no means exhausted, lode mining has been found more profitable. The Bolivian ore has been sent almost exclusively to England for refining. Following the outbreak of war in 1939, arrangements were begun to build smelters for this metal in the United States.

Next to Russia, Colombia is the most important source of platinum in the world. The workings are generally in gold-bearing gravels, and some of these deposits have been found in Ecuador. Platinum in small quantities has also been found in the gold placers of Brazil. The crude platinum mineral as it comes from Colombia has a very large admixture of either iridium or osmiridium, amounting sometimes to 30 or even 50 per cent.

Very nearly the whole of the world's supply of bismuth comes from the Bolivian mines at Tasna and the Chorolque mountain. At the former locality the deposits constitute the largest known occurrence of bismuth ores. The metal is associated with tin and silver and is nearly all sulphide. At Huayni-Potosi a considerable part of the large yield is native metal.

Iron Ore.—Latin America contains some of the richest and largest iron ore deposits in the world, and development possibilities have received an increasing amount of attention over the past few years. As previously pointed out, lack of coking coal in juxtaposition to iron ore reserves and a large internal market will probably prevent the development of an important domestic iron and steel industry in the near future. With improvement in extraction and transportation facilities, however, a greater proportion of Latin American reserves will undoubtedly become available to industrial nations.

Chile is at present the most important producer of iron ore in Latin America, and its output is apparently about half the total for this area. Production of Chilean ore, which originates almost wholly from mines owned and operated by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, amounted to 1,489,637 metric tons in 1937 and 1,347,831 tons in 1936. In 1913, when the American company purchased its Chilean properties

from French interests, it was estimated that the deposits contained over 100,000,000 tons of good quality ore. Chilean iron ore deposits, however, are dwarfed by Brazilian reserves, believed to be the largest in the world and variously estimated at from 1,764,000,000 tons to 8,000,000,000 tons.

Coal.—The comparative lack of coal is one of the more significant features of the Latin American economic structure. In 1937 it is estimated that Latin American production amounted to only 3,806,000 tons, in contrast with total world output of approximately 1,515,000,000 tons. During the same year, exports of coal from the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany to the principal Latin American markets totaled about 7,200,000 tons, which would indicate that not more than a third of this area's extremely modest coal requirements was supplied by domestic production. Of the three principal Latin American coal-producing countries, moreover, only Chile, which normally accounts for about 50 per cent of the total output, is self-sufficient. In the case of Chile, relatively accessible deposits and high tariff on coal imports have resulted in virtually exclusive use of the domestic product, despite its low quality, although a substantial amount of foreign fuel oil is used in preference to coal. Mexico ranks second in Latin American coal production and, due to abundant petroleum resources, is also practically self-sufficient. The only other important producer in Latin America—Brazil—mined 763,000 tons of low-grade coal in 1937 and imported 1,516,000 tons, chiefly from Germany and Britain. Brazilian coal is low in calorific value and high in ash content, but its use has been fostered by legislation. A survey shows that some of Brazil's coal may be used for cooking purposes.

Copper.—Latin America produces over one-fifth of the world's supply of copper. Five countries produce this valuable metal—Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru. But in 1938 Chile produced 97 per cent of Latin American total, and 17.5 per cent of the world's total. American companies operating in Chile accounted for about 95.5 per cent of total production in 1938, the most important factors having been the Chile Copper Company, a subsidiary of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which recovered 163,213 short tons; the Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of Kennecott Copper Corporation, with 132,034 short tons; and the Andes Copper Mining Company (Anaconda) with 60,880 tons. The Chile Copper Company has a plant capacity of about 225,000 short tons of refined copper a year, and ore reserves are the largest in the world.

Ore reserves of the Chile Copper Company were estimated in 1935 at 1,035,000,000 short tons, with an average copper content of 2.15 per cent. On 31 Dec. 1934 estimated reserves of the Andes Copper Mining Company consisted of 27,675,000 short tons of oxide ore (1.65 per cent copper) and 97,390,000 tons of sulphide ore (1.42 per cent copper). Ore reserves of the Braden Copper Company were estimated at 226,000,000 short tons with an average copper content of 2.18 per cent on 31 Dec. 1931. The estimated copper content of these reserves is approximately 29,000,000 short tons, against a world total of 78,625,800 tons.

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Mexico still ranks as the second largest copper producer in Latin America. It accounted for only 9.3 per cent of total output in 1938, in contrast with 16.7 per cent in 1929. The most important producer is the Greene Cananea Copper Company, owned by Anaconda Copper Mining Company, which contributed about a third of the output in 1938 and over 42 per cent in 1937. This company has a plant capacity of about 50,000 short tons a year, as compared with production of 15,629 tons in 1938. It was estimated in 1935 that developed reserves were sufficient to permit production at the rate of about 30,000 tons annually for eight years. Although overlapping operations prevent a precise analysis, it is believed that American capital controls about 60 per cent of Mexican copper production, British 20 per cent, and French and Mexican the remainder.

Lead.—During 1938 Latin America accounted for over a fifth of total world mine production of lead, and the output of the principal producer—Mexico—was exceeded only by the United States. From 60 to 70 per cent of Mexican mine production, which was over three-quarters of the Latin American total in 1938, is controlled by American capital, and virtually the entire output is treated in American-owned refineries. Despite American control, however, comparatively little Mexican lead is imported for consumption by the United States, since domestic production is sufficient to meet requirements. In 1937 the United Kingdom took over 23 per cent of Mexican lead exports, followed by Germany with 9 per cent, while France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark were also important consumers. In the absence of outside influences in the form of stricter government regulation, high taxes and greater concessions to labor, Mexican production of lead may be expected to continue its long-term upward trend, since the industry is efficient and there are ample reserves.

Zinc.—The estimated metal content of zinc ore produced in Latin America during 1938 amounted to 173,000 tons, as against 169,200 tons in 1937, which may be compared with world totals of 1,071,600 tons and 1,021,800 tons, respectively. Mexico produced about 82 per cent of the Latin American aggregate during the two years, while Peru ranked second with an output of 12,400 tons in 1938. Production in Argentina, where development of the industry has been particularly rapid during the past few years, was 12,200 tons in 1938, and Bolivia accounted for the remaining 6,800 tons of the Latin American total for the year. American financial interests dominate Latin American zinc production but, owing to large domestic production, a comparatively small amount of the metal is shipped to the United States.

Manganese.—For the strategic position of the United States, there is perhaps no Latin-American raw material of greater potential significance than manganese, an assured supply of which is essential both in war and in the peacetime manufacture of steel. The only important producers in the Western Hemisphere are Brazil and Cuba, which in 1937 mined 253,661 and 131,299 metric tons, respectively, or collectively approximately 6 per cent of estimated world production of 6,500,000 metric tons. In the same year, these two countries supplied about 31 per cent of the import requirements of the United States. This combined output is obviously not



sufficient for United States needs, although it is probable that Cuba could double its output it necessary.

It has been estimated that there are some 177 occurrences of manganese in Brazil, of which 27 are of economic significance and 22 are being exploited at the present time. On the basis of a tentative survey, the reserves of explored deposits, almost entirely in Minas Geraes, are placed at 9,000,000 tons, while an additional 90,000,000 tons are believed to exist in the state of Matto Grosso, where the largest single manganese property is owned by the Brazilian government.

Chromium.—The value of exports of chromium ore from Cuba, the only important producer at present in Latin America, was $482,957 in 1937, and allowing for a modest contribution from Brazil, the total value of production of this commodity probably did not exceed half a million dollars. Yet its virtual indispensability to the modern peacetime steel industry and its high strategic value in case of war warrant its inclusion among the important resources of Latin America. In 1937 Cuban exports of chromium ore, almost all of which were destined for the United States, amounted to 96,590 metric tons, as compared with estimated world production of 1,350,000 metric tons and total United States imports of 553,916 tons. Brazilian exports for the same year have not been reported, but since they amounted to 3,890 tons in 1936—all of which went to Italy—it is possible that this total was equalled in 1937. Cuban reserves are large and capable of output for many years, but the product is low grade. On the other hand, while Brazilian deposits are not being exploited on the same scale as the Cuban, owing primarily to transportation difficulties, the ore is relatively rich, and reserves of the most important deposit have been estimated at 4,000,000 tons. Occurrence of chromium has also been reported in Colombia, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, although, aside from Cuba, Brazil offers the greatest potentialities.

Tungsten.—The importance of tungsten as a ferroalloy and in the manufacture of incandescent lamps is much greater than its small production and consumption would indicate. Consequently, while it is not an important source of wealth to Latin America at present, the fact that this area contains substantial reserves is of considerable potential significance, particularly in relation to the strategic position of the United States in time of war. In 1936, the last year for which complete statistics are available, world production of tungsten concentrates (60 per cent WO) amounted to 24,746 metric tons, of which Latin America accounted for 2,592 tons, or about 10.5 per cent. The principal producing country is Bolivia, which contributed two-thirds of the 1936 output (1,741 tons), followed by Argentina with about 27 per cent (702 tons), while Peru and Mexico accounted for the remainder. The greatest production potentialities are in Bolivia, which is said to have a potential capacity of 10,000 tons annually, while even under present conditions approximately 4,000 tons could be produced.

The United States controls most of the Bolivian tungsten production, but only a minor amount is imported from this source. In Argentina the principal tungsten mines, which were mainly under German control prior to the war, are now in American hands. In recent years Germany has been the principal export market.

Vanadium.—As in the case of tungsten, the importance of vanadium lies in its use in the manufacture of special alloy steels and iron. Peru has the only known deposits of commercial importance in Latin America, and production in 1937 was about 583 tons out of a total world output of approximately 1,893 tons. The entire output is produced from a mine owned by the Vanadium Corporation of America.

Antimony.—Latin American production of antimony in 1937 was estimated at 14,570 metric tons, or approximately 42 per cent of the world total of 34,500 tons. Mexico was the principal producer, with an output of 9,788 tons, followed by Bolivia and Peru with 3,934 tons and 848 tons, respectively. Latin American producers supply all but a small fraction of United States imports of antimony.

Bauxite.—Although bauxite, from which aluminum is made, is not of great importance as a source of wealth to Latin America, the latter produced in 1937 approximately 697,329 metric tons, or about 20 per cent of estimated world production (3,500,000 tons). Production is concentrated in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and British Guiana, which produced 392,329 and 300,000 tons, respectively. The production is almost entirely in American hands.

Petroleum.—In recent years, Latin America has accounted for about 15 per cent of the world output of crude petroleum, and in 1938 Venezuelan production alone was 9.5 per cent of the world total. The actual importance of Latin America in the world petroleum trade, however, is much greater than these figures would indicate, since the bulk of output is exported. In 1937, for example, total Latin American exports of all petroleum products were estimated at 249,494,000 barrels, or approximately 82 per cent of output. By contrast, United States production in 1937 was 1,277,653,000 barrels, which was 63 per cent of the world total and four times the total Latin American output, but net exports (total exports less imports) were only 187,819,000 barrels. Latin American consumption of petroleum in 1937 may be estimated at roughly 110,000,000 barrels, while imports, whether from other Latin American countries or elsewhere, apparently were in the 50-55 million barrel range.

Industrialization

The false security felt by countries that depended on one product has led various southern countries not only to diversify crops but also to develop manufacturing. While there is little likelihood that this development will grow into making heavy machinery or into large exports to foreign markets, it has already begun to stabilize the economy of countries like Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Two spurts in the building of factories have taken place: first, when the World War of 1914–18 deprived the people of their necessary supplies for foreign sources; second, during the depression years of 1930–34, when prices for exports dropped so low that Latin Americans could not afford foreign products. The second European war has tended to emphasize the need of local industries.

Textiles lead all other industries. Even countries with few industries, like Ecuador, had important textile mills introduced from Europe half a century ago. Cotton goods are most com-



mon, but a country like Brazil also produces woolen, linen, natural and artificial silk, jute, and hemp goods. Other wearing apparel is made, such as shoes and hats, in various countries. Chemicals, soap, cosmetics, drugs, and an infinite variety of small merchandise is increasingly manufactured. A Spanish refugee recently opened a plant in Mexico City to build X-ray machines. Numerous establishments have been opened by refugees to the benefit of the communities involved. Most factories represent small investments, and often, like furniture factories, combine machine and handwork. There are, however, a few large modern plants for meat packing, cement, metal work, rubber tires, and paper. Mexico has a large steel plant at Monterrey and Brazil began building one in 1941. For this purpose the Export-Import Bank loaned Brazil $20,000,000, which will be used largely in paying for United States machinery. The manufacture of a part of a country's rails, iron plates, nails, screws, fencing, etc., will aid in interior improvements, raise the standards of living, and thus enable the country to buy more of other materials from abroad.

The development of industries in Argentina, in spite of the fact that she has practically no coal or iron, has been noteworthy. Further future development will, no doubt, take place as a part of freeing herself from her servitude to a few European countries with which she has exchanged her meat for their manufactured goods. In 1927 the manufactured goods were 28 per cent of the national production. By 1933 they had grown to 47 per cent, almost equal to those of her famous farming and cattle industries. Of the 5,560,000 employed in Argentina in 1939, there were 2,600,000 in industry and only 1,050,000 in agriculture and cattle raising. Food products, beverages, and tobacco form 37 per cent of manufactured articles, textiles 15.5 per cent, metals and electric power plants each 5.6 per cent of the 15 classifications. The *fregoríficos* or packing houses are famous. They supply about three-fourths of the world's exports of chilled beef. Rayon plants are increasing, and recently a complete textile mill was moved from New England to Argentina.

Brazil increased her industrial output 45 per cent during the four depression years, 1931–34. Some of the goods made were glassware, shoes, hats, hardware, canned goods, paints, leather goods, and musical instruments. There were 39 flour mills and 44 rubber factories in 1939. Meat packing and cement plants are important. São Paulo, a modern city of 1,300,000 people, is the largest manufacturing city of Brazil.

Chile's factories have been of great aid in helping to stand the great losses in the export of nitrate. In 1903 there were only 3,600 plants. In 1936, there were 19,439 establishments, having 31,852 salaried employes and 150,165 wage earners. The average number of employes per plant throughout the country was 1.64, and the average number of workmen 7.72; monthly salaries paid totaled 24,066,000 pesos, and weekly wages paid totaled 12,284,000 pesos. The average monthly salary was 756 pesos, the weekly wage 82 pesos. The largest number of establishments was located in Santiago Province, 7,161, or 36.84 per cent of the total, followed by Valparaiso, with 1,825, and Concepción, with 1,115 per cent. Of the country's 24 provinces, Arauco, Chiloé, and Aysen supported the smallest number of industrial establis
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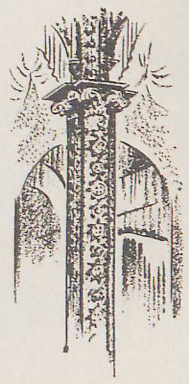
Mexico has felt the stimulus of manufacturing from her northern neighbor, from which capital has gone for such development. The number of industrial plants in 1940 was 48,540.

Electric light and power for the factories and cities is largely supplied through four systems, which serve the following four areas: central, eastern, northern, and northwestern. The cities of Monterrey, Tampico, Saltillo, Zacatecas, Durango, Morelia, Colima, Mérida, and the districts of Cananea and Nacozari in the state of Sonora have large generating plants independent of the systems previously listed. Altogether, there are more than five hundred electric plants in Mexico representing a capital investment of about 300 million pesos. About half of the plants are hydroelectric, the other half using thermal power derived from petroleum, gas, and coal. It is estimated that Mexico has developed only about 5 per cent of its potential electric power.

Textile spinning and weaving forms one of the most highly developed branches of Mexican manufacturing, the chief textile lines produced being cotton, wool, silk, and rayon. Among these the cotton textile industry is by far the most important. Mexican mills today supply about 90 per cent of all textiles required by the population, leaving a balance of only 10 per cent that must be imported.

Important among the numerous other establishments in the Mexican manufacturing field are sugar and alcohol, cigar and cigarette, shoe, binder twine, and soap factories; chemical works, breweries; and flour, paper, and coffee mills. Foundries are located in nearly all the chief cities and smelters in the mining centers, such as Cananea, Chihuahua and Torreón. Shoe factories, breweries, ice plants, and ceramic works are comparatively numerous, while nearly every center of population has its local woodworking shop and blacksmith.

An important part of the manufacturing business in Latin America comes from the establishment of branch factories by large concerns with headquarters in the United States, Great Britain, and other industrial countries. A careful study of this phase of industry has been published by Dudley M. Phelps, 'Migration of Industry to South America' (New York 1936). United States firms operating are listed as follows: Argentina, 37; Brazil, 25; Chile, 18; Uruguay, 6. Four classes of industry are represented: (1) those working with mineral and other raw products, like the Standard Oil Company and the National Lead Company; (2) those processing agricultural or pastoral products, like Armour, Swift, and Wilson packing houses; (3) those furnishing public services, like the American and Foreign Power Company and the International Telegraph and Telephone Company; and (4) general manufacturing, like Parke, Davis and Company, Singer Sewing Machine Company, and most of the automobile manufacturers who have large assembly plants in major cities. These migrant industries find many favorable and unfavorable elements revolving around such intricate questions as tariffs, nationalism, labor laws, and control of foreign capital. The advantages outweigh the disadvantages, however, and the movement will probably grow, with a larger development of co-



operation in capital and management between foreign and national interests.

History

The Latin American is made up of three original stocks—the Indian, the Iberian, and the Negro. While in blood the Indian element predominates in most Latin American countries, the predominant thought influences are due to the inheritances from the Iberian people—the Spanish and the Portuguese, who introduced their culture through the conquistadores and the missionaries, superimposing it upon the native populations of America. That culture was so vigorous, so incisive, so clear-cut, so accustomed to dominate, that ever since its arrival on the American continent it has directed the life of what we call Latin America.

The Iberian Peninsula probably more than any other part of the world has had a cosmopolitan background, for it is there that the Occident and the Orient met. It was largely through Spain that Europe received Grecian art, Oriental paper, Byzantine architecture, and Arabian science. The geographical proximity of the peninsula to all parts of the ancient world, coupled with its isolation by the Pyrenees and the sea, meant that it not only received the contributions of so many of the ancient civilizations, but that it kept them. So the Iberians became a cosmopolitan as well as a peculiar people, living in the Occident but continuing to maintain the psychology of the Orient, with its love of the abstract, the philosophical, the poetical, the theological. It was fresh from the struggle with the Arabs, with all it had contributed to Spanish life, that those most remarkable of all adventurers, the conquistadores, carried their mighty crusades into America.

If the Spaniard who came to America had an international background, so did most of the Indian races in America with whom he mixed his blood to constitute the largest part of present-day Latin America. Uncivilized tribes resembling those with whom our ancestors warred in North America were, of course, found by early settlers in parts of the Caribbean, in the valley of the Amazon, and in the lower plains of South America. But the greater part of the aboriginal population represented highly developed civilizations which had received contributions, as had the Iberians, from many different cultures. Strange to say, the conquistador, according to the best authorities, came to America to meet a people who, like himself, had come from Asia, although in all probability, they had proceeded across Bering Strait instead of through Arabia and North Africa. Of course, there is as yet no such certainty about the various stages in the development of the American Indian as there is about the Iberian, but it is important to emphasize the fact, made clearer every day by the astonishing discoveries of the archaeologists in Mexico, Central America, and the Andean countries, that here, much earlier than on the Iberian Peninsula, there was developed a remarkable civilization.

With the archaic as a basis, two admirable cultures came into being: the Mayan and the Toltec, the latter coming from the north, it is believed, about the 8th century A.D. «With consideration for the limitations of their facilities, the Mayas were the greatest race that ever lived on this earth,» says Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley of the Carnegie Institution. Few modern cities have more impressive buildings than those carved and painted by Mayan workmen. Some of their pyramids were as tall as our modern 10-story buildings.

We might think of the Mayas, with their wonderful architecture and their learning, as the Greeks of America, and the Aztecs, the great fighters, as the Romans. For the statesmen of those early days we can go to South America, for there the Incas developed a mighty empire, extending from Ecuador on the north down through Peru and Bolivia to Argentina and Chile in the south. The Incan Empire was founded by the conquest of a number of states which occupied the fertile river valleys of the coastal and mountain regions of Peru and Bolivia, these valleys being separated by stretches of arid desert.

As governors, the Incas had all the genius of the Romans, granting the conquered peoples the privilege of retaining certain of their customs, but uniting them in the most extensive communistic system probably ever established up to the time of the Soviet movement in Russia.

The land was divided into three parts, one portion for the Inca and his court, one for the priests, and one for the people. The livestock and equipment were divided in the same way. Every one had his particular task assigned. First the fields of the sun god were tilled and then assigned to the support of widows, orphans, the lame, the halt, and the blind. Still later the land of the common people was cultivated. Neither overwork nor idleness was permitted. Children were taken by the government and trained for the work or the professions for which there was the most need. The two principal laws had to do with work and honesty. The weakness of this remarkable kingdom, where want and greed alike were eliminated or controlled, was that it all centered on the *Inca*, as the Emperor was called. When the Inca Atahualpa was captured by Pizarro, the Spaniards had little difficulty in conquering the whole of his people, for all initiative was trusted to him.

These fine civilizations of the Incas and the Aztecs were ruthlessly destroyed by the Spanish conquistador, not because of race prejudice, but because of his desire for gold and for religious dominance. The manner in which the Indian was robbed and at the same time counted as a convert is illustrated by the well-known story of Pizarro's betrayal of the Inca Emperor, Atahualpa, who was shut in prison until he had compelled his subjects to fill his prison room with gold, and then when this ransom was fully gathered, was brutally murdered by the Spaniards.

At the same time, as soon as the ruler was eliminated and the Spaniards were assured of their political dominance so that unhindered they could exploit the riches of those countries, they intermarried with the Indian women. While economically the Indian, from the beginning up to the present, has been terribly exploited by the whites, he has never been socially segregated from them. For the Latin American is neither a Spaniard nor an Indian, but a *mestizo*—a mixture of the two—when he is not of several bloods. He has no deep interest in keeping track of his racial antecedents as has the North American.



The liberators, on forming the new republic, had no other thought than that the Indians should have the same political rights as the whites. And in most cases they also moved immediately to set the slaves free. But in recognizing the political rights of the Indian, they did not, unfortunately, go further and restore his economic rights and encourage him to take his rightful place in the social life of the community. This problem was left for the present generation to face.

The «New Indian» is a literary phrase often heard today. But it is more than a phrase; it involves a theory of racial fusion, of cultural amalgamation, and of national creativeness. The term shows that «Indian America» accepts the problem of the Indian as an internal problem, not as one from the outside; a potential source of power, and not as a great drawback. The present-day Indian, therefore, must be regarded not as of a world apart but as an example of the contrast between Spain and aboriginal America; he must be converted into a new Indian who shall be foremost among all those who labor for the economic and spiritual rehabilitation of the nation.

The Negro Strain.—To the Indian and Iberian strains must be added, in the case of Brazil and the tropical section of the Caribbean countries, the African element. Once slave, but now free, the Negro has a high place in the life of various Latin American countries. While the rest of the Western World was practicing slavery, Haiti in 1803 led the nations by setting the Negro free. Since that date Haiti, as an independent "black man's republic," has occupied a respectable place among the Latin American nations, with an elite of culture in Port au Prince comparable to that in European capitals. Haiti sent troops both to the United States in the war for freedom from Great Britain, and to South America in the war against Spain.

The Negro has something that the white lacks, *el genio del tropico*. His formula of a happy attitude toward life has also proved a more efficient means of resistance than has the Indian's stoicism and ignoring of pain. In countries like Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and even Peru and Mexico, where African slaves formerly abounded, a black skin is a novelty. There are no accurate studies of the Negro population in the Caribbean areas to determine the present tendency, but the general impression is that a gradual lessening of the pure African strain is taking place.

The Mestizo.—There were officially 16 different and distinct mixtures of blood legally recognized in colonial days, when the Spaniard, born in Spain, claimed the highest privileges, meaning that the further removed an individual was from that status, the fewer rights he had. That this distinction was based on political and social, and not on racial differences, is seen in the fact that sons of Spanish parents born in America and known as *criollos* also suffered many discriminations. Some of the more common terms denoting various mixtures were: *mestizo*, Spanish and Indian; *mulatto*, Spanish and Negro; *zambo*, Indian and Negro; *cholo*, mestizo and Indian; *morisco*, Spaniard and mulatto woman; *albino*, Spaniard and morisca woman. All such fine distinctions rapidly disappeared after the founding of the republics. Today there are no legal differences whatsoever,

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The mestizo is the real Latin American. He *is* the Mexican, the Chilean, the Ecuadorian, the Argentine, etc. In reality he is much more than a mixture of these two basic stocks. The mestizo is a new spirit embodying the desires and sentiments of a new people, reared in the pioneer atmosphere of the New World. It is natural that he has been greatly abused by advocates of the "pure race" theory. No doubt the mestizo did tend to separate himself from the mores of both the Iberian and the Indian. Running the risk of all liberals who break away from the strict moral codes of their forefathers, he was likely to end with few restraints of any kind. He was unlike the American of the North who did not mix with the aborigines but continued his Anglo-Saxon mores, adapting those to a new environment. The mestizo has needed a longer time to work out his standards of life. In fact, he is still at it. There are probably some 20 million pure-blood Indians who must still be brought into this new state, who must pass painfully through the processes which ideally ought to mean taking on the language and the best of the social, economic, and the political life of the white civilization, while they bring as their contribution to that civilization the best of their Indian life. Here is the great problem to which such nations as Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and Bolivia are today giving themselves.

Political History.—The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, 12 Oct. 1492, initiated the beginning of the modern era. It is a queer fate that named this vast continent not after the great navigator who discovered it, but after an unimportant traveler named Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian who took part in several expeditions to the New World. From some of his travel letters people began gradually to call the New World *America.* Two centuries later, just as erroneously, the word *America* was applied in a more limited way to refer to the United States. In Spain, the new continent was called the *Indies* until the 18th century. Following his first voyage in 1492, Columbus discovered and settled the islands of the West Indies and the mainland of North and South America. In his four voyages Columbus discovered Cuba, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, the northern coast of South America, and the shores of Central America from Honduras to Panama. From Santo Domingo as a center, the Spaniards began the conquest of the mainland. This was one of the greatest achievements of history, in the accomplishment of which such well-known figures as Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, Hernán Cortés, and Francisco Pizarro participated.

Equally interesting are the exploits of Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror of Guatemala and El Salvador; Encino, Ojeda, and Nicuesa, intrepid explorers; Pedrarias de Avila, who founded the city of Panama in 1519; Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who sought the seven cities of Cibola; Cabeza de Vaca, whose amazing adventures rival those of Ulysses; Hernando de Soto, discoverer of the Mississippi River; and Ponce de León, who founded St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565—the oldest permanent settlement in what is now the United States. Pizarro's able lieutenants, with Peru as a base, extended Spain's dominions to the east, north, and south;



Sebastian de Benalcázar conquered Ecuador; Diego de Almagro conquered Bolivia; Pedro de Valdivia conquered Chile; Jiménez de Quesada founded Bogotá; and Pedro de Mendoza, the La Plata colony. Bartolomé de las Casas and Junípero Serra are reminders of the important religious work accomplished by the conquistadores.

Through Pedro Alvares de Cabral, who discovered Brazil in 1500, and through Fernando Magellan, Portugal also shared in the glory of the settlement of the Americas. By papal bull and the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, a line of demarcation drawn north and south 470 leagues west of Cape Verde, gave to Spain all the land lying west of the line, and to Portugal, that lying to the east. It is out of these events that the bases were laid for the establishment of a Portuguese colony in America, and the development of Brazil, the only Portuguese-speaking country in the New World.

Colonial Period.—The colonial policies pursued by Spain, Portugal, and England offer many contrasting features as regards political administration, but so far as economic administration is concerned, the policies of the three governments were very similar. Mercantilism, the dominant economic theory of those times, meant that Spain, England, and Portugal considered the colonies as possessions to be governed for the exclusive benefit of the mother country. Commerce was strictly regulated, the colonies were permitted to trade only with the mother country, and the colonial manufacture of products that might compete with the home industries was prohibited. Spain's administrative system was highly centralized and rigid. Until the 18th century the empire was divided into two vice-royalties: New Spain—embracing all the territory north of Panama, and the West Indies; Peru—which had jurisdiction over all of South America and Panama. In 1719 the vice-royalty of New Granada, embracing present-day Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama, was created; and in 1776, that of La Plata, embracing present-day Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. Lesser administrative units were the captaincies-general, *audiencias, corregimientos,* and *alcaldías.* Spain's rule was autocratic, and with all authority imposed from above, the colonists were given little or no opportunity to participate in the administration of local affairs.

The colonial administration did not keep up with the rapidly shifting social changes which were affecting other countries—the important movements of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution, which so profoundly transformed the rest of the Western World during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The Spanish colonial system, enlightened in many ways, prohibited as far as possible intercourse between the Spanish colonies and the outside world. The Inquisition rigorously excluded from the colonies all but the most orthodox of literature, not only in ecclesiastical but also in political and social fields, as it also excluded foreign visitors who might bring dangerous ideas or reports concerning such heretical movements as the English, French, or American revolutions. Even the bulls of the Pope, himself a foreigner, could be transmitted to the colonies only through the Spanish Crown, and foreign orthodox ecclesiastics could visit the colonies only through the same permission.

Commercial relations were confined strictly within the family. The colonies were not only refused permission to trade with any country save Spain, but could send their goods only to the designated ports of Cadiz and Seville. The colonies were considered not as a section of the kingdom, but as the property of the Crown, and were ruled by the elaborate laws instituted by the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies.

But in spite of all precautions, a certain amount of foreign goods and ideas were smuggled into the colonies. During the second half of the 18th century a much more extensive knowledge of world events crept in than had theretofore been the case. A few of the people read, in secret, French and English liberal tracts. Others traveled and returned to whisper sedition into the ears of the colonists. Illicit commerce with England also helped to foment dissatisfaction and unrest. The example of the United States, the first of all the New World colonies to gain independence, was influential in the same direction. French translations of the Declaration of Independence were widely read and added to the flame of freedom.

At the outset, the Portuguese Crown divided Brazil into captaincies which were turned over to individual proprietors. These grantees enjoyed almost unlimited jurisdiction within their domains. Subsequently, however, a more centralized control was established, and the officials appointed were made immediately responsible to the Crown.

The history of the colonial period is the story of the rivalries between Spain, England, France, and Portugal. This was a period of numerous wars, treasure galleons, swashbuckling pirates, and contraband trade. Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Henry Morgan are among the colorful actors who held the stage during this period. Haiti, the only American republic of French origin, traces its beginnings to the settlements made by French pirates in the western part of Hispaniola. In 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, Spain ceded this portion of the island to France. During the 60-year period in which Portugal was incorporated into Spain, since all South America was under the Spanish flag, the Crown did not greatly concern itself with theoretical boundary lines. Consequently, the Portuguese, especially the aggressive Paulistas (residents of São Paulo), expanded westward, and when Portugal resumed its independent status in 1640, Brazil had an area double that which was set forth in the Treaty of Tordesillas.

Major Causes of Revolution.—After three centuries of exploitation by the mother countries, the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French colonists began to complain, and when no relief was forthcoming, they resorted to arms. In a series of movements, some long and bloody, others short and decisive, the colonists won their independence and set up the 21 republics that today make up the Pan American Union. The colonists had three major causes for revolution. The first was the quarrel of the creoles with the mother country because of her long withholdment from them of rights to participate in the government and to enjoy intercourse with the rest of the world. This quarrel grew into a civil war fought by Spaniards against Spaniards; it was not a war imported from the outside, as some writers maintain.



9. Cuzco, Peru, ancient Inca capital. 10. Casino gardens, Santiago, Chile. 11. Unloading air cargo, Costa Rica. 12. LaPaz, capital of Bolivia. 13. Residential section, Montevideo. 14. Honduran peon. 15. Peon cottage near San Salvador. 16. Balsa boat, Lake Titicaca.



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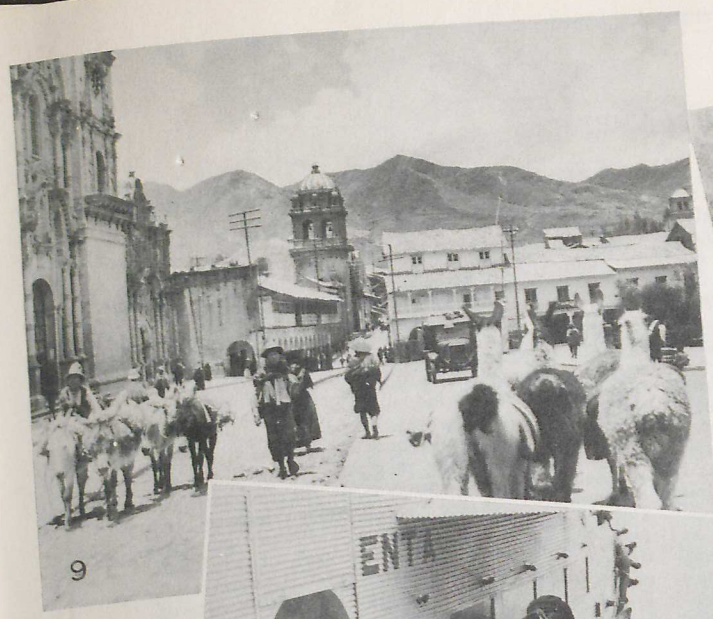
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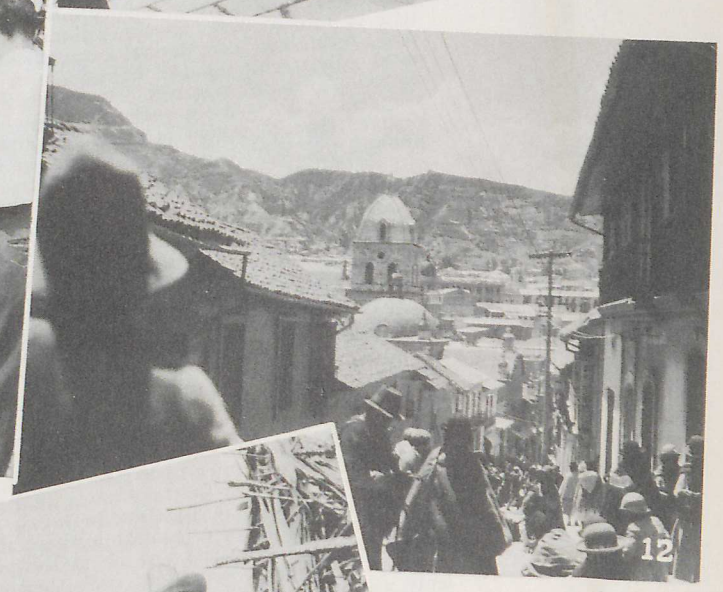
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Another cause, as already indicated, was the importation of ideals from the French and American revolutions. A third cause, urged as the major one by the Argentine sociologist, José Ingenieros, was economic. It is true that British commercial interests in Liverpool and Manchester were already tasting, through clandestine trade, something of the riches of South American commerce, and that the Argentine farmers had addressed a communication to Viceroy Cisneros about free trade with England as a means of enriching the colonial treasury. But to attribute first place to the economic motive would seem to give it too great prominence.

The exclusion from high offices of all but Spaniards born in Spain gradually became unbearable. Even the creoles—Spaniards born in America—were not permitted to enjoy the best positions; indeed, their opportunities were limited to minor places in the military, ecclesiastical, legal, and commercial occupations. They must often trust to the bounty of a wealthy patron. This did not suit the proud Spaniard, who was always more ready to suffer material distress than to accept any position that might imply social inferiority. Considerate of the dignity of others, he demanded the same consideration of his own place in life. This social inequality imposed by the European Spaniard irked the creole and drove him into alliance with the mestizo. The alliance was the easier because of the lack of race prejudice which might have hindered such a movement among Anglo-Saxon peoples. The Spaniard's disposition to hold aloof from the mestizos was based on other than racial grounds. Because of religious sentiment, unions not sanctioned by the church were regarded as socially undesirable and mestizos generally mated illegally. Moreover, those who, like Indians, were compelled to do menial work, were looked down upon by Spaniards. But it was not difficult in the face of mutual grievances for creoles and mestizos to break down barriers and unite in a protest against abuses. What the creoles desired was an understanding of their position, a sympathy with their problems, an appreciation of their place as members of the family. With that assured they would be ready, like all Spaniards, to overlook almost any deficiency, even crime.

The immediate occasion for pronouncement against these abuses throughout Spanish America was attributable to European politics, and not to any particular crisis in colonial administration. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon and the imposition of his brother Joseph as King, immediately brought forth several claimants for the Spanish throne. This served to raise the question as to what government the colonists would obey. Indeed, Spain itself led in the revolution against the resident King and in favor of Ferdinand VII. The colonists started their revolution with the cry «The old King or none!» and proclaimed their loyalty to the juntas set up to rule temporarily in representation of Ferdinand. It was only when he had been restored, had demonstrated that a «Bourbon never forgets anything nor ever learns anything,» and had refused absolutely to carry out the promised reforms in America, that the colonies began in earnest a movement for complete independence. This second phase of the movement was led not by the organized *cabildos,* or official town councils, as a part of the government system, but by a group of miracle-working individuals, like Bolivar and San Martin, whose cry was «Liberty or Death!»

Wars for Independence.—The struggle for independence from the Spanish Crown began in Venezuela in April 1810, and although the revolutionists under the leadership of Francisco Miranda were able to secure control of the country for a short period, by June 1812 the movement had failed and the leaders had surrendered to the Spanish authorities. Leadership of the movement was now taken over by Simon Bolivar, to whose inspired genius may be attributed the final success of the revolutionary movements. After victoriously leading the Colombian revolutionists, Bolivar marched into Venezuela, and by the end of 1813 had driven the Spanish forces out of Caracas. But not for long; powerful reinforcements arrived from Spain and by 1815 royalist control had been re-established in all the revolted provinces.

Despite these reverses, Bolivar continued his struggles, first getting control of a portion of Venezuela, and in 1819 again invading New Granada (now Colombia), and inflicting a decisive defeat on the Spaniards at the battle of Boyacá. The next year, in 1820, the union of Venezuela and New Granada under the name Republic of Great Colombia was proclaimed and the Liberator was named President. Through the patriot victory at Carabobo in 1821, Venezuelan independence was assured, and Bolivar next turned his attention to the south. As a result of Antonio José de Sucre's triumph at Pichincha in 1822, Ecuador was freed from Spanish control and became a part of the Republic of Great Colombia.

While Bolivar and his lieutenants were freeing northern South America, similar movements were going on in the southern part of the continent. A provisional junta, which nominally ruled for Ferdinand, had been set up in Buenos Aires in 1810, but Argentine independence was not proclaimed until 1816. Attempts to incorporate Uruguay, Paraguay, and upper Peru (Bolivia) with Buenos Aires were made, but without success. In 1817 an Argentine army under the command of José de San Martin performed the heroic task of crossing the Andes—a feat worthy of comparison with Hannibal's and Napoleon's crossings of the Alps—and fell upon the Spanish forces in Chile. Taken by surprise by the combined Argentine and Chilean forces, they were defeated, Chilean independence was proclaimed, and Bernardo O'Higgins was named chief of the new nation. San Martin next undertook the liberation of Peru, and by 1821, Callao and Lima had been captured and Peruvian independence had been proclaimed. But large royalist forces remained in the country, and South America was not completely freed until 1824, when the forces of Bolivar and Sucre inflicted final defeat upon the Spaniards at the battle of Ayacucho.

In Mexico, the first revolutionary movements also began in 1810, and as in South America, met with initial defeat. Miguel Hidalgo, a creole priest, raised the standard of revolt on 15 Sept. 1810, but in a few months the movement was suppressed and the leader was executed. José Maria Morelos, another priest, continued the revolution but likewise was unsuccessful. Independence was finally gained in 1821, as the



result of a conservative reactionary movement led by Agustin Iturbide, who was proclaimed Emperor.

In Central America independence was achieved without bloodshed, and the five provinces that made up the captaincy-general of Guatemala joined Iturbide's empire, but upon the latter's downfall in 1823, they formed the United Provinces of Central America. This confederation was dissolved in 1839, separate governments being set up in each country. Panama also declared its independence of Spain in 1821, and joined the Republic of Great Colombia. With the separation of Venezuela and Ecuador in 1830, the Bolivian confederation came to an end, but Panama remained a part of Colombia—except for brief periods of independence in 1830, 1831, and 1840—until 1903 when it seceded and became the youngest member of the American family of nations.

In the West Indies, Haiti declared its separation from France on 1 Jan. 1804, and thus became the second independent nation of the Western Hemisphere. The Dominican Republic was the only one of Spain's insular possessions to gain freedom from the mother country during this period, and on proclaiming its independence, declared itself to be a part of Great Colombia. But nothing came of this effort to join the Bolivarian confederation, and in 1822, it fell under the domination of Haiti, this relationship continuing until 1844, when the two sections of the island separated. While the United States was engaged in the Civil War and could not enforce the Monroe Doctrine, Spain annexed Santo Domingo and did not relinquish control until four years later, in 1865. Cuba was the last of the Spanish colonies to revolt, and did not achieve its independence until after the Spanish-American War.

Brazil also became a sovereign nation during the first quarter of the 19th century. Following the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, King John sought refuge in his new world colony, and in 1808 the Portuguese Court was established at Rio de Janeiro. Before this time, Portugal had followed the prevalent theory of colonial policy and had governed Brazil exclusively for its own benefit; but during the period the Court was established in Rio, a great number of reforms were enacted. As a consequence, Brazil's status was completely changed, and from a colonial dependency, she became an integral part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. In 1821, when King John returned to Portugal, an attempt was made to reduce Brazil to its former colonial status. This met with intense opposition from the people, and led by the Regent Dom Pedro, King John's son, they declared their independence and proclaimed Dom Pedro Emperor of Brazil. The country remained an empire until 1889, when a republican form of government was established.

Independent Republics.—The history of the first century of the republican life of Spanish America (not including Portuguese-speaking Brazil and French-speaking Haiti) may be roughly divided into two periods. Following the revolutions to establish independence (1810–25), the first 50 years (1825–75) was a struggle against anarchy and toward the establishment of national unity. The second 50 years (1875–1925) might be considered as a period of

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In Central America independence was achieved without bloodshed, and the five provinces that made up the captaincy-general of Guatemala joined Iturbide's empire, but upon the latter's downfall in 1823, they formed the United Provinces of Central America. This confederation was dissolved in 1839, separate governments being set up in each country. Panama also declared its independence of Spain in 1821, and joined the Republic of Great Colombia. With the separation of Venezuela and Ecuador in 1830, the Bolivian confederation came to an end, but Panama remained a part of Colombia—except for brief periods of independence in 1830, 1831, and 1840—until 1903 when it seceded and became the youngest member of the American family of nations.

In the West Indies, Haiti declared its separation from France on 1 Jan. 1804, and thus became the second independent nation of the Western Hemisphere. The Dominican Republic was the only one of Spain's insular possessions to gain freedom from the mother country during this period, and on proclaiming its independence, declared itself to be a part of Great Colombia. But nothing came of this effort to join the Bolivarian confederation, and in 1822, it fell under the domination of Haiti, this relationship continuing until 1844, when the two sections of the island separated. While the United States was engaged in the Civil War and could not enforce the Monroe Doctrine, Spain annexed Santo Domingo and did not relinquish control until four years later, in 1865. Cuba was the last of the Spanish colonies to revolt, and did not achieve its independence until after the Spanish-American War.

Brazil also became a sovereign nation during the first quarter of the 19th century. Following the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, King John sought refuge in his new world colony, and in 1808 the Portuguese Court was established at Rio de Janeiro. Before this time, Portugal had followed the prevalent theory of colonial policy and had governed Brazil exclusively for its own benefit; but during the period the Court was established in Rio, a great number of reforms were enacted. As a consequence, Brazil's status was completely changed, and from a colonial dependency, she became an integral part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. In 1821, when King John returned to Portugal, an attempt was made to reduce Brazil to its former colonial status. This met with intense opposition from the people, and led by the Regent Dom Pedro, King John's son, they declared their independence and proclaimed Dom Pedro Emperor of Brazil. The country remained an empire until 1889, when a republican form of government was established.

Independent Republics.—The history of the first century of the republican life of Spanish America (not including Portuguese-speaking Brazil and French-speaking Haiti) may be roughly divided into two periods. Following the revolutions to establish independence (1810–25), the first 50 years (1825–75) was a struggle against anarchy and toward the establishment of national unity. The second 50 years (1875–1925) might be considered as a period of political stabilization and economic organization. Following the World War of 1914–18 and especially since 1930, when nearly all of the countries of Latin America witnessed revolutions favorable to nationalism, there seems to have been initiated a third period, marked by the resistance to foreign dominance and a building-up of national economy by diversifying crops and enlarging industrialization.

Great distances, lack of transportation, inexperience in government, rivalries between church and political authorities, confusion in national boundaries, and economic dominance by foreigners were some of the difficulties that faced the nascent republics. Enamored with the ideals of democracy as developing in France and the United States, the people refused to accept the advice of leaders like Bolivar and San Martin, the first of whom believed in a monarchy. These inexperienced nations practically unanimously copied the Constitution of the United States. Since the people were unprepared by experience or by popular education, the nations promptly developed the struggle between the dictator and anarchy. Liberty and union, democracy and efficiency have been the prizes sought by Latin American statesmen. But it has been a long hard road.

In most of the states, independence was followed by disorder, and disorder led to dictatorships, *candillos*, strong men on horseback. Some of these men have been, in spite of the abuses they heaped on their enemies, great rulers of their people. Such were Santa Cruz of Bolivia, José Antonio Paéz of Venezuela, José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia of Paraguay, Juan Manuel de Rosas of Argentina, Garcia Moreno of Ecuador, and Porfirio Díaz of Mexico.

The dictators have usually shown themselves ready to lead without driving the people. Probably the worst that can be said about them is that they never seem to realize when their time is up. Impatient of criticism, they are never willing to accept the word of their friends as to the hour of retiring. Porfirio Díaz might have gone down in history as one of the greatest rulers of his time if he had been willing to retire 10 years before he was cast out of office.

Opposed to the dictators have been the intellectuals. While they have seldom attained to the actual seat of the administrator, they have had large influence on government, both as sharp critics and as members of the «brain trust» advising the administrator. From the beginning of the independence movement many keen students of government were found in various countries. Bernardo Monteagudo, of Argentina, aided San Martin and Bolivar in their legal studies. The distinguished Mariano Moreno guided Argentina in her political thinking for many years. Andrés Bello, a native of Venezuela, later an honored citizen of Chile, was known widely in Europe, as well as in America, as an authority on constitutional law. José Bonifacio, the adviser of Dom Pedro I of Brazil, was a learned statesman. Around the middle of the 19th century, there appeared the writings of the famous Juan Bautista Alberdi of Argentina, which remind one of the works of Alexander Hamilton. It was not, therefore, ignorance of self-government but other causes that brought the long years of chaos—especially the failure to realize that a new political system could not



be successful if the old economic system was to be continued.

Some of the notable happenings between 1825 and 1862, to take as an example two important dates in the history of Argentina, are the following: In 1825 «The United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata» took the name of «Argentina Confederation» and reorganized her life under the great leader, Bernadino Rivadavia. Three years later, Uruguay, buffeted for many years between Argentina and Brazil, secured her independence. Between 1829 and 1831, with the loss of leadership by Bolivar, «Great Colombia» broke up into the three republics of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.

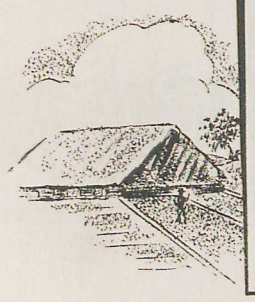
Chile, profiting from the experiences of others, set up a permanent centralized government under the constitution of 1833, which lasted for nearly a hundred years. In 1838 Central America divided into five republics and began a long period of internal disorders, accompanied by ineffectual efforts toward a Central American Union. In 1844, Santo Domingo succeeded in throwing off the dominance of her next door neighbor, Haiti, and established an independent republic—to be followed by many years of revolution. Mexico, starting life with a new constitution in 1824, began a period of military anarchy (often under the dominance of the infamous Santa Ana) which ended with the ascendance of the great Indian president, Benito Juárez, and the adoption of a new constitution in 1857. Brazil witnessed in 1840 the beginning of the long and successful reign of one of Latin America's most distinguished rulers, Dom Pedro II.

Argentina, having deposed the greatest of all the dictators, Juan Manuel de Rosas, in 1852, was able to unite Buenos Aires and the provinces. She began her era of remarkable prosperity under the leadership of Bartolomé Metre in 1862. Foreign efforts to dominate Latin American countries in this period included the blockade of Montevideo by France and England in 1838–40, the effort by France to establish the Maximilian Empire in Mexico in 1863–67, and the last attempt of Spain to reconquer the lost colonies, with her defeat in her attack on Chile in 1867. The long-existing rivalries concerning boundaries around the Rio de la Plata, with little Paraguay on one side and Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay on the other, was fought out in the Paraguayan War of 1865 to 1870. Acting on the principle announced by Argentina that «victory gives no rights,» the boundaries were permanently settled by arbitration, following which good neighborly relations have existed.

About 50 years after the establishment of independence, roughly in 1875, several Latin American countries began to find themselves and entered into a new period of economic and political development. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, and to some extent, Colombia and Peru, while they have not yet eliminated revolutions, were definitely engaged in a positive program of improving crops, building railroads and port works, developing international trade, and enlarging public education facilities. Brazil and Chile had never had more than minor armed disturbances. After 1890, Argentina had no revolution for 40 years, and Colombia entered a definite period of peace with the opening of the new century. Revolutions when they did occur were not nearly so destructive of order and life as is commonly believed in Anglo-Saxon countries. The beginning of railroads, the establishment of regular steamship lines, the laying of transoceanic cables, and enlarged investment of European capital began to have their influence in the stabilization of government and the development of education. The liberal, federalist, lay, and civilian forces started to overcome the reactionary opponents of progress. Porfirio Díaz began his long reign in 1874, with the economic development of Mexico through the aid of United States capital. In Argentina, under the presidency of General Roca (1880–86), the great flow of European immigration, which was to remake eastern South America, began (with 219,000 entering in the year 1889); railways doubled their length, and the export of beef was initiated. A little later, the Transandean Railway joining Argentina and Chile, the Central of Peru, highest railroad in the world, the Guayaquil-Quito Line, and other important rail connections were built. Brazil, anxious to be more closely identified with the rest of the American continent, bade goodbye to its distinguished Emperor, and overnight established a republic in 1889. In that same year the countries of America met in the First Pan American Conference at Washington. In 1904, Argentina and Chile settled their long-standing border dispute and marked the beginning of an era of good feeling by the erection of the statue, the 'Christ of the Andes.'

When the United States celebrated the centennial of its independence in 1876, it had in many respects attained no more ideal situation than had several Latin American republics in 1910 when they celebrated their centennial. In 1810, Latin America's population was estimated at 15 million, in 1860 at 25 million, and in 1910 at 80 million. Its foreign commerce grew 400 per cent from 1810 to 1860, and 500 per cent from 1860 to 1913. Popular education grew during the century of independence from practically zero to the point where every Latin American country had established its national system, reaching from the primary school to the university, and had established, at least theoretically, compulsory schooling for all citizens. Slavery had been eliminated in each country through entirely peaceful means. From the original provision in every constitution that the Roman Catholic Church was the only religion allowed, religious tolerance had attained official declaration in all countries. Great cities, comparable to the finest in the world, had been built and beautified. Campaigns for public health had begun, labor legislation had been inaugurated, important daily papers and literary publications had been developed. Latin America had come to occupy a place at the council table of the nations and was recognized as a leader in settling disputes through arbitration. Tides of immigration had set in from Europe and exchange of commerce with the southern lands was eagerly sought by the great industrial countries.

The year 1930 marked almost as definitely as did 1810 the beginning of a widespread revolutionary movement in southern America. But today the fundamental objective is economic rather than political, as it was in the struggle begun in 1810. During the World War the Southerner was immensely impressed with the



power of the machine. Heretofore he had confined himself principally to agriculture, on which his financial and social structure was largely based. But some leaders began to believe that material development must be brought more rapidly to these lands if they were to take their place in the modern world. At the same time the United States became a creditor nation looking for investments in foreign lands. An ill-advised program of loans was initiated between the bankers of the North and various dictator presidents of the South. When the great depression hit Latin America in 1930, a series of revolutions displaced the spendthrift governments and initiated a new nationalist economy which challenged foreign control. By 1935, Nazi Germany had initiated, through propaganda and barter trade, its strenuous efforts to eliminate British and North American influence and to convert these countries to totalitarian theories and economic practice. At first the German drive, aided by Italy and Japan, had much success. By 1940, however, Latin American countries began to challenge the effort of European influences to direct national life and to initiate co-operation with the United States for the protection of the American continent.

Latin America recognizes today, as never before, that she has been the victim of a bad start, particularly with regard to the social structure and economic foundations on which she has sought to develop effective and progressive democracies. That her achievements in nationality and culture have been so constructive can scarcely fail to attract justifiable admiration in view of the stubborn historic inhibitions, the vast complex of human and economic impedimenta with which her political idealism has had to deal.

Constitution and Government.—With the achievement of independence, all the nations of America, except Brazil, Haiti, and Mexico, adopted the republican form of government. In Brazil an empire was established and continued until 1889 when the republic was proclaimed; in Mexico the empire of Iturbide lasted less than a year; and in Haiti, first Dessalines and later Christophe ruled as monarchs until 1820, when a republic was set up.

In nearly every instance it was necessary for the newly created states to pass through a period of transition, marking the change from the status which they had previously possessed as colonies to the status of independent governments on a firm and durable basis. Generally speaking, the difficulties encountered in bridging this gap may be attributed principally to the lack of experience in self-government, owing to the fact that in most of the colonies there was little local autonomy and government was almost entirely in the hands of Crown appointees; the necessity of raising the intellectual level of the masses of the people and teaching them the art of self-government; and the lack of communication facilities which hindered the development of national unity. This period of transition was in some countries longer and in others shorter, depending upon the circumstances of the particular case. In Chile the period of transition was approximately the same as in the United States, from the declaration of independence in 1818 to the establishment of the centralized government under the constitution of 1833. In Brazil the situation was somewhat different, inasmuch as Brazil, prior to its independ integral part of the Portugu change to an independent imperceptible. Once this p had passed, and the difficult arose had been overcome, established on a firm and du

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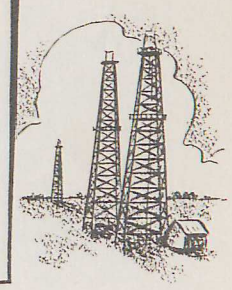
The constitutions of the American republics vary in details, but in all fundamental provisions they are essentially the same. Some of the constitutions, like that of the United States, are quite brief, enunciating general principles and leaving the details of administration to the discretion of the several branches of the government; others, such as that of Uruguay, Mexico and Brazil, are quite lengthy and set forth in great detail the powers and attributes of the various governmental authorities. Several of the Latin American constitutions are remarkable documents by reason of their elaborate provisions in regard to questions of social welfare, particularly the protection of labor. Measures of social legislation, such as old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and wages and hours regulations, were in existence in many Latin American countries long before they were adopted in the United States. Four countries—Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela—have the federal system of government, in which the national government exercises those powers delegated to it by the constitution, with the remaining powers reserved to the states. In the other countries the centralized form of government has been adopted.

The constitutions of all the American republics provide for the three recognized divisions of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. While there is a fundamental resemblance between these 21 political constitutions, there are also many interesting differences of detail. Five of the republics—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama—have a unicameral legislature. In all the other countries the legislatures are bicameral. With two exceptions, the members of the upper body, usually called the Senate, are elected in representation of the provinces or states into which the country is divided. But in Ecuador, the Senate also has members representing such groups as education, academies and societies, agriculture, industry, the army, and the Indian population; and in Paraguay the senators are elected in proportion to the population. In all the countries, members of the national legislature are elegible for re-election indefinitely, with the exception of Uruguay, where a member of the Senate may not be re-elected until two years have elapsed.

The members of the lower body, usually called Chamber of Deputies, are elected in proportion to the population. Bolivia, Haiti, Chile, and Costa Rica require a property qualification for the deputies. The term of office of the members of the two houses also varies in length; in the majority of the countries it is four years for the lower house, and six years for the upper house. In several countries there are committees of the legislature whose duty is to watch over the observance of the constitution and the laws during the recesses of the Congress. In Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Uruguay, the judges of the national Supreme Court are elected by the legislature.

The qualifications for the office are much



the same in all the countries; the President must be native born, and 30 to 35 years of age. In Guatemala and Nicaragua, however, it is sufficient for him to have been born in any one of the six Central American republics, and in Mexico not only the President but also his parents must be native-born. In Guatemala he need be only 21 years old. Most of the constitutions provide for a four-year term of office, but in Venezuela it is seven years; in Argentina, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, six years; and Chile and Peru, five years. Re-election for the immediately succeeding term is usually prohibited, thereby differing from the constitution of the United States, which is silent on the subject.

In Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Venezuela, the President is elected by electoral colleges or the national legislature. All the other countries have direct elections. In the executive branch of several Latin American governments we find a feature entirely lacking in the constitution of the United States—the Council of State. These bodies are constituted in addition to the regular cabinets, and also serve as advisory agencies. Some of the council members are appointed by the President, and others by the legislature. In Chile the Council of State is a very large and powerful body, and exercises an important role in national affairs. Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, and Uruguay are the only countries that have national woman suffrage, though voting in local elections is quite common.



Education

Early History.—The civilization of what is called Latin America began with the first Spanish settlement, the first Indian blood shed by the greed of the white conqueror, and the first attempt to Christianize the inhabitants of the new-found land. Along with the inevitable features of war—treachery, destruction, fire, sword, deeds of valor—the trail of the discoverers was marked by the birth and first development of the nations of the New World. And in the midst of this turmoil, bravely battling against unknown odds, the Spanish missionary fathers worked unceasingly, evangelizing and educating the Indians, founding hamlets and towns, later to become great cities, and building churches and universities.

The second stage of Latin American civilization began when the Crown of Spain finally took an active interest in its new possessions, and men of a better class began to come to the New World, bringing their wives and daughters and establishing homes with whatever comforts could be found in the new land. In many cases, they were scions of noble families, who came either as viceroys or in some other administrative capacity; also men of letters. There also came learned monks, among these, philosophers, poets, musicians, painters, and skilled artisans. Hence, some of the oldest descriptions of Latin America, in verse or in choice prose, in Spanish or in Latin, wonderful examples of wood carving in churches and private houses, beautiful specimens of the silversmith's art, fine paintings, beautifully illuminated books—all portray the culture of early Spanish colonial days. Scholars early began to gather books imported from Europe, and to start libraries, mainly in the convents. Soon the necessity of educating the children of the Spaniards and the Indians appeared more pressing. Private schools and seminaries were established, as a first step toward the foundation of universities.

The first university founded in the New World was that of Santo Tomás de Aquino at Santo Domingo, in 1538. This university is no longer in existence. But there still exists that of San Marcos at Lima, Peru, founded in 1551; and the University of Mexico, established in the same year. The University of Córdoba, in Argentina, dates from 1613; that of Sucre in Bolivia, founded in 1623, or 13 years before Harvard, which dates from 1636; and that of Cuzco, in Peru, established in 1693, or eight years earlier than Yale, which was founded in 1701. The University of Caracas, in Venezuela, dates from 1721, and that of Havana, Cuba, from 1728.

The printing press was first introduced into Mexico in 1536. The first book printed in the New World was a plea of Father Las Casas for a better life. Cartagena, Colombia, is said to have been the second city of America to have a printing press, in 1560 or 1562, but Peru seems to hold the record for the first book printed in South America, about 1584, and La Paz, Bolivia, had a printing establishment about 1610. There were also a press and other printing paraphernalia at the Jesuit missions of Paraguay, about the first decade of the 17th century. The first work in Bogotá was printed about 1739; Ecuador printed its first book in 1760 and Venezuela in 1764, while the earliest production of the Chilean press bears the date of 1776; and there was a printing outfit in Córboda, Argentina, in 1767. With the founding of universities and schools and more frequent communication with Spain, and with the printing of books and newspapers in the New World, a deeper thirst for learning was evidenced, and a new field was opened to intellectual culture.

The result of this early emphasis on higher education has been the development of an outstanding intelligentsia, composed of great jurists, historians, orators, physicians, painters, sculptors, poets, musicians, and playwrights. The presence of such intellectual groups in every Latin American city today is one of the reasons why a foreigner may find his stay in those countries so delightful.

The colonial restrictions of the Spanish government, however, tended to make the intellectual isolation of the colonies as complete as their political allegiance and their commercial dependence. Education was committed to the hands of the clergy. Although schools were established in many communities, their number was vastly inadequate to meet the demands of the growing populations. General, and especially primary, education was conspicuously neglected, although there were some notable schools developed for Indian youth by church leaders deeply devoted to the native population.

Education was «designed to make men submissive to monarchical authority in church and state.» It was conducted, on the one hand, as a church discipline in exclusive and traditional orthodoxy, and on the other hand, as a government measure against insubordination. Through circumstances, therefore, outside of her own determining, Latin America was separated for three centuries from the great currents of liberation and reform—intellectual, social, and religious—which arose in Europe from the 16th

century onward. So these southern countries inevitably bear today in their struggle for popular education, the effects of their long isolation.

Variations in Educational Systems.—Educational conditions in the various Latin America countries differ widely. Some countries have received large numbers of European immigrants and have predominantly white populations. In others, the pure-blooded Indians still form the great majority of the people, and one of the islands republics of the Caribbean is inhabited almost entirely by Negroes. In the majority of the states, however, the greater part of the population is composed of mestizos. These differences in racial make-up, the isolated character of the rural populations, and various economic reasons, such as the inability of the governments to finance widespread systems of public education, explain the high percentage of illiteracy that one finds in many of these countries.

Organization and curriculum have followed French standards rather than those of North America. In the universities most of the lectures are given by professional men or government officials, employed outside the school. Seldom are they engaged for their whole time. Consequently, there is little personal contact between students and professors. No roll is kept of the students; there are no dormitories, no intercollegiate athletics, no «campus life»; there is very little of what in North America is called «college spirit.» Of course, there are notable exceptions to this general statement. There is no question of the desire of the leaders to minister to the educational needs of their people, but systems are likely to be constructed on a highly idealistic basis. The defects are on the practical side.

When the republics were established, a struggle began as to whether the government or the church would control education. That struggle continues in most of the countries up to the present time. In some of them, like Mexico, it has been very bitter. In others, like Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Cuba the contest has been along the milder lines of development, as in the United States.

Each of the 20 republics has a Minister of Education who is responsible for the public school system. Compulsory attendance is required by law, but sparce population and small budgets often make it impossible to live up to this requirement. In contrast with the United States, student mortality is greater between the elementary and secondary schools than between secondary schools and the universities. This is because the elementary school is designed primarily for educating the poorer classes, while the secondary school, whose main function has been to prepare for the university, is for the upper classes. The course of studies in the Latin American secondary school in general is of an encyclopedic nature, and is very closely prescribed. Curricula are similar to, but much more extensive than, those of North American high schools, and include almost all the natural sciences, history of the world and of civilization, philosophy, economics, geography, and psychology.

The various countries differ widely in their educational efficiency, judged by modern standards. The leaders in South America are Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil. In northern

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century onward. So these southern countries inevitably bear today in their struggle for popular education, the effects of their long isolation.

Variations in Educational Systems.—Educational conditions in the various Latin America countries differ widely. Some countries have received large numbers of European immigrants and have predominantly white populations. In others, the pure-blooded Indians still form the great majority of the people, and one of the islands republics of the Caribbean is inhabited almost entirely by Negroes. In the majority of the states, however, the greater part of the population is composed of mestizos. These differences in racial make-up, the isolated character of the rural populations, and various economic reasons, such as the inability of the governments to finance widespread systems of public education, explain the high percentage of illiteracy that one finds in many of these countries.

Organization and curriculum have followed French standards rather than those of North America. In the universities most of the lectures are given by professional men or government officials, employed outside the school. Seldom are they engaged for their whole time. Consequently, there is little personal contact between students and professors. No roll is kept of the students; there are no dormitories, no intercollegiate athletics, no «campus life»; there is very little of what in North America is called «college spirit.» Of course, there are notable exceptions to this general statement. There is no question of the desire of the leaders to minister to the educational needs of their people, but systems are likely to be constructed on a highly idealistic basis. The defects are on the practical side.

When the republics were established, a struggle began as to whether the government or the church would control education. That struggle continues in most of the countries up to the present time. In some of them, like Mexico, it has been very bitter. In others, like Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Cuba the contest has been along the milder lines of development, as in the United States.

Each of the 20 republics has a Minister of Education who is responsible for the public school system. Compulsory attendance is required by law, but sparce population and small budgets often make it impossible to live up to this requirement. In contrast with the United States, student mortality is greater between the elementary and secondary schools than between secondary schools and the universities. This is because the elementary school is designed primarily for educating the poorer classes, while the secondary school, whose main function has been to prepare for the university, is for the upper classes. The course of studies in the Latin American secondary school in general is of an encyclopedic nature, and is very closely prescribed. Curricula are similar to, but much more extensive than, those of North American high schools, and include almost all the natural sciences, history of the world and of civilization, philosophy, economics, geography, and psychology.

The various countries differ widely in their educational efficiency, judged by modern standards. The leaders in South America are Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil. In northern Latin America, the best organized systems are in Costa Rica, Mexico, and Cuba. Mexico has become famous among educators in recent years for its rural schools, developed to take the ideas of the social revolution to the country people.

The educational program for each nation provides four general types of instruction: primary, secondary, normal (teacher training), and professional or cultural. Primary instruction in the more advanced sections consists of a six-grade course, to be completed in as many years. Secondary schools include another six years of instruction. In general the primary and secondary courses are equivalent to a North American course in a graded school and a well-organized high school. Such comparisons, of course, cannot be accurate, because schools in different sections differ greatly.

Cultural, professional, and technical instruction is given by the universities. Nearly every university offers courses in philosophy and the arts, law, medicine and engineering, their length varying according to the end in view. In general, the degree of Doctor of Letters may be attained in four years, and Doctor of Medicine or of law in six years. Some countries provide advanced instruction in engineering, industrial, mechanical and civil, with a five or six years' course in each branch. The medical faculty offers three to five years in pharmacy. Departments of economics, agriculture, and education are being organized, but are as yet in the earlier stages of development in many of the countries. The quality of professional education in South America is excellent. The number of years demanded for a degree permits the inclusion of some of the cultural studies, which in North America are covered by a college course.

Educational Reforms.—Reform movements were particularly notable in 1868–74 when Argentina, under President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, began to import a group of North American teachers, and Chile, in 1878, brought an educational mission from Germany. About the turn of the century various countries began to reorganize their administration, especially the national ministries of education. Among the important reforms were those of Ecuador (1895), Cuba (1900), Bolivia (1909), Panama (1910), Mexico (1921), and Colombia (1931). Frequently these reforms have been much ahead of their time, the state being unable to afford the improvements prescribed by law. But they have always served the useful purpose of pushing educational ideas forward and of analyzing with increasing precision the nature of the problems to be solved.

These reforms have been accompanied by an increasing control of education by the national governments. In Argentina this process began with the passage of the Laynez Law of 1905, which authorized the national government to create and maintain schools in the provinces and territories. Mexico began to take over control of state systems of education in 1923 by means of agreements between national and state governments. In 1936 the Brazilian federal government stepped into the field of elementary education, which had been reserved to the states since the founding of the republic. Since 1936, Colombia has been experimenting with national subsidies which permit the central government to influence local educational policy in a progressive manner. Among the services which the



national governments have been able to offer are the free supply of textbooks, improved teacher rating and supervision, advice on the construction and maintenance of school buildings, and varoius types of social aid to the underprivileged child.

Following the World War (1914–18), educational processes have been multiplied and modernized. Secondary education is ceasing to be regarded as a gateway to professional and humanistic studies for a small and economically privileged class. Such schools have come more and more under government control and their curricula have been adjusted slowly to the elementary school and to local social conditions.

Perhaps the most striking changes have taken place in the field of rural and Indian education. Various countries have been experimenting with the traveling schools, correspondence courses for teachers, and rural normal schools calculated to surmount lack of communications and other handicaps. Mexico created its famous rural missions in 1923 and laid the foundations of Indian education. In 1925 the *Casa del estudiante indigena* was inaugurated, which brought selected youth from Indian tribes for special training in Mexico City. Subsequently the rural mission idea spread to other countries, notably Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Regular agricultural schools, more or less of the same pattern as those of the United States, though usually not so practical, have markedly increased.

Physical education has grown slowly but steadily as a part of the elementary and secondary course of study. As early as 1905, Chile established its Institute of Physical Education, and at about the same time Uruguay laid the foundations of its well-organized system of physical culture, parks, playgrounds, and recreational facilities. During the past 20 years national committees for the extension of sports and athletics have been created in a majority of the Latin American republics.

Commercial, industrial, and trade schools of all classes have slowly raised their standards and have increasingly accepted the tenets of vocational guidance. Teacher training institutions have achieved a more specific professional character, in contrast with the traditional *escuelas normales* which were often not much more than slightly specialized high schools. The importance of the kindergarten has been recognized, and summer camps have spread since first established by Argentina. The study of English has recently received great impetus, it now being required in practically every secondary school in Latin America.

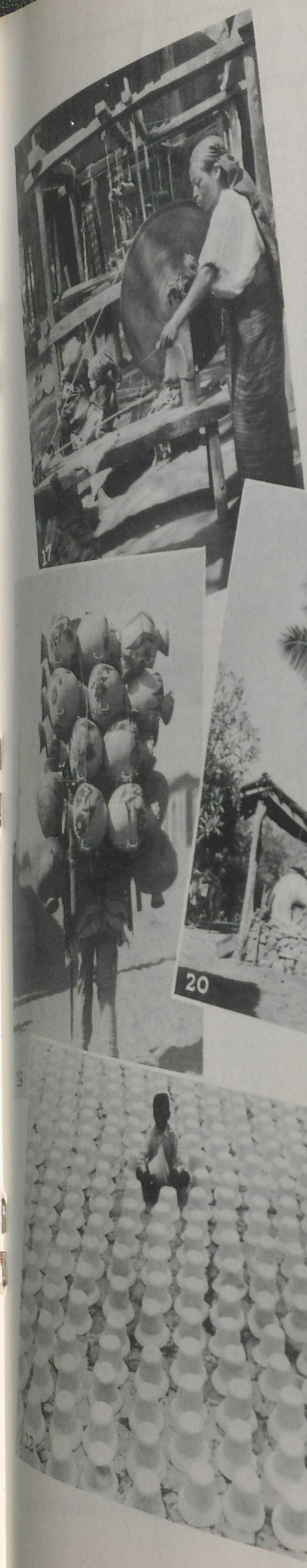
Libraries and museums, formerly considered more as depositories than as servants of the public, are now being reorganized by technicians, many of whom receive their training in the United States. Public health is also becoming intimately connected with the national educational systems. Parent-Teachers associations are influential in several countries. Adult education is slowly taking on major importance. A recent educational report of one of the less progressive states of Brazil discusses, among other things, the following: technical improvements for teachers; improvement of equipment; problems

EDUCATION IN THE 20 LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS[1]

Country	Population	Enrolment Elementary Schools	Enrolment Secondary Schools	Per cent of Enrolment in Secondary Schools (approximate)	Educational Appropriation (dollars)
Argentina	(1935) 12,372,965	(1935) 1,675,009	59,725	5.8	(1937) $61,572,600.00
Bolivia	(1929) 2,974,000	(1932) 145,000	3,300	2.2	(1934) 392,726.41
Brazil	(1934) 45,332,660	(1935) 2,677,000	(1936) 84,000	3.0	14,836,421.68
Chile	(1930) 4,287,445	(1935) 542,338	41,893	7.2	(1937) 12,462,075.16
Colombia	(1933) 8,893,030	(1936) 553,706	31,132	5.3	3,467,112.00
Costa Rica	(1927) 471,524	(1936) 59,587	2,008	3.3	843,851.03
Cuba	(1930) 3,763,375	(1935) 435,000	18,000	3.5	10,105,631.00
Dominican Republic	(1935) 1,478,121	(1936) 103,255	1,637	1.5	985,000.00
Ecuador	(1936) 2,000,000	(1935) 181,638	5,689	3.0	(1936) 1,573,675.00
El Salvador	(1932) 1,522,186	(1935) 81,031	1,437	1.7	641,578.40
Guatemala	(1934) 2,245,593	(1935) 118,842	868	.7	1,230,000.00
Haiti	(1929) 2,550,000	(1932) 47,952	4,232	8.0	395,096.00
Honduras	(1930) 854,184	(1936) 33,461	2,857	7.8	582,610.00
Mexico	(1930) 16,552,722	(1934) 641,000	14,000	2.1	16,378,400.00
Nicaragua	(1930) 750,000	(1936) 43,642	705	1.4	197,292.09
Panama	(1930) 467,459	(1936) 52,848	2,345	4.2	3,459,690.00
Paraguay	(1930) 851,564	(1934) 97,495	2,500	2.5	314,956.90
Peru	(1927) 6,147,000	(1936) 513,000	14,878	2.7	3,472,000.00
Uruguay	(1935) 2,020,040	189,196	7,150	3.6	2,834,121.36
Venezuela	(1932) 3,266,734	(1933) 121,000	(1935) 2,600	2.1	4,348,770.00

[1] Data from the Pan American Union.





17. Spinning yarn, Guatemala. 18. Contrasts in Costa Rica. 19. Guatemalan potter going to market. 20. Central American bread oven. 21. Indian pottery maker, Guatemala. 22. Sun-drying "Panama" hats, Ecuador. 23. The market place, Quetzaltenango, Guatemala.

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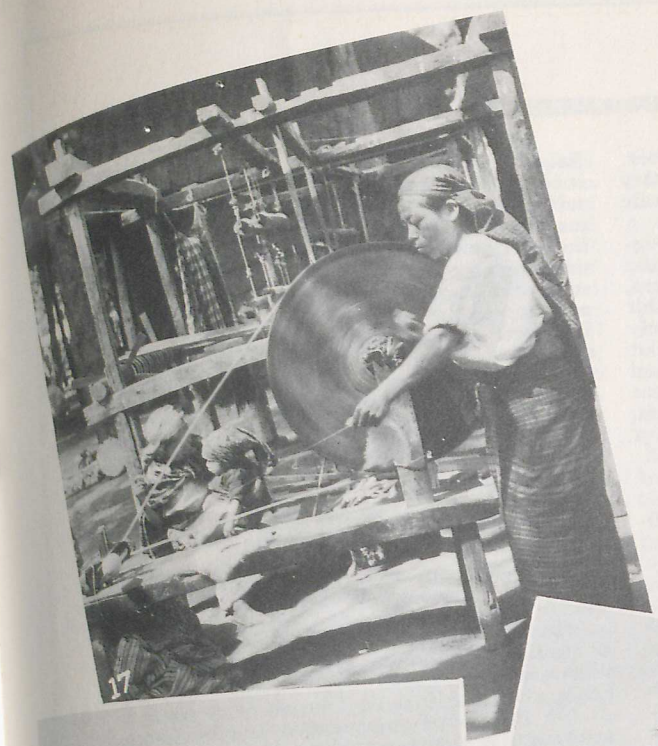













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in obligatory education; inspection of schools; required medical and dental service; primary instruction for adults; relations to private schools; and educational costs to students.

As an illustration of recent educational progress in various sections of Latin America, the state of Ceara, to which the above report refers, was the most backward in Brazil in 1921. Out of a population of 1,300,000 there were only 19,000 enrolled in primary schools. In 1938, out of a population of 1,700,000, the enrolment had increased to 81,000. Educational improvement was accompanied by marked economic progress, for which the improved schools were given a part of the credit.

Private schools often carry a large part of the educational load. They are of three classes: those conducted by religious agencies, by individuals, and by foreign colonies. The Roman Catholics are overwhelmingly in the majority. Protestant churches in the United States have erected influential educational institutions in most of the principal cities. Foreign colonies, especially English, French, German, Italian, and (in the late 1930's) the Japanese, have well-equipped institutions. The last three have recently been used as centers of Fascist propaganda. Most federal governments are now providing strict supervision of private schools to prevent religious or political dominance of the children, and are requiring the elimination of foreign languages as mediums of instruction.

A notable thing about Latin American education is the interest that students of universities and even of secondary schools take in public questions. Even in colonial days students participated in the election of the faculty. The Student Movement, following the World War, began to agitate for reforms in education and in social organization. Students and laborers have often united to bring about a new order, at times initiating armed revolt against abuses of dictators. The energy that youth in the United States expends on the athletic field is often used by Latin American students in debating public questions.

In each of the Latin American countries there is a system of scholarships which serves as a practical means of promoting interest in education. This system provides for supporting abroad for a certain length of time such students as have won honors, in order to perfect their education and bring home the latest and most approved methods. Since the World War of 1914–18 many students who formerly would have gone to Europe have come to the United States. In 1940 there were approximately 1,300 Latin American students in the colleges and universities, and several thousand in the secondary schools of the United States.

Latin American Literature

Latin Americans are at their best in literature. The printed page has special authority. Authors are held in the highest esteem. The greatest single force uniting Spanish America is the Spanish language, which is regarded with an affection not easily understood by the foreigner. Because of this love for this most intimate part of Hispanic family life, the Spanish-speaking people of the New World have always worked toward the improvement of the language without losing the beauty and power originally developed in the mother country. While Anglo-Saxon colonies of the North were occupied with conquering their frontiers, the Latin American settlers were engaged in erecting great intellectual centers, where the transplanted culture of the Iberian Peninsula might be housed. When the republics were established, the same emphasis on the dominant place of the intellectual few and the power of the written page continued. In recent years, with the urge of social reform eating at the vitals of these lands, again the writer who can put into words this social urge is the leader of his people. So the appreciation of the literature of Latin America is of first importance to foreigners who hope to understand the Hispanic peoples of the New World.

The development of Spanish American literature falls naturally into five different sections:

(1) Colonial period, occupied with the transfer of European culture to the New World, illustrated by the work of Alonzo de Ercilla y Zúniga and Juana Inés de la Cruz.

(2) Revolutionary period, when the scholar as patriot aided in the freedom of his country, illustrated by Andrés Bello of Venezuela and Chile, and José Joaquín Olmedo of Ecuador.

(3) Period of organization and disillusionment of the young republics, illustrated by the Argentine enthusiast, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, and the Peruvian critic, Manuel González Prada.

(4) Period of awakening at the turn of the century, represented by José Enrique Rodó, the essayist, and Rubén Darío, the poet.

(5) Modern Revolution, represented by Luis Alberto Sánchez, the radical critic, and Mariano Azuela, realistic Mexican novelist.

Colonial Period.—The two favorite colonies of Spain in America were Mexico and Peru; the former, because it was the first great territory conquered; and the latter, because of its wealth in precious metals which gave it material importance over all the other Spanish American colonies. The early prominence of these two colonies attracted to them great numbers of Spaniards of all classes, among them many of high title, family connection, and excellent education. To these, to priests and friars, and to native Indian writers we owe a great part of the early colonial literature. It consists largely of letters and other documents relating to the conquest, settlement, and administration of the colonies, to the customs and habits of the Indians, and to their preconquest history. The literature contributed by the priests and monks consists of works relating to the Christianizing of the natives and including also invaluable texts of a religious nature written in the native tongues of the aborigines. Among these are the 'Historia de las Indias' of Fray Bratolomé de las Casas (q.v.); the 'Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana' of Padre Bernardino de Sahagun; and other works on the antiquities of Mexico by the same author.

A remarkable epic poem, 'La Araucaña,' was written by Alonzo de Ercilla y Zúniga (q.v.) to tell of his experiences in the early struggle of the Spaniards with the valiant Araucanian Indians of Chile. This poem, finished in 1590, is of great length and is filled with romance and history. In the 16th century, Juan de Castellanos wrote a poem of some 150,000 lines entitled 'Eulogies of the Illustrious Men of the West Indies.' The most famous literary personage of



this period was the greatly admired Juana Inés de la Cruz, who lived in Mexico from 1651 to 1695. Her remarkable poetry and her brilliant intellect attracted visitors from Europe and other sections of America. She learned to read at the age of three and at seven begged her mother to send her to the university, disguised as a boy. Tormented by her admirers and her bishop, she early took the veil. Her nun's cell was converted into a famous study where she gathered some 4,000 volumes. She died at the age of 46 while serving the victims of a small-pox scourge.

An account of a contest of poets held in Mexico in 1585 reports the participation of 300 hopeful contestants. Another important section of the literature of this period has to do with the problems connected with the Indian population.

Revolutionary Period.—For a quarter of a century, following the beginning of the movement for independence in 1810, Spanish American writers were dominated by their admiration of the revolutionary and republican ideals of France and the United States, as against their detestation of the abuses of Spain. No group contributed more to independence than did the writers—both by stirring the sentiments of nationalism and by clarifying the advantages of republicanism.

Even some of the military leaders, notably Bolívar, wielded a mighty pen when they were resting from their labors with the sword. Several famous journals were founded in this period to strengthen the cause of the patriots, notably *Aurora de Chile* founded in 1812 by Camilo Henríquez, and *Gaceta* in Buenos Aires, under the editorship of Gregoria Fuenes and the brilliant Bernardo de Montiagado.

The Damon and Pythias of revolutionary literature were Andrés Bello of Venezuela and José Joaquín Olmedo of Ecuador. They first met in London, where they were both trying to secure aid from London for the struggling patriots back home. Olmedo (q.v.) served his country in various capacities following the establishment of the republic. But his greatest renown comes from his poem 'La Victoria de Junin,' which describes the great Bolívar in the battle of Junin, his final successful effort to drive the Spaniards from South America. Andrés Bello (q.v.) wrote both poetry and prose, and was alike outstanding as a diplomat, grammarian, educator, and authority on international law. After a notable service to Venezuela at home and during a long residence in London, he accepted a call from the nascent Republic of Chile to advise in the formation of its international relations and in the development of education. He rounded out his great career by founding the University of Chile and acting as its first president.

The Cuban poet and patriot, José María Heredia (q.v.) is another outstanding writer of this period who left his mark not only on his native land but on the United States and Mexico, where he lived for a time.

Period of Organization and Disillusionment.—No sooner had the literati gained their ideal of national independence than they had to face the terrific problems of bringing order out of chaos. As problems and dictators began to multiply, literary men had to face the practical claims of critics that disorganization pointed to failure. There began to appear a
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Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811–88), a most enthusiastic writer of the age, was probably the greatest Argentine that ever lived. Born a poor boy, his early life was greatly influenced by a priest, who took a friendly interest in him and supervised his education. Undaunted by failures, he did not shun such positions as innkeeper, clerk, and miner, interspersed with his great literary, philosophical, diplomatic, and educational work. During the struggle between the Unitarians and Federalists in Argentina, Sarmiento went in exile to Chile. There he led such an active life that he soon became as well known as in his own land. In 1846–47 he traveled extensively in Europe and the United States. Upon his return to his native land he was made President of the republic. From the time of his presidency to his death he continued his strenuous activities, his literary works alone numbering 52 volumes.

Manuel González Prada (1844–1918), of Peru, although as anxious for reform as Sarmiento, was the great critic and cynic of his time. A brilliant essayist, the master of a faultless Castilian style, he was the acknowledged leader of a whole coterie of young disciples who, like himself, saw nothing in life but sadness and suffering. Equally pessimistic were other writers of tropical Latin America, who like the Mexican, Francisco Bulnes, predicted a dark future for the Hispanic America which no doubt would be swallowed by the United States.

Period of Awakening.—The opening of the 20th century marked a period of awakening. It was led by José Enrique Rodó of Uruguay, considered by many as the greatest of all South American writers. He was born of an Uruguayan mother and Spanish father in Montevideo in 1872. He died disillusioned and neglected in an out-of-the-way Italian inn in 1914. His greatest book was 'Ariel,' couched in the form of a heart-to-heart talk by an old professor to his students. It was written just after the Spanish-American War, when Latin America began to fear that the United States was about to take over all the continent. In this book, which came to be the Bible of many students of the South, Rodó advised his young friends against the anarchy and violence of modern politics. He advocated the worship of the inner life and the development of an elite who would be the salvation of democracy. Over against the excesses of North American activism and the mediocrity of commercialism, he held up the idealism of South America based on unselfishness and the cultivation of art and intellect.



Following Rodó, there developed a school of well-known writers who were critical of Northern dominance. Prominent among these were Manuel Ugarte and Alfredo Palacios of Argentina, Rufino Blanco Fombora of Venezuela, and Francisco Garcia Calderon of Peru. Their criticisms of the North were accompanied by severe analysis of the weaknesses of the South. Two especially important volumes of criticism are 'Eurindia' (1924) by the Argentine writer, Ricardo Rojas, and 'Indiologia' (1927) by the Mexico, José Vasconcelos.

With the poets, this awakening took on the shape of a declaration of independence from the poetical forms of former masters in France and Spain, and the development of a new American conception of their art. The movement called «Modernism» was initiated by Rubén Darío of Nicaragua by the publication of his unassuming little book 'Azul' in Valparaiso, Chile. Young Darío soon moved to Paris, where he was joined by Amado Nervo of Mexico and others who began to attract the attention of literary Europe and America. Companions and imitators sprang up from Mexico to Argentina, giving us such distinguished names as Guillermo Velencia of Chile, José Santos Chocano of Peru, and Leopoldo Lugones of Argentina.

Return to Revolution.—This latest period is only a more marked or, shall we say, a more violent, part of the awakening begun with the turn of the century. Needless to remark, it develops not violently but gradually into periods, as do all other divisions of literature. The emphatic note in the more recent literature is social. This is what separates so completely the poetry of the Chilean teacher, Gabriela Mistral, for example, from the exquisite forms of Rubén Darío. The great Nicaraguan was proud of dwelling in his ivory tower. Gabriela Mistral is overwhelmed with the problems of her children, her country neighbors, and her city tenement dwellers. Darío is no further removed from her than she is from her fellow Chilean, Victor Domingo Silva, who declares: «A poet perchance I am, but rather than a poet, a revolutionist.» A whole group of reform writers have grown up around the Mexican Revolution and the Apra socialist movement in Peru. The latter, with headquarters in Lima, but with nationalist organizations in many Latin American countries, counts such vigorous writers as Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Luis Alberto Sánchez, and Manoel Seoane. Sánchez published in 1939 his monumental 'Historia de la Literatura Americana,' the best history of Spanish American literature. Seoane is devoting himself to current political questions. His 'Nuestra America y la Guerra' (1940) is especially significant because it represents the conversion of a radical nationalist from opposition to co-operation with the United States in order to defend democracy from the totalitarian system.

We have come, then, to the ripe season of the literature of revolt. Art for art's sake, the idealistic preachings of Rodó and the *arielists,* the literature of local color and landscape exaltation—all were supplanted by the exposition of grievances and denunciations of the social prophets. In Mexico leftist writers even tended to relegate Mariano Azuela and Martin Luis Guzmán to the pile of «anecdote literature.» The phenomenon travels throughout America, influences all literary genres, colors with revolutionary ardor the literature depicting the anguish of Bolivians and Paraguayans during the Chaco War. It has left unmistakable traces even on the outstanding characteristics of Negro poetry, which received its impulse from the Antilles some 10 years ago, with the vigorous, quasi-folklore poems of the Cubans, Nicolás Guillén, Regino Pedroso, and Emilio Ballagas, and of the Puerto Rican, Luis Palés Matos.

A list of the important poets of this period of disquietude would include the following: Gabriela Mistral, Juana de Ibarbourou, César Vallejo, Pablo Neruda, Nicolás Guillén, Juvencio Valle, Jorge Carrera Andrade, Eugenio Florit, Alberto Hidalgo, Emilio Ballagas, Gilberto Owen, Vicente Huidobro, Emilio Oribe, Germán Pardo Garcia and Pablo de Rokha.

Novels.—The Peruvian critic, Luis Alberto Sánchez, entitled his study of the Latin American novel as follows: 'America, A Novel Without Novelists.' By this he meant to emphasize the fact that Latin Americans, while they have produced some good novels, are not especially noted for this form of writing. Beginning with the Mexican Revolution (1910), however, there has been a notable development of fiction with social content and descriptive of regional life. Mariano Azuela's 'Los de Abajo' (translated in English as 'The Under Dogs') initiated the cycle of Mexican stories dealing with the Revolution. Two years before, in 1914, the Argentinian, Manuel Gálvez, had published 'La Maestra Rural,' and later Eduardo Barrios offered Chile his 'Un Perdido' (1917), a model of consummate realism. Regional stories find one of their best examples in Ricardo Güiraldes' 'Don Segundo Sombra' (same title in the English translation), published the same year (1926) in which Enrique Larreta exploited the *gaucho* theme in 'Zogoibi.' The year before, the poet of the Colombian jungle, José Eustasio Rivera, had astonished his contemporaries with 'La Vorágine' (translated in English as 'The Vortex'), a novel in which «one does not know what to admire more, the unheard of richness of tropical nature or the unleashed passions of men in contact with it.» By 1929, these efforts evincing sound analysis of the Spanish American man and a loving, even mystical, depiction of the landscape, found the most finished expression in 'Doña Barbara' (same title in the English translation), by the Venezuelan, Romulo Gallegos, a work which the critics have considered as Spanish America's «perfect» novel.

The Indian theme has permeated the work of novelists and short story writers. For an example, we must cite the extraordinary case of Ecuador where an indigenous novel has developed, quite different from the «Indianist» tradition represented by such «classics» as 'Cumandá' (1879) in which the Ecuadorean, Juan Leon Mera, «regaled us with musical-comedy savages speaking an incredibly sophisticated language.» Not so the novels and short stories of Ecuador's younger writers who attained significance around 1930. These writings contain a burning protest against the economic exploitation of the Indian and mestizo masses on the coast and in the mountains. The most representative of these works is Jorge Icaza's 'Huasipungo' (1934), a novel «as black as a nightmare, violent, bestial, bloody.» Peruvian writers have tried their hand also at developing an indigenist novel full of grievances: César Valejo's 'Tungsteno' (1931) and César Falcon's 'El Pueblo sin Dios' (1928); and in Mexico, Gregorio López Fuentes wrote 'El Indio' (1935) which won him the National Prize for Literature.



Brazilian Literature.—The Portuguese were not as interested in developing the intellectual life of their colonists in the New World as were the Spanish. The printing press and the newspaper did not appear until about the opening of the 19th century. Few writers of the earlier period are especially noted. Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-82) is the first prominent romanticist. His poems were marked by a triumph of faith and exaltation of the divine. His contemporary, Gonçalves Dias (1823-64), was more famous and by some considered his country's greatest poet. His lyrics sing themselves into the soul and his descriptions of Brazilian scenery and Indian life are impressive. Castro Alves (1847-71) was the first to put the note of social justice into his writings, being especially strong in the denunciation of negro slavery. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908) was one of the representatives of naturalism. As the most distinguished of Brazilian writers he was made the first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters founded in 1897.

At the beginning of the 20th century Euclydes da Cunha published one of the most famous of Brazilian books, 'Os Sertoes.' It deals with the life of the wild hinterland, described around the revolt of a religious fanatic who had been pursued by the government into the interior hills. Equally famous is the novel 'Chaanan' (Canaan) written by Graça Aranha. It deals with the distressing conditions among German immigrants in the state of Espirito Santo. These two works, one a scientific and poetic description of life in the interior, the other likewise a discussion of Brazil's problem in the hinterland, but dealing with the foreign immigrant, contributed much to Brazilian social literature. Manoel Oliveira Lima (1867-1928) was beloved alike in his native Brazil, in Europe, and in America. He wrote on a wide number of topics, and collected a remarkable library which he later presented to the Catholic University in Washington.

At the outbreak of the World War (1914-18), the nationalist spirit intensified; a São Paulo group headed by Monteiro Lobato, regionalist, short story writer, and owner of a publishing house, took the lead. He believed that the true Brazil was found in the interior, free from all European influences. In 1922 the São Paulo «Semana de Arte Moderna» was emphasizing nationalism on the one hand, and on the other, stimulating literary individualism, focusing figures already consecrated among the literary great (Graça Aranha), or new writers (Ronald de Carvalho, Mario de Andrade, Cassiano Ricardo). The most varied schools blossomed in the field of poetry: green-yellowism (green and yellow are Brazil's national colors), anthropophagy, anecdotism, folklorism. Among the poets who have distinguished themselves mention must be made of Cassiano Ricardo, author of the famous regional poem 'Martim Cerere'; Jorge de Lima who in his 'A Tunica Inconsutil' (1938) reflects the mystical trend in vogue in contemporary Brazil; Murillo Mendes, collaborator with Jorge de Lima, of 'Tempo e Eternidade' (1925); Raul Bopp who in 'Cobra Norato' pres
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The Brazilian writer best-known outside his own land today is probably the historian and critic, Gilberto Freyre. His principal volume so far produced is 'Casa Grande Senzala.' It has stirred much debate among the intelligentsia, for it endorses race mixtures, praises the contributions made by Negroes to Brazilian life, and in its realism makes such statements as the one declaring that bad diet and syphilis are more responsible for defects of the national character than is miscegenation. The race problem and other social questions have stirred a large school of new writers, a few of whom with their principal works, are as follows: Oliveira Vianna, 'Raca e assimilaçao'; Nina Rodríguez, 'Os Africanos no Brasil'; Alfredo Elles, Jr., 'Populacões paulistas'; Pedro Calmon, 'Historia da civilização brasileira'; Alberto Torres, 'O problema nacional brasileiro'; Roquette Pinto, 'Ensaios de anthropologia brasileira'; Baptista Pereira, 'O Brasil e o anti-semitismo'; M. Bomfin, 'O Brasil naçao.'

Brazilian critics of today are engaged in an exhaustive study of the country's literary past. There is likewise a new effort toward reknitting the intellectual contacts with the mother country, Portugal, as well as enlarging such relations with neighboring South American nations, especially Argentina, often considered Brazil's greatest rival.

Art and Music

European ideals largely dominated Latin American art before the World War (1914–18). Many of the artists then living abroad had to return to their native America when the war started, and only then began to appreciate the artistic inspiration of their original habitation. The tremendous social upheaval in Mexico, called the Revolution, was responsible for the starting of the remarkable school headed by Diego Rivera and honored by such names as José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaros Siqueiros, and Miguel Covarrubias. Imbued with the spirit of the Revolution, they decorated the walls of public buildings with the realities for which their fellow-countrymen had struggled so fiercely. It was the landscape, the Indian types, and the customs of particular regions that inspired the Peruvians, José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, and Camilo Blas. In Bolivia the theme is cultivated with similar fervor by the sculptress María Nunez del Prado and the painter Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas, whose talent was revealed especially in painting scenes of the Chaco War. In Brazil the painters Cándido Portinari and Cicero Dias have done American work of real expression. Portinari won one of the most coveted prizes of the Carnegie International Exposition (1935) for his painting of a coffee crop, and later distinguished himself at the New York World's Fair by his Brazilian murals.

In Argentina the cultivation of native themes has been notable in the works of Cesareo Ber-



naldo Quiros, the sculptor; and among such painters as Luis Perlotti, Benito Quinquela Martín, and Alfredo Guido. According to the latter, Argentine painters differ from the Mexican school since they are not provided with the passionate rhythm or with the pictorial tradition inherited by Mexican artists. In every country is to be found this earnest search after more adequate forms for interpreting the various regions constituting Hispanic America. This is true not only in painting but likewise in music and literature.

The place of music in Latin America has been carefully studied and clarified by the Section of Musical Research of Montevideo's Institute of Higher Education. In 1936 it published its first 'Boletin Latino Americano de Música,' revealing the fact that Latin America is vitally concerned with music. Under the able guidance of Prof. Francisco Curt Lange, composers from several countries have brought out an annual volume of 'Boletin,' expounding the musical heritage of indigenous people, the Spanish influence, and the current nationalistic movement. By means of such publications and by Latin American musical festivals, like the ones celebrated in Bogotá during the fourth centenary of the founding of that city, the place of music is being emphasized. Radio has been especially effective in revealing the musical genius of Latin America.

Among contemporary Latin American composers the best-known are probably the Brazilian, Heitor Villa-Lobos, and the Mexican, Carlos Chávez. Other outstanding figures are the Argentinians, Juan Carlos Paz, Enrique M. Casella, Honorio Siccardi, and Juan José Castro; the Peruvians, Carlos Sánchez Málaga and Andre Sas; the Chilean, Pedro Humberto Allende; the Bolivian, Antonio González Bravo; the Colombian, Guillermo Uribe Holguín; the Uruguayans, Eduardo Fabini and Vicente Ascone. From Brazil came the composers who have distinguished themselves for their nationalism and modernity: Camargo Guarnieri, Oscar Lourenco Fernández, Francisco Mignone, and Benedicto dos Santos.

Intellectual Co-operation

Latin American countries have from the beginning of their independent life emphasized cultural relations with other countries. National budgets early included scholarships for students, and visits by writers, professors, and artists to Europe and the United States. During the 19th century the personal activity of thinkers and writers (such as Andrés Bello, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, José Julián Marti, José María Heredia, Eugenio María de Hostos, and Rubén Darío) in other than their own countries constituted a part and parcel of the continent's spiritual development. In the past few years the influence of similar personalities who have traveled beyond their home frontiers has become a powerful factor in quickening the exchange in the sciences and the humanities. They include such well-known names as the Mexicans, José Clemente Orozco and Carlos Chávez in the United States; the Chilean, Gabriela Mistral in Mexico; the Bolivian, Ricardo Jaimes Freyre in Argentina; the Peruvians, Juan Parra del Riego in Uruguay and Luis Alberto Sánchez in Chile: painters, musicians, poets, and authors who settled temporarily in a sister country in order to paint murals, to direct orchestras, to teach, or to publish books. Various governments like those of Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela have not hesitated to utilize the services of specialists from other American republics for the reorganization of their school systems. In the scientific field research has been carried out in the Mayan region by the Carnegie Institution and various American universities in conjunction with the governments of Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras; and in Peru with American students of archeology working with the Instituto de Investigaciones Andinas. In the field of art, private initiative has been decidedly fruitful. Numerous exhibitions by artists from Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Argentina have been held in New York, Chicago, and other American cities. Such exhibits have been especially notable in connection with the World's Fairs in New York and San Francisco.

When the League of Nations was organized, most Latin American countries joined with enthusiasm in the work of its International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Pan American conferences have persistently emphasized cultural exchange. The Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans and Educators (Havana, 1930) paved the way for the ultimate creation of an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. At present, national committees for such activities function officially in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Mexico, Peru, El Salvador, and Uruguay. Although the Inter-American Institute has not yet been constituted, its objectives are far from being neglected, as shown by the 12 national committees now in operation. Countries without a committee have universities and scholarly associations co-operating with the Division of Intellectual Co-operation of the Pan American Union, which has been entrusted with many of the co-ordinating functions of the projected Inter-American Institute.

This brief survey of Latin American education, literature, and art emphasizes the new recognition of moral responsibility and spiritual interest in these southern countries. This new spiritual awakening is thus expressed by the late Señor Enrique González Martinez, Mexican poet and diplomat:

«Yesterday, the Latin American peoples were only a hope, hardly a presentment. Branches of two strong trees injected in a primitive trunk of the aborigines, we represented an unknown power which was enclosed silently without voice, largely hidden from the directive forces of the world. Today we are a real power, a concrete affirmation. Yesterday the peoples who possessed ancient culture could eliminate us from the chess table of their complicated political combinations and their refined diplomacy. Today they need to count on us, risking, if inadvertently they pass us by, a real limitation on their future . . .

«Peoples, like individuals, do not live by bread alone. We ought to remember that along with gold and silver, nitrates and petroleum, livestock and agriculture, for which the hand of Europe, recently stricken, reaches out toward us, we have also a contribution to make to the spiritual life which is now so lacking in the world.»



Social Movements

Labor Legislation.—Movements for social justice began to appear with the awakening caused by the World War of 1914–18. The Mexican Revolution begun in 1910 registered in its constitution of 1917 the official recognition of the rights of labor and the need of breaking up great landed estates. In the same year Uruguay adopted a new constitution providing for advanced social legislation. These two countries have continued to lead Latin America along these lines. In 1920, with the election to the presidency of Arturo Alessandri, Chile appointed a Minister of Labor and inaugurated a series of provisions for social benefits for wage earners, which acts place it in first rank among the nations of the world. Every wage earner in Chile, from domestic servants to newspaper employes and teachers, are provided with free medical attention, sickness benefits, and old age pensions. While Chile has the most complete system of social insurance of any American country, most all of them have recently introduced more complete social security plans than have the United States. Brazil is the most recent of the large republics to adopt advanced plans to provide wage earners with free hospital service, industrial insurance, and old age pensions, as well as an eight-hour day and annual vacations with pay. It must not, of course, be supposed that all these laws are always enforced. Labor's right to organize has now been acknowledged in constitutional or other legal measures in practically every one of these countries. In most countries labor is required to appoint representatives to settle labor questions conjointly with representatives of the government and of the employes. In Brazil and Ecuador the most recent constitutions require labor, along with other social groups, to select representatives to the national legislative bodies. The federal departments of labor now almost universally deal with labor through their official organizations. Labor syndicates have therefore taken a definite place in the legal system of Latin America—probably before they themselves are quite ready to occupy such a place.

The following constitutions give special attention to social legislation of various kinds: Mexico (1917); Chile (1925); Ecuador (1938); Brazil (1937); Uruguay (1934); Colombia (1936); Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, and El Salvador (1938); Nicaragua (1939); and Cuba (1940). The provisions in these constitutions might be summarized as follows, although differing in details: (1) a reiteration of the right of labor to organize; (2) the freedom to select the kind of work desired and protection of the worker; (3) the eight-hour day and weekly day of rest; (4) the recognition of individual and collective contract as a medium of guaranteeing the right of workers; (5) a minimum wage; (6) protection of women and children; (7) medical care of industrial workers; (8) accident insurance; (9) a system of social insurance. The present tendency is to empower the national Congress to legislate on all labor questions in order to fix equal rights for laborers in all parts of the country. The latest Constitution of Brazil says work ought to be organized according to the principles of justice and the necessities of national life, and conditions of life compatible with human dignity should be established in all parts of the republic.

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There is also a definite tendency to codify labor legislation so that the laws may be more equally and justly enforced. Chile, Colombia, Brazil, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru have recently moved toward this codification; Mexico and Uruguay accomplished it several years ago. Paid vacations are increasingly being required by national legislation.

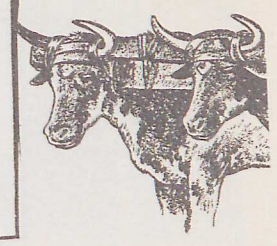
There has been a struggle to protect the national life from exploitation by foreign countries. At present the law fixes the ratio of national workers to be employed by foreign countries as follows: Bolivia 75 per cent; Brazil 90 per cent; Chile 85 per cent; Mexico 90 per cent; Cuba 50 per cent; Nicaragua 75 per cent; Peru 80 per cent; Uruguay 80 per cent. Most of the countries have special legislation concerning the organization of the *sindicato* or labor union. Mexico provides for three classes of syndicates—professional, commercial, and industrial—in addition to rural labor. The syndicate is subject to certain conditions; among others it must be registered with the committee of conciliation and arbitration, which grants it incorporation, requires in return the submission of reports, and prohibits intervention in religious and political activities. It is given the power to carry on commercial transactions and to bring pressure to bear against workers not members of the syndicate. Commissions of conciliation and arbitration, which generally have the power of final decisions in labor disputes, are made up of representatives of employes, employers, and the government.

Protection of Agricultural Laborers.—Recent efforts have been made to extend the protection of labor legislation beyond industrial workers to agricultural laborers. The new constitution of Ecuador asserts that the state will protect the rural worker and that the law will definitely regulate conditions of work in conformity with principles set forth in detail. Similarly, the Constitution of Bolivia asserts that the state will devise protectory measures for the health and life of workers, including agricultural laborers, and see that they have healthful quarters. Similar measures are also found in the constitutions of Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

In Argentina, the law of 1925 states that wages must be paid in national currency. In Chile, the labor code contains several provisions designed to protect the integrity of wages, fixing their payment in national currency, at frequent intervals, and also establishing a minimum wage by mixed commissions. In Brazil and various other nations the law establishes a minimum wage which is supposed to be «high enough to satisfy the normal necessities for food, lodging, clothes, sanitation, and transportation.»

Social Insurance.—Chile was the first American country to establish obligatory social insurance for the entire wage-earning class, including agriculture. The law applies to all workmen under 65 years of age that earn a wage of less than 8,000 pesos. It grants to agricultural workers medical attention, medicine, hospitalization, monetary subsidy, a pension in case of old age, and special insurance benefits to women and children. For the benefit of rural workers there have been created throughout the country relief offices with medicines, permanent nurses, and medical service.

In Ecuador, the law of 5 Dec. 1935 created



general obligatory social insurance, and established for this purpose the National Institute of Insurance. In Peru, a social insurance law covers risks of sickness, maternity, disability, old age, and death, and applies to all workers under 60 years of age.

The labor legislation just discussed no doubt owes much to the inspiration received from the International Labor Office. In a way, much of it might be considered an effort to win labor to the government's support instead of allowing it to follow such stormy European influences as communism.

Housing.—An important aspect of protective social legislation for the worker deals with housing conditions both in the cities and in the country districts. Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have extensive housing projects in their capital cities, which visitors will find of great interest. In Chile, a series of laws designed to improve housing in general also applies to the housing of agricultural workers. In Colombia, the law of 25 Nov. 1936 refers to the construction of «family farmhouses» for workers. The Federal Labor Law of Mexico imposes on the landlords the obligation of providing agricultural workers with sanitary and adequate lodging. Regular Pan American conferences on housing are now periodically held, in which housing projects for workers are carefully studied and the working of those already carried out are checked.

Public Health.—Latin America, with so much of its territory in the tropics, faces tremendous difficulties in keeping down disease. But its progress in public health is well demonstrated by the following outstanding developments: new legislation, incorporating the latest scientific developments; reorganization of public health services including the recent creation of new ministries of Public Health in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela; widespread development of health centers; extension of laboratory services; great attention to the problem of proper diet for the people, and studies of nutrition; attention to the training of public health personnel; gradual introduction of full-time service; creation of services of public health education or propaganda; improvement of vital statistics compilation, including disease reporting; and the initiation of well-guided campaigns against certain diseases such as yellow fever, leprosy, and malaria. For decades there has been no cholera in any part of South America; plague has decreased in Argentina from 63 cases in 1933 to 5 in 1938; in Chile there has been no human case of plague since 1931; in Guayaquil, Ecuador, cases decreased from 116 in 1935 to 36 in 1938, and in Peru from 400 in 1930 to 59 in 1938. Cases of typhus decreased in Bolivia from more than 1,300 in 1935 to 167 in 1938; in Chile, from a maximum of 15,379 cases and 3,596 deaths in 1933 to 829 cases, and 236 deaths in 1938; in Guatemala deaths have varied from 27 in 1930 to 117 in 1936. The importance of safe water supplies is receiving increasing recognition throughout Latin America. In Argentina, for instance, about 50 per cent of the entire population are already benefited by public improvements of this nature. The proportion is smaller in other countries, but in all, rapid progress is being made. Aqueducts in Bogotá, Orizaba, and Caracas represent the latest ideas.

Hospitals.—In the housing of the sick, Latin America has a long and proud tradition. By the time the first hospital was opened in the present United States, the Spanish colonies were already studded with similar institutions. The progress made in the last half century is little short of astonishing. The countries having most hospitals are Brazil (1,200), Argentina (750), Mexico (300), Colombia (250), and Chile (184). In number of beds per 1,000 population Argentina and Uruguay lead.

General death rates during the last four decades have also shown encouraging reductions as indicated by the following: Argentina, from 20 per thousand to 11.5; Chile, from 31.8 to 24.5; Colombia, from more than 20 to 15; Costa Rica, from nearly 30 to 16.7; Cuba, from over 30 to 12.4; Ecuador, from 25 (1920) to about 20; El Salvador, 21.0 (1899–1911) to 17.0 (1938); Guatemala, from 35 to 18.4; Mexico, about 39 (1899) to 21.9 (1938); Uruguay, from 17 to 9.7; Venezuela, from over 21 to 17.2, per thousand.

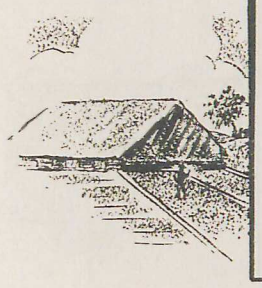
Child Welfare.—The International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, with its staff of workers at its headquarters at Montevideo, is an illustration of the strong movement for child welfare now existing in most Latin American countries. The emphasis is placed on the protection and care of motherhood, permarital examinations, school hygiene, care of the handicapped, child labor, and juvenile courts. Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, and Mexico do outstanding work. National and Pan American child conferences do much to inspire and co-ordinate this work. Buenos Aires celebrates annually a Baby Week and Brazil observes Columbus Day as National Children's Day.

Women's Movement.—Women of Latin America followed the seclusive ideas of the women of Spain and North Africa for many years. In some sections today it is against social customs for women to be seen on the streets alone, or for them to attend social events without chaperones. Participation in discussion of public questions has also been considered outside of woman's prerogatives. Following the World War of 1914–18, however, there developed a marked Woman's Movement in lands like Chile, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, and more recently in other countries. School teachers, as a class, have been conspicuous in the development of women's activities both in the social and political realms, as they have been the most effective leaders in all social reforms.

Sports.—Significant in the recent development of the social life of Latin America has been the recent growth of sports. These have done much to improve the health and the moral life of the people. In southern countries like Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile, the English games of football, tennis, polo, and racing predominate. In northern countries the influence of the United States is seen in the predominance of basketball and baseball.

International Economic Relations

Economic life in Latin America always has been tied closely to foreign trade and foreign capital. In colonial times precious metals dominated exports. Since the days of independence agricultural products have gradually come to dominate shipments to foreign lands. From the





24. Village in eastern Nicaragua. 25. Ancient bridge (1580) Guatemala. 26. Patio, President's palace, Caracas, Venezuela. 27. Boulevard in Buenos Aires. 28. Cathedral in Cartago, Costa Rica. 29. Caballero Park, Asunciòn, Paraguay. 30. Air view, Pan American Highway, Costa Rica. 31. Bridge on Pan American Highway, Guatemala.

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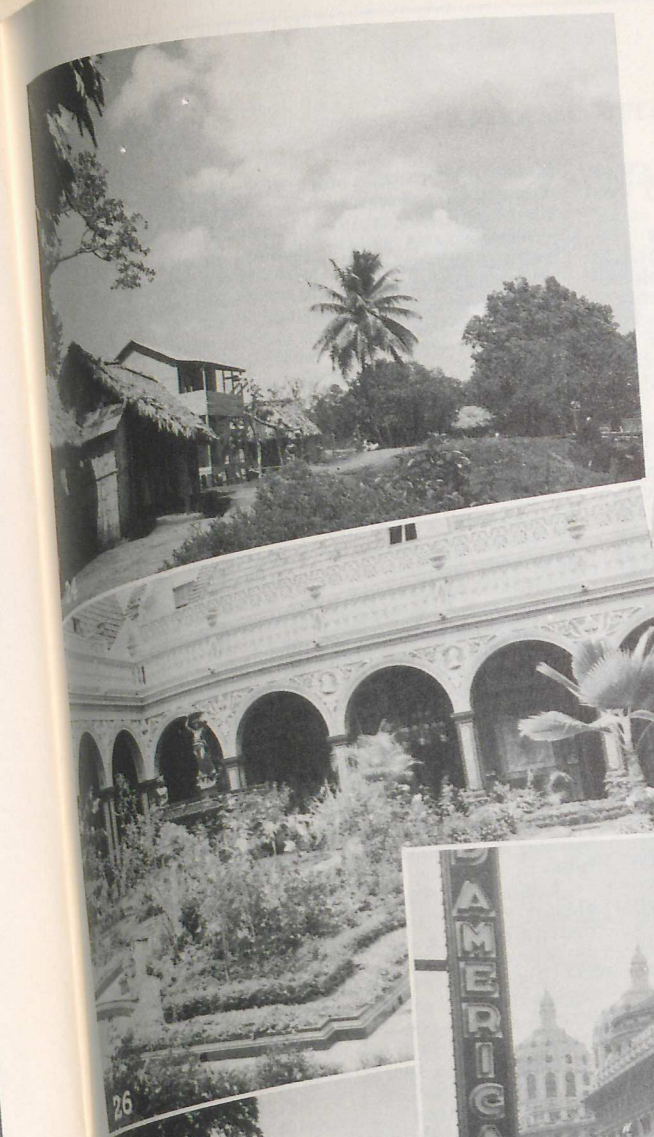

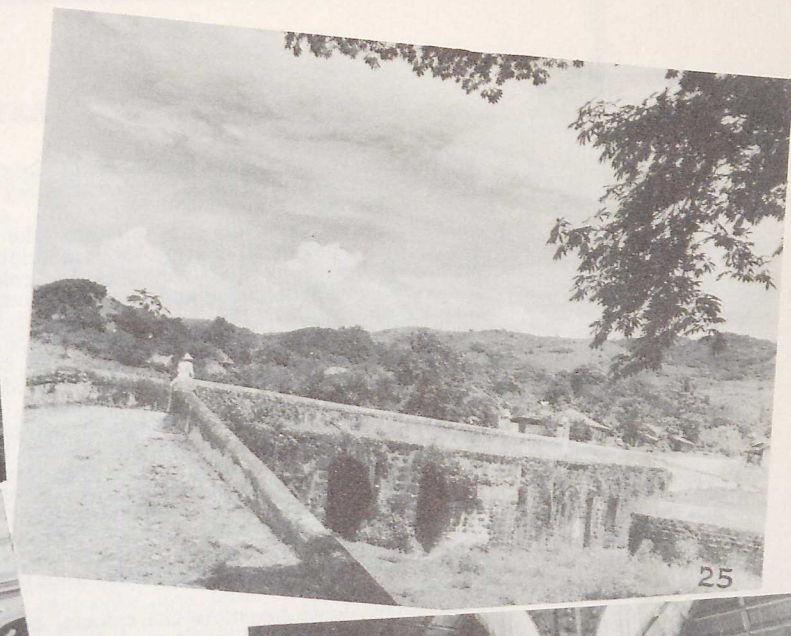











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outside world has always been brought the major part of manufactured goods and machinery used by these southern countries.

For convenience in our thinking, the economic development of Latin America might be separated into four divisions: (1) the colonial period, when all domestic and foreign commerce was carried on for the benefit of the mother countries; (2) the period of independence and of laissez faire, when the economy of these countries was dominated by foreign capital, by great landed estates owned by nationals, and production was concentrated on one or two products; (3) the period following the World War of 1914–18, when the new nationalism spurred the people to more manufacturing, to a diversification of crops, to restrictions on foreign capital, and to exchange control; (4) the present era, initiated by the German barter system, with political motives dominating foreign trade relations.

Economic development in the colonial period rested on the policy of Spain and Portugal to control completely all exports and imports for the benefit of their own royal houses. This monopoly also extended to immigration and the cultural aspects of life. Exports were largely limited to a few products like gold, silver, and sugar which did nothing toward enriching Latin America. Local industries which competed with products of the homeland were discouraged. Immigration largely ceased in the latter part of the colonial period and economic stagnation set in.

While political independence was gained by most of the Hispano-American republics by 1825, the old economic system, dominated by great landed estates with peonage labor and overdependence on mining, continued. With their inherited aversion to business enterprises, the leaders in the new republics devoted their attention largely to politics, leaving economic development to the foreigners.

Modern progress in Latin America, generally speaking, began in the latter part of the 19th century. In some countries this progress began soon after the middle of the century; in others more recently. Expansion began with the introduction of foreign capital, particularly in the fields of mining and transportation. The earlier inflow of foreign capital came largely from the United Kingdom and the countries of northwestern Europe. More recently capital of the United States has been instrumental in the rapid development of mining; in improvement of transportation and public utilities; in industrial development, especially in processing food products and minerals; and in the enormous production of foods for export, as shown in the banana plantations of the Caribbean and the sugar estates of Cuba and Peru. The building of railways made possible expansion in the development of farm areas and in mines by providing a relatively cheap transport from formerly isolated areas to the coast. Highway transportation, long delayed, had come with a rush. Air transportation for freight as well as passengers has recently transformed business possibilities, especially in mountainous countries.

In foreign trade Latin America is important primarily because of its capacity to produce vast quantities of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials; it is the richest raw material producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power. Its importance, however, lies not so much in the volume of production as in its exportable surpluses. For example, while Latin American wheat production in 1937 was less than 7 per cent of the world total, its exports accounted for almost 35 per cent of world trade in this commodity. In 1937 the estimated value of total Latin American primary production was $4,829,900,000, representing approximately 7.9 per cent of the world total.

Latin American exports in 1937, consisting almost entirely of industrial raw materials and foodstuffs, were valued at $1,583,000,000 (gold), as compared with a world total of $15,369,000,000. Since exports of manufactured goods were negligible, it is evident that Latin America sold abroad almost one-third of its primary production. Its exports were valued at more than 10 per cent of the world total. Its importance in world export markets is further enhanced by the fact that this area has almost a monopoly in the production of various key materials, such as coffee (88 per cent of the world supply in 1937). Bananas, natural nitrates, sisal, and other products of a minor nature might also be included in this category. From the point of view of exports rather than production, Latin America is the dominant factor in the supply of several major commodities.

Table I

Production and Exports of Principal Latin American Raw Materials in 1937

[thousands of metric tons]

Commodity	Production: Volume	Production: Per cent of World	Exports: Volume	Exports: Per cent of World	Principal Markets: Per cent of exports
Cacao	228.0	31.0	183.9	27.8	U.S.A. 70.6; Germany 14.8
Cattle hides	....	...	253.5	42.1	Germany 34.8; U.S.A. 16.9; U.K. 11.9
Coffee	2,186.0	88.1	1,282.9	81.4	U.S.A. 56.7; Germany 14.4; France 9.6
Corn	19,010.0	20.0	9,970.0	73.6	U.K. 32.8; U.S.A. 20.7; Germany 16.6
Copper	512.8	21.4	414.9	25.9	U.S.A. 37.4; U.K. 29.7; France 9.1; Germany 8.7
Cotton	727.0	8.8	318.6	9.5	U.K. 34.9; Germany 34.8
Nitrates	....	7.9	1,443.7	61.6	U.S.A. 41.0; Egypt 16.0; Germany 8.1
Petroleum	44,619.0	14.9	......	...	....
Sugar	7,150.0	25.6	4,087.4	48.4	U.S.A. 49.4; U.K. 29.6
Tin ore	27.4	13.2	25.0	...	....
Wheat	7,061.0	6.8	4,067.0	28.9	Italy 19.7; U.K. 19.7; Germany 13.5
Wool	277.0	15.9	185.5	16.1	U.K. 46.6; Germany 33.3; U.S.A. 32.1; France 25.8
Silver	116.0[1]	42.7	....	...	....
Gold	2,389.5[2]	7.2	....	...	....

[1] Millions of ounces.
[2] Thousands of ounces.



The international trade position of Latin America depends on world demand and prices for a relatively limited number of basic raw materials and foodstuffs. Eight commodities—coffee, corn, cotton, copper, frozen and chilled meats, sugar, wheat, and wool—account for about half the total value of its exports, and cacao, hides and skins, bananas, linseed, petroleum, and tin make up most of the remainder.

The major industrial nations rely heavily on the Latin American supply of key commodities, many of which can be obtained only with difficulty elsewhere. Most of the tabulated commodities, as well as a number not listed—such as meat, petroleum, tin, and the miscellaneous products mentioned above—are as essential to industrial nations in time of war as in time of peace.

It is estimated that in 1938 Latin American imports were valued at $1,390,531,000. Of these $497,195,000, or 35.8 per cent of the total, came from the United States; $238,170,000, or 17.1 per cent, from Germany; $169,748,000 or 12.2 per cent, from the United Kingdom; $48,759,000, or 3.5 per cent, from France; $43,546,000, or 3.1 per cent, from Italy; and $38,178,000, or 2.7 per cent, from Japan. About 10 per cent of total imports came from intra-trading Latin American countries. Hence imports from other than Latin American sources were about $1,250,000,000.

TABLE II

IMPORTS OF LATIN AMERICAN RAW MATERIALS IN 1937

[in thousands of metric tons]

Commodity	United States	United Kingdom	Germany	France
Cacao:				
Volume	129.9	7.2	19.2	3.0
% of total imports	46.3	7.5	21.4	7.2
Cattle Hides:				
Volume	42.8	30.1	88.1	6.2
% of total imports	72.3	34.5	60.5	18.5
Coffee:				
Volume	727.0	8.9	184.6	123.6
% of total imports	94.4	46.8	95.1	66.7
Copper:				
Volume	155.3	123.1	36.0	37.6
% of total imports	85.5	29.7	11.1	28.2
Corn:				
Volume	2,065.0	3,267.0	1,582.0	71.0
% of total imports	94.2	89.6	61.5	9.5
Nitrates:				
Volume	635.8	47.5	105.2	83.1
% of total imports	85.4	88.3	100.0	65.4
Sugar:				
Volume	2,020.3	1,212.5	3.6	224.3
% of total imports	69.7	52.4	37.5	57.9
Cotton:				
Volume	...	111.2	110.9	22.4
% of total imports	...	14.3	25.2	7.6
Wheat:				
Volume	...	801.0	550.0	16.0
% of total imports	...	16.3	37.3	3.5
Wool:				
Volume	32.1	46.6	33.3	25.8
% of total imports	24.1	13.1	26.3	16.9

Latin America's major imports are machinery and machine tools, textiles, iron and steel manufactures, and vehicles, in the order named. These commodity classifications in 1938 accounted for over 72 per cent of the identifiable exports to Latin America by the industrial countries concerned. Other important groups consist of food products, beverages, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, coal and coke, and other metals and manufactured goods, which account for another 20 per cent of the total. The high percentage of imports of machinery, vehicles, and iron and steel manufactures, as compared with consumption goods, indicate Latin America's progress toward industrialization.

Trade Between the Latin American Nations.—Difficulties of transportation between Latin American countries themselves have prevented large commercial exchange in the past. Of their total foreign commerce only about 7 per cent has been among themselves. However, this situation is now changing with the development of manufacturing in certain countries and the difficulties of selling raw materials to Europe following the declaration of war in 1939. Under an epoch-making treaty signed by Argentina and Brazil in October 1940, Argentina is to furnish Brazil with a large amount of wheat and other raw products, in exchange for rubber goods, coffee, and wool.

In addition to exports of agricultural products and textiles, Argentina sells paper, cardboard, and leather manufactures in Latin America; Brazilian coffee, maté, rice, cacao, and fruits are sold in the countries where these commodities are not produced. Manufacture in Brazil is increasing, particularly in the textile industry. Paper and chemical manufactures are also sup-

TABLE III

EXPORTS OF MAJOR INDUSTRIAL NATIONS TO LATIN AMERICA IN 1938

	Recorded Exports (in millions of dollars)	Percentage of Recorded Exports Supplied by: United States	United Kingdom	Germany	France	Belgium	Italy	Japan
Chemicals	50.0	43.6	14.6	30.5	6.6	3.5	1.2	...†
Coal and coke	26.4	11.8	62.1	26.1	...†	...†	...†	...†
Earthenware, pottery, etc.	8.4	...†	23.2	51.7	3.7	10.8	10.5	...†
Glass and glassware	7.8	...†	5.6	65.7	5.0	23.4	...†	...†
Iron and steel manufactures	145.9	37.6	10.6	37.2	4.0	9.9	0.6	...†
Other metals and manufactures	24.5	39.2	9.0	34.2	12.4	5.3	...†	...†
Leather and manufactures	9.0	57.6	2.4	31.5	3.5	4.5	...†	...†
Lumber and manufactures	13.4	85.6	...†	10.7	2.1	1.8	...†	...†
Machinery and vehicles	333.1	60.4	13.0	21.3	1.2	2.6	1.6	...†
Machinery and machine tools	206.1	59.0	9.3	25.5	1.2	4.1	0.9	...†
Vehicles	127.0	65.6	15.7	14.4	1.2	0.1	2.6	...†
Paper and products	16.3	46.0	8.0	33.4	5.0	3.5	3.8	...†
Pharmaceuticals	28.4	24.6	1.4	53.7	18.4	...	1.9	...†
Rubber manufactures	11.5	73.0	6.8	15.5	2.3	2.2	...	...†
Textiles	156.3	20.0	37.7	12.4	4.9	4.3	13.0	7.7
Cotton	86.1	22.8	41.5	10.5	2.5	3.1	10.4	9.3
Rayon, silk, etc.	25.0	24.9	10.4	16.8	11.7	...	20.0	16.0
Woolen	28.8	...†	56.6	17.7	8.3	...	17.5	...†
Other textiles	16.4	32.9	26.2	6.5	0.8	24.9	8.5	...†
Vegetable foods and beverages	50.2	69.2	12.1	3.0	8.2	...	7.5	...†
Total	881.2							

†Not specified.



plied to other Latin American countries. Chile trades with Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, and Peru, selling agricultural and mineral products to all except Ecuador, which country purchases milk, butter, lard, sugar, oil, and live animals. Paraguayan inter-American trade is chiefly with Argentina, a considerable portion of both imports and exports being reshipped at Buenos Aires. Manufacture is slowly developing in Paraguay, but as that country is primarily an exporter of raw materials, prosperity depends mainly upon quantity of production. Peru's exportation within Latin America is chiefly to Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and consists of petroleum and petroleum products, sugar, and wool. Uruguay sends jerked beef to Cuba and purchases cane spirits in return. Household wares are furnished by some of the South American manufacturers to Central America.

Mexico recently sent several trade missions to her southern neighbors and as a result considerably increased her sales of petroleum and other products. Peru and Chile, following the settlement of the Tacna Arica question, have greatly increased their trade, Chile sending manufactured goods and nitrate to Peru in exchange for sugar and cotton.

An important move was the meeting of the First Regional Conference of the Rio de la Plata countries, as the result of which, on 6 Feb. 1941, nine conventions were signed to expedite trade among the participating countries: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Among the important actions taken were: the setting up of permanent regional headquarters at Buenos Aires; the granting of preferential treatment with special transportation rates to the products of the five countries; the decision to build a common pipeline through all the countries, with free transportation for locally produced petroleum; encouragement of tourist travel, free visas for immigrants entering one country to proceed to another, special regional parcel post system, and various other means of promoting trade. Here is one of the richest sections of the world, each state formerly isolated from the other, depending largely on selling its products to Europe, rather than trading among themselves. Yet Brazil produced coffee; Bolivia, petroleum; Paraguay, oranges; Argentina, wheat; all of which are greatly needed by each other.

The new arrangements offer large opportunities to improve the nutrition and the economic and social development of all five countries, while at the same time something is also being done to find a market for the surplus products that formerly were sold to Europe. Various other regions of Latin America are beginning to realize the possibility of aiding themselves by such co-operation, rather than depending as formerly so completely on Europe. President Getulio Vargas of Brazil took the initiative by calling a conference of the countries in the Amazon Valley. Central America may soon take definite steps toward such co-operation, which has been discussed for many years. The United States will naturally encourage such regional co-operation, since the plan offers the most logical solution of the problem of disposing of Latin American surpluses, and will aid in the development of trade with the United States. Increased demand for machinery, automobiles, radios, and electrical devices inevitably will result from improved standard of living.

Trade With Europe.—While Latin America's trade with the United States considerably exceeds that with any other individual country, Europe, as a whole, has a larger trade with Latin America than any other continent.

LATIN AMERICAN TRADE, 1938

Areas	Exports (Per cent)	Imports (Per cent)
Total trade	100.0	100.0
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.)	54.4	43.6
North America	31.2	35.0
Latin America	5.9	10.0
Asia	1.4	4.7
Other areas	7.1	6.7

It is important to remember (1) that Europe's trade is largely with southern Latin America, while the United States dominates the Carribean area; (2) that Europe buys more from Latin America than it sells to her. A difficult problem is created for countries that depend on export business, when war, depression, or some other cause suddenly cuts down their sales. Great Britain and Germany are the leading European traders with Latin America, with France a poor third. During the World War (1914–18) Great Britain and Germany lost heavily and the United States assumed the leadership.

With the war ended, there were indications that England might regain her position, as her exports to Latin America picked up from 15.30 per cent of total imports in 1919 to 19.42 per cent in 1923. During the same period the United States' share in the imports of these nations declined from 48.79 per cent to 36.29 per cent. In 1929, at the peak of the era of prosperity, and, with the exception of 1920, the year of heaviest imports by the Latin American republics. United States shipments amounted to $943,700,000, or 38.5 per cent of the total of $2,451,400,000, while Great Britain's share fell to $365,700,000 or 14.9 per cent.

During the world depression following 1929, all foreign trade slumped, and that with Latin America was no exception. The low figure was reached in 1932, when United States exports amounted to only $198,500,000. Meanwhile the United Kingdom had experienced a similar decline in her exports to these countries, their value dropping to the low figure of $100,400,000 in 1932. On the other hand, her share in the total trade had picked up somewhat, increasing from 14.9 per cent in 1929 to 18.1 per cent in 1933.

From that point, however, Great Britain's participation in the trade of the 20 republics showed a consistent decline until in 1939 she retained only 10.5 per cent ($140,000,000) of the total value of their purchases as compared with 25.0 per cent ($275,400,000) in 1910.

Some of the leading items of the United Kingdom's export trade with this part of the world are cotton piece goods and thread, woolen manufactures, electrical goods, machinery and parts, pottery and ceramics, locomotives and railway equipment, coal, and iron and steel wares.

Cotton piece goods formed one of the groups that was most affected in the decline that took place between 1930 and 1938. British statistics show that the United Kingdom's exports of this article fell from $42,412,000 in 1930 to $23,508,000 in 1938, a drop of 44.6 per cent. The four countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay—



alone accounted for $13,875,000 of this reduction, leaving only $5,029,000 as the loss of British cotton goods sales in the 16 other republics.

The heaviest loss of trade suffered by the United Kingdom in any single group of its exports to Latin America was in iron and steel manufactures. Here again, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil were important factors. These four countries took 85.3 per cent of the United Kingdom's exports of iron and steel wares to the Latin American republics in 1930 and 84.8 per cent in 1938; and they were responsible for 85.6 per cent of the total shrinkage of $24,270,000 in Great Britain's exports of these products.

German trade with Latin America, much advertised, had succeeded by 1938 only in regaining the place it occupied in 1913. During the World War, Germany was entirely eclipsed in so far as her exports to Latin America were concerned, her recorded shipments falling to less than 1 per cent of the entire imports of that region during the four years 1916–19. But starting in 1920, she again worked her exports to the Latin American countries up to $204,000,000 in 1923 and held them well above that figure through 1930 for a consistent 10 per cent average share in Latin America's growing trade in those years.

The close of the decade found Germany within striking distance of Great Britain, the country occupying the rung above her in the play for Latin American markets. With the advent of the 1930's, Germany's exports suffered a severe relapse, but she was able to hold within a percentage point of her previous 10-year (1921–30) average of 10.01 per cent of Latin America's total trade—a far better record than that of the United States. A vigorous recovery by the Germans in 1936, sent them ahead of the United Kingdom in value of exports to Latin America. For the first time in history, and during three years of ruthless trade rivalry, she held tenaciously to second place, supplying 15.4, 15.3, and 17.1 per cent of Latin American purchases, as England slipped back from 13.5 in 1936 to 12.6, and then to 11.6 in 1938. However, the United States had likewise shown ability to recoup, and after touching a low of 29.2 per cent in 1933, was supplying 33.9 per cent of the market in 1938.

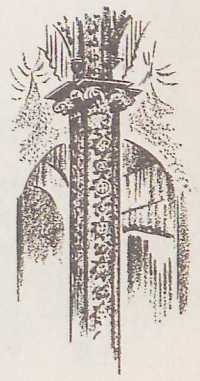
Germany's rapid gains were due in considerable measure to her barter system. This plan appeals especially to one-crop countries that have great accumulations of coffee, corn, wheat, nitrates, or petroleum without any outlet. It naturally looked like a good bargain to exchange these surpluses for printing presses, locomotives, and typewriters, rather than destroy them. However, Latin America soon found that instead of receiving the goods ordered the Reich would send along any kind of surpluses she happened to have from harmonicas to aspirin. Germany would also sell any overstock of raw materials she had received to her neighbors, so that a South American country might find that her market for coffee or wheat or nitrate had been invaded with a program of underselling. When war was declared in Europe in 1939, Germany was no longer able to ship goods to cancel the enormous debts owed for Latin American barter goods, demonstrating one weakness in the barter system. Even before this, Germany's trade with certain countries had begun to fail. Thus, from $84,300,000 in 1930, Argentina's purchases dropped to $43,500,000 in 1938; Uruguay's declined from $9,200,000 to $7,100,000 in the same period; and Cuba's from $6,100,000 to $4,700,000.

France, Italy, and Belgium have a long record in trade with Latin America, based mainly on certain specialties produced by those countries. France's exports consisted of iron, steel, and machinery, and such luxury goods as perfumes, soaps, silks, and wines. But this trade declined from a total of 8.3 per cent of all Latin American imports in 1913 to 2.9 per cent in 1937. Italy's exports were even less, averaging about 3 per cent. Belgium's exports, consisting principally of textiles, iron and steel, amount to about the same, 3 per cent. In 1930 Japan's shipments to Latin America were only a small fraction of 1 per cent of the total. Despite all efforts, Japan has been unable to average more than around 3 per cent of Latin America's total trade.

With the declaration of war in 1939, European trade, with the exception of British, gradually fell to almost zero. When Germany ceased to buy from Latin America, the United States increased its purchases. For example, in 1937 Germany's purchases from Latin America included about 14.8 per cent of the latter's cacao exports, 34.8 per cent of her cattle hides, 14.4 per cent of her coffee, 16.6 per cent of her corn, 34.8 per cent of her cotton, 13.5 per cent of her wheat, and 33.3 per cent of her wool exports, to mention a few specific commodities. In 1938, Latin America not only could not sell these products to Europe, but could not buy other needed articles from that market. Consequently, United States exports to the southern countries increased from $490,000,000 during the 12 months ending August 1939 (the year preceding the outbreak of the war in Europe) to $733,000,000 in the succeeding 12-month period—an increase of $243,000,000 or nearly 50 per cent. Meanwhile, United States imports from these countries increased by only a little over 31 per cent, from $469,000,000 to $616,000,000, an increase of $147,000,000. In merchandise alone, therefore, United States export surplus in trade with these countries increased during the first year of the war from $21,000,000 to $117,000,000. Because of the economic necessity of equalizing as far as possible imports with exports, the United States by increasing its exports to Latin America assumes responsibility in aiding these countries in the disposal of war surplus products.

Trade Between Latin America and the United States.—Generally speaking, and with the exception of a few of the most southern South American states, Latin America and the United States have a complementary economy. Latin America produces raw materials and buys manufactured goods. The United States sells manufactured goods but also produces raw materials. However, many raw materials are bought because they are produced cheaper elsewhere or are not produced at all at home. The climates of Latin America and the United States also are complementary. The United States raises the crops of the temperate zone. Tropical products, in considerable part, are produced by Latin America. Likewise, the seasons are reversed. For example, both Argentina and the United States raise apples and grapes, but in opposite seasons of the year.

After making such general statements, how-



ever, one must immediately begin to qualify them. Latin America is a convenient term to denote 20 countries, some of which are quite different from others climatically, economically, politically, and culturally. The three largest countries are Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. Brazil lies almost entirely in the tropical zone. Although Brazil is larger than the United States, its population at present is only 45,000,000, living mainly along the Atlantic seaboard. Brazil looks toward the conquering of its West, the building of its great transcontinental railways, and the development of its wild lands into cities. As for trade, it raises the things the United States needs, and the United States manufactures the things it likes. It raises coffee; the people of the United States drink it. It needs more railroads; the United States is looking for markets for its engines, cars, and steel rails. Brazilian-United States friendship is traditional. Brazil calls her Senate building «The Monroe Palace,» and Washington in 1940 loaned Brazil $20,000,000 to help launch her steel industry.

Argentina, but two-thirds as large as Brazil, is better organized, more self-conscious, more watchful of her world position. This progressive Latin American country has more than one-third of all the trade, railroads, and telegraph lines of the other nine republics combined, and is a great producer of wheat and meat. The similarity of the products of Argentina to the products of the United States constitutes a difficulty in effectual exchange but there are, however, some important bases for exchange trade: the United States needs quebracho (tanning fluid) and hides, and Argentina wants American automobiles, binders, and other machines. These complications pose a problem which a resourceful group at Washington and at Buenos Aires will have to solve. These two great countries can and must trade together, but the exchange is much more difficult than that with Brazil.

Mexico also differs in many points. Its close proximity to the United States makes trade between the two countries natural. Mexico averages around 65 per cent of her foreign trade with the United States. The great barrier to this trade, however, is the differences arising between the American investors and the social program of the Mexican government. As for products for sale, Mexico's differ considerably from both Brazil's and Argentina's. Political considerations affect much more profoundly United States trade with Mexico than with any other American republic.

So one might go over the map and point out how each Latin American country has its own peculiar conditions, which must be considered in studying the general problem of inter-American trade. From the foregoing it is quite evident that it is not true, as often stated, that Latin America buys more from Germany and Great Britain than from the United States.



This table shows that the German trade gains have been largely at the expense of Great Britain and not at the expense of the United States. Where such gains have been at the expense of the United States, as they have been in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, the reasons have usually been traceable to temporary situations. It was the petroleum dispute in Mexico and the refusal of the United States and Great Britain to accept oil from Mexico that gave Germany her chance in that country. In Chile and Brazil the old sores relating to United States loans favored Germany. How the declaration of war changed the situation, by temporarily eliminating both of America's nearest European competitors, will be referred to later.

In 1937 Latin American foreign trade was 7.5 per cent of the world's total. In 1937, Brazil's share of the world's trade, with a population of 45 million, was the same as Russia's share (1.4 per cent) with 160 million population. The United States' share in Brazilian trade was $189,270,000 while with Russia it was only $73,635,000. In the same year United States trade with Argentina was $233,296,000 and with France $239,974,000. In 1937 United States trade with Cuba amounted to $230,330,000 and with China it totaled only $153,313,000. In that year Mexico was the United States' sixth best customer, Argentina was eighth, and Cuba was tenth.

In round numbers, Latin American trade with the United States is about equal to that with Asia and about one-half of that with Europe. These republics take around 19 per cent of all the goods the United States exports, and sell to the United States some 24 per cent of all the things the latter buys from the outside world.

Certain United States industries are peculiarly dependent on Latin American countries; the latter buy 40 per cent of all the United States sells abroad of the products of its dairies, of its steel and flour mills, its medicines, and its railway equipment. To the same destination goes from 30 to 40 per cent of United States exports of manufactured products in rubber, cotton, and rayon; and in electric, iron, and steel machinery. Only a slightly smaller percentage of United States automobiles, lumber, leather, and agricultural machinery is sold in the same region. It can be seen then that for these particular lines, Latin American markets are of tremendous importance.

The manufacture of steel in the United States would be seriously hampered without the manganese that comes from Cuba and Brazil, especially since the war has shut off imports from Russia and the domestic output is not overabundant. Bauxite, from British and Dutch Guiana, provides aluminum, not only for small cheap items, such as cooking utensils, but also for building the new streamlined trains and airplanes. The electric industry

TABLE IV

SHARE IN PERCENTAGES OF LATIN AMERICAN TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

Latin America	United States				Great Britain				Germany			
	1935	1936	1937	1938	1935	1936	1937	1938	1935	1936	1937	1938
Imports	32.2	31.5	34.3	35.1	14.8	13.5	12.6	12.4	13.1	15.4	15.3	17.0
Exports	32.9	32.9	31.1	33.1	19.1	19.1	17.7	17.1	8.0	8.0	8.7	11.2

draws heavily from South America: tungsten, for example, being used for filaments in the electric light bulb. Cuban chromium is used in making ball-bearings, springs, and gears for automobiles. Bolivia, the world's second largest producer of tin, also sends such other metals as antimony, wolfram (tungsten), and bismuth to the United States.

The light balsa wood from Ecuador is used in making wings for flying machines; lignum-vitae from the forests of Paraguay forms the prows and spars of ships; mahogany from the tropics is converted into beautiful furniture; quebracho, a fluid from the Argentine tree of the same name, provides the best and cheapest tanning material. Many medicinal products are imported from the South; quinine was discovered in Peru whence cocaine also is obtained; iodine is a by-product of Chilean nitrate. From Yucatan comes chicle, used in the manufacture of chewing gum; and sisal for cheap binding twine.

Without prolonging the list, it is easy to see how extensively United States economy is tied in with the rare products which in part or in whole are received from South and Central America. Among the supplementary supplies the United States needs from the other Americas are such basic commodities as sugar, wool, nitrate, hides, and petroleum. Table V sheds interesting light on this subject.

TABLE V. TWELVE LEADING ITEMS IMPORTED BY THE UNITED STATES FROM LATIN AMERICA

Commodities	1929, Per cent	1937, Per cent	1938, Per cent
Hides and skins	35.3	37.0	32.8
Bananas	85.5	98.5	99.0
Cacao	38.5	39.7	60.1
Coffee	97.3	95.6	97.1
Sugar	76.1	64.3	61.1
Flaxseed	94.9	97.4	98.9
Quebracho extract	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cigar leaf tobacco	99.9	100.0	100.0
Sisal and henequen	60.2	52.7	49.3
Raw wool	25.7	26.8	34.4
Copper	61.4	83.3	69.0
Nitrate	98.7	99.7	99.6

The Munitions Board of the United States government lists the following strategic and critical materials which the United States now obtains from Latin America, in the percentages indicated.

TABLE VI

Strategic	Per cent of Total from Latin America
Aluminum	25.4
Antimony	72.0
Chromium	10.4
Manganese	26.1
Mercury	93.2
Mica	0.4
Rubber	1.8
Tin	1.2
Tungsten	5.0
Wool	40.0

Critical	Per cent of Total from Latin America
Asbestos	1.1
Flaxseed	97.8
Fluorspar	0.22
Hides	58.9
Iodine	100.0
Kapok	3.6
Tanning Materials	71.2
Titanium	100.0
Vanadium	99.8

Generally speaking, the United States obtains about one-fourth of all its foreign purchases from Latin America. The Latin American countries buy about one-fifth of their foreign purchases from the United States. This trade can be considerably developed with happy results for all concerned by careful planning and co-operation between governments and businesses alike in all the Americas.

Economic Importance of Latin America.—The economic importance of the southern countries to the rest of the world is assured, both because of what they produce and because of what they buy. With nearly three times the area of the United States and about an equal population, the possibilities of growth are great. This of course should mean larger markets. Even without an enlarged population, rising living standards will increase purchases of foreign goods. The contention of Mexican leaders for several years has been that support of the social program to improve conditions of the peons would mean the opening of immense markets for the sale of American goods to those who are beginning to wear shoes, sleep on beds, ride in buses, listen to radios, and use modern sanitary equipment.

The demand for more modern goods will naturally lead increasingly to their manufacture in the country where they are used. This movement is already important. Mexico is making her own shoes, hats, cotton goods, newsprint, chemicals, and even steel products. Cities like São Paulo and Buenos Aires are rapidly filling with factories. Brazil in 1920 had 13,300 industrial enterprises; in 1930 she had 30,000. In 1926 Brazil imported 7,319 tons of cotton textiles. In 1936 the amount imported had been cut to 389 tons. Argentine factories supplied 80 per cent of the woolen goods and 33 per cent of the cotton goods used in that country. Chile is selling her manufactured goods to various of her West Coast neighbors. She has recently become an important publishing center for all Spanish America.

Does this mean that the United States will lose the advantage held because Latin America is a producer of raw materials and the United States a manufacturer of finished products? It need only mean a change in the kind of goods sold. The United States can sell the machinery for textile, shoe, and other factories that these countries erect. It can sell road-building machinery as they develop their road program, steel to build their bridges, cars and engines for their new railroads, the large number of heavy machines they will need in their industrialization program; for there seems to be little prospect for many years to come that Latin America will develop great industrial centers like Pittsburgh and Birmingham for the manufacturing of heavy machinery. Certain fundamental materials such as coal are lacking; also lacking are dense populations that might provide purchasing power for enormous amounts of goods produced cheaply by mass methods.

The development of the enormous electric power of Latin America offers great opportunities to American capital, technicians, and makers of machinery. The whole amusement field offers large opportunities. Already American motion picture producers count Latin America as one of their most important markets, and capable of great expansion. When country people begin to use radios and the



new roads, a new trade era will open. When sports invade other countries as they already have Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, the market for sporting goods will develop. In the new program of promoting the exchange of students, professors, and scientists, of music, painting, and other arts, business opportunities are also promoted. The tourist trade, which has been a major source of foreign exchange in Europe, but greatly neglected in Latin America, offers much for the future. It is the complexity of life in Europe that has made United States trade with that continent so dominant. As Latin America develops more diversified interests, it seems reasonable to expect that she will develop a whole new set of needs.

Totalitarian Versus Democratic Economy.—Recent emphasis by Germany on the use of national resources to advance a program of political expansion has shifted the whole problem of foreign trade from the usually accepted viewpoint that its purpose is simply to aid national economy. When the new policy of Germany—willingness to ignore certain economic principles for the sake of pushing her political aims—began to wrest Latin American trade from the United States, this country also began to emphasize political considerations in our economic dealings with Latin America. President Roosevelt in his Pan American speech, 14 April 1939, said:

«The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it. We are prepared to maintain it and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength. . . . Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my own country will also give economic support so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare.»

As long as German competition, even when it implied political implications and violation of the Monroe Doctrine, carried only the power of Germany itself, it was not regarded too seriously. But when the Third Reich brought under its dominance most of Europe, then the threat to Latin America, politically as well as economically, became more evident. The problem of who will buy Latin American surpluses becomes a much more important problem than who will sell to Latin America.

Exports are vitally important for Latin America. Requirements of the local population are small in proportion to production. A very large percentage of the output of the major products of Latin America is exported. In 1938, cereals, linseed, meat, and wool made up 75.7 per cent of Argentina's export values; coffee and cotton, 63.3 per cent of Brazil's export values; copper, nitrate, and iodine, 70.4 per cent of Chile's export values; coffee, petroleum, and bananas, 82.5 per cent of Colombia's export values; sugar, 82 per cent of Cuba's export values; petroleum and metals, 75.7 per cent of Mexico's export values; petroleum, copper, cotton, and sugar, 71.4 per cent of Peru's export values; petroleum and coffee, over 90 per cent of Venezuela's export values.

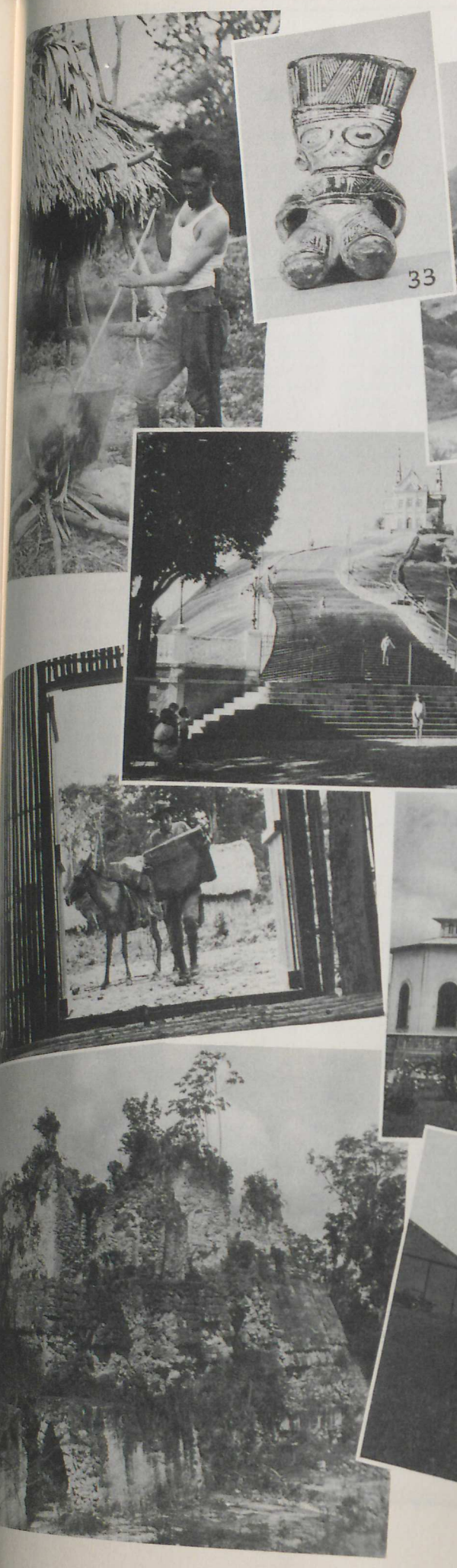
The export problem is especially vital to the following seven countries which account for 80 per cent of the total Latin American exports: Argentina, 24 per cent; Brazil, 16 per cent; Venezuela, 15 per cent; Mexico, 10 per cent; Cuba, 8 per cent; Chile, 8 per cent; and Colombia, 5 per cent. During the decade 1929–38 the United States and the United Kingdom were the leading markets for Latin America. If Germany should succeed in creating a unified economic system for Europe, she might deal with Latin America, bursting with surpluses, largely on her own terms. In 1938, Europe, exclusive of Great Britain and Russia, bought 37.6 per cent of Latin America's exports. The United States bought only 31.2 per cent. It is easy to see the enormous economic burden that would be placed on the American continent, and principally on the United States, if for its political protection, it should have to assume the responsibility of taking care of a large part of the economic surpluses now sold to Europe. To this problem the American governments have recently given much attention.

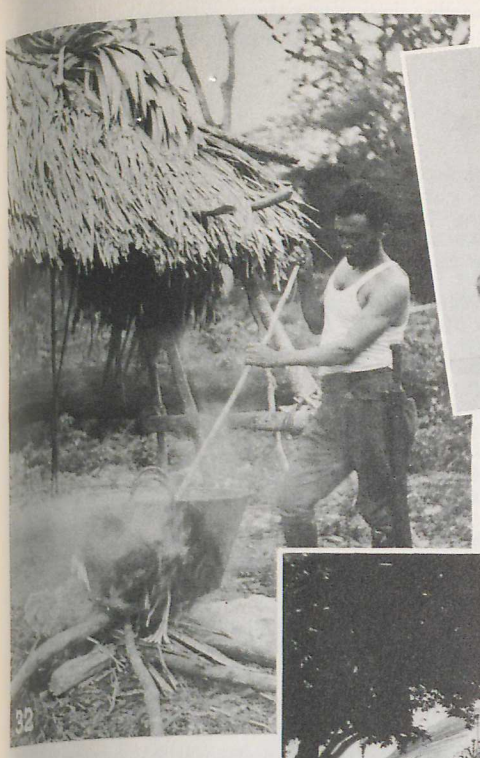
The declaration of war in Europe in 1939 increased this mixture of political and economic problems in inter-American trade relations. War was declared on 3 Sept. 1939. On 6 September a conference of representatives of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics was called to meet at Panama, carrying out the agreement made at Lima in December 1938, to consult «in case the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American Republic is threatened.» Nothing like the rapidity with which the conference was assembled had ever before occurred in America. Within three weeks, by the use of airplanes, the delegates had assembled in Panama. Thus the Good Neighbor Policy, with the elimination of the United States' practice of intervening in the affairs of Latin America, showed its beneficial results in a crisis. The Panama meeting proceeded to create an Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, consisting of 21 experts in economic questions, one from each republic, to work on these problems.

The committee drafted a project for an Inter-American bank, designed, among other things, to facilitate the wise investment of funds; to assist in stabilizing the currencies of American republics; to increase international trade, travel, and exchange of services in the Western Hemisphere; to encourage research in the technology of agriculture and industry, public utilities, mining, and commerce; and to contribute expert advice on problems of public finance, exchange, money, and banking, as they relate specifically to the problem of the American republics. The plan contemplated a bank authorized to make long-, medium-, and short-term loans in gold and silver; to buy and sell bonds of participating governments and agencies, provided these are not in default; to buy, sell, deposit, and deal in precious metals, money, and currencies; to underwrite government loans, to accept deposits, and to conduct operations of discount and rediscount. Another proposal given consideration called for the creation of an inter-American joint marketing organization for the purpose of pooling the economic strength of the Americas so that surpluses might be disposed of equitably and without political commitments. This proposal met with much criticism.

On 22 July 1940, Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, of the United States, addressed the Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs

32. Boiling chicle, Guatemala. 33. Ancient Chorotega pottery, Costa Rica. 34. Inca ruins near Cuzco, Peru. 35. Church of Our Lady of Penance, Rio de Janeiro. 36. Mitla ruins near Oaxaca, Mexico. 37. Guatemalan "chiclero" with crude gum. 38. The Cathedral, Catargo, Costa Rica. 39. Mayan ruins, northern Guatemala. 40. Military aviation school, Paraguay.







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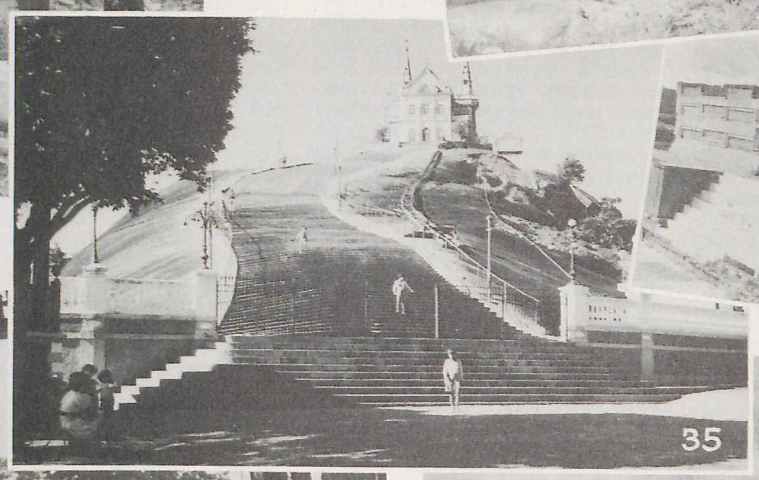

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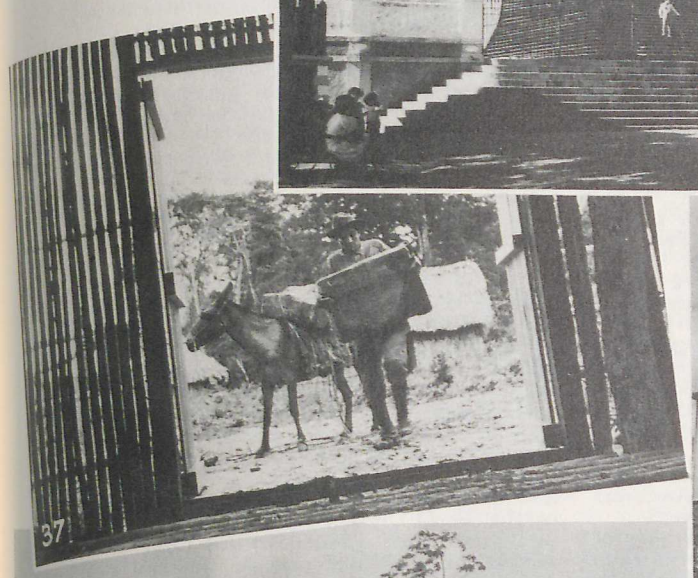

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of the American Republics, at Havana. He said in part:

«. . . the American nations can build a system of economic defense that will enable each of them to safeguard itself from the dangers of economic subordination from abroad and of economic distress at home. It is no part of our thought to obstruct in any way logical and natural trade with Europe or with any other portion of the world, but rather to promote such trade with nations willing to meet us, in good faith, in a spirit of friendly and peaceful purpose, and on a plane of frank and fair dealing. Against any other kind of dealing, we naturally will protect ourselves.»

The Havana meeting instructed the Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, among other things:

To create instruments of inter-American co-operation for the temporary storing, financing, and handling of certain commodities, and for their orderly and systematic marketing, having in mind the normal conditions of production and distribution thereof.

To develop commodity arrangements with a view to assuring equitable terms of trade for both producers and consumers of the commodities concerned.

To recommend methods for improving the standard of living of the peoples of the Americas, including public health and nutrition measures.

To establish appropriate organizations for the distribution of a part of the surplus of any such commodity, as a humanitarian and social relief measure.

To consider, while these plans and measures are being developed, the desirability of a broader system of inter-American co-operative organization in trade and industrial matters.

It is along these lines, especially in raising the standards of living, that many of the solutions of economic problems are to be found. In most all American countries many are underfed. A well-planned co-operative economy would do much to aid the social and spiritual welfare of the continent and the world at large. The censensus of authorities on the subject of Latin America and its relation to the United States seems to favor the following suggestions for the improvement and development of international amity and progress.

Suggestions for the Future.—A program of economic co-operation among the Americas might include such items as the following:

(1) Signing more of the Hull Trade Agreements, which are primary in reducing trade restrictions, providing more exchange of goods, and more monetary exchange.

(2) Enlarge the activity of the Export-Import Bank in order to enable exporters to extend longer credits to Southern merchants and aid Southern governments to release more exchange for payments to North American creditors and aid friendly governments to improve standards of living.

(3) Make more agreements like the one with Brazil, March 1938, which provides for lending experts to that country for developing her natural resources in certain materials (like rubber and quinine) that will play into a mutually helpful program of complementary hemisphere economy.

(4) Improved transportation—speeding up construction of Pan American Highway; reduction of passenger and freight traffic rates on steamship lines; aiding steamship and other forms of transportation within regional groups, like the Rio de la Plata and Central American regions.

(5) More international commodity agreements, like those recently arranged between countries producing coffee, and those producing sugar, as well as the one proposed for cotton. It might be found advantageous for these agreements to include the power of sales arrangements with countries outside America, especially if Axis barter trade should be continued. In such case some unification of purchases from extracontinental nations might be included.

(6) Continued searching for new ways for inter-American exchange. For example, let Bolivia sell her tin to the United States (instead of Great Britain) and her petroleum to Argentina and Brazil, thus obtaining exchange with which to buy much-needed automobiles, wheat, and coffee. The ingrained idea that Latin American countries can only sell to Great Britain, Germany, or the United States, should be eliminated by development of many new, if small, trade agreements.

(7) Loans should be made only for definite purposes and in small amounts. With the actual operation of the Inter-American Bank, some such transactions could become international, thereby greatly strengthening the same.

The idea of co-operation in such an economic program should become still more dominant than at present. Both private and government capital should be invested only on the basis of joint responsibility with nationals. Only enterprises that will raise the standard of living, promote social and democratic processes in the individual republic, will contribute to continental solidarity and protect what Henry Clay called «The American System.»

International Political Relations

International relations on the American continent have always been a triangle. The apex of the triangle is in Europe. The first side was traced by Columbus in 1492, and extended from southern Europe to the southern section of the New World. For the first century this was practically the only line of communication. During that time European culture flowed constantly toward what is now called Latin America and established itself formerly in that section of the world. A hundred years later, with the establishment of Jamestown and Plymouth, the second side of the triangle was laid down. During the next two centuries, international relations of the New World were confined to these two separate lines flowing to and from the mother lands, but having nothing to do with each other. It was only at the beginning of the 19th century, when most of the American countries had established their independence, that the third side of the triangle running north and south began to be traced.

The line connecting north and south has been the most difficult to establish. Both groups of colonists in the Americas found the flow of ideas, of commerce and of travel, much easier to carry on with kinsmen back in Europe than with fellow frontiersmen, north and south. However, when northern United States and southern Latin America had made themselves



…politically from Europe, they began to …that they had certain common interests …could best be practiced by co-operative … In the movement to develop these com… interests, the Latin Americans took the …ning when Simon Bolivar called the first …-American Conference at Panama in 1826. …-quarters of a century later, the United …assumed the leadership, with the holding …first Pan American Conference in Wash… in 1890. With the renouncing of the …of intervention by the United States in …affairs of Latin America at the seventh …American Conference at Montevideo in …the third side of the triangle became …thoroughly established as a line of friendly …ration.

…flow of relationships along the two sides …the triangle meeting in Europe continued …the most important of America's inter… …connections. With the establishment of …League of Nations in 1920 it looked as though …the inter-American peace machinery that …been built in connection with the Pan …can Union might be drawn into a sub… …position to a World League with head… …in Europe. Twenty years later, …, world conditions had fundamentally …. The Palace of Peace at Geneva had …its lights, and, symbolic of a new world …ment, small remnants of the League of …were accepting invitations from Mon… …Canada; Princeton, New Jersey; and Rio …neiro, Brazil, to establish themselves in …American centers. At the same time …the Pan American Union celebrated …great enthusiasm the 50th anniversary of …founding, while it was being charged with …multiplying responsibilities by the 21 …republics of the New World.

…international problems are made much easier …America by the absence of any violent …prejudices. Inherited from Spain is a cos… …spirit which accepts naturally inter… …law and settlement of disputes by …tion. Spain itself was an early meeting …for the Orient and the Occident. Phoeni…, Egyptians, Arabs, and Berbers mixed …blood with Romans and Goths in the …Peninsula. International law received its …modern emphasis in Spain, under the …ing of such distinguished scholars of …th century as Luis Vives, who worked …international peace and developed a plan …public welfare which included the organiza… …of labor, social insurance, and the right …every man to steady employment. Hugo …, called the father of international law, …of his indebtedness to Francisco Vittoria …Francisco Suárez as his precursors in the …opment of his system. This international …was carried into Latin America, as shown …the continued advocacy for over a century …peace, international conferences, and leagues …nations.

Relations with Europe.—Political rela…ships of the Latin American republics with …Europe have been mainly with the countries of …, Great Britain, France, and Germany. …might have been expected that the mother …countries would interfere with their young off… …ing more than did other nations. But such …not been the case. As for Portugal, a …ger in comparison with her enormous daugh… …ter, she has made practically …meddle in Brazil's affairs.

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Anglo-American rivalries in Ce… …at various times almost brough…

secure politically from Europe, they began to realize that they had certain common interests which could best be practiced by co-operative action. In the movement to develop these common interests, the Latin Americans took the leadership when Simon Bolivar called the first Inter-American Conference at Panama in 1826. Three-quarters of a century later, the United States assumed the leadership, with the holding of the first Pan American Conference in Washington in 1899. With the renouncing of the policy of intervention by the United States in the affairs of Latin America at the seventh Pan American Conference at Montevideo in 1933, the third side of the triangle became more thoroughly established as a line of friendly co-operation.

The flow of relationships along the two sides of the triangle meeting in Europe continued to be the most important of America's international connections. With the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920 it looked as though even the inter-American peace machinery that had been built in connection with the Pan American Union might be drawn into a subordinate position to a World League with headquarters in Europe. Twenty years later, however, world conditions had fundamentally changed. The Palace of Peace at Geneva had dimmed its lights, and, symbolic of a new world adjustment, small remnants of the League of Nations were accepting invitations from Montreal, Canada; Princeton, New Jersey; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to establish themselves in those American centers. At the same time (1940) the Pan American Union celebrated with great enthusiasm the 50th anniversary of its founding, while it was being charged with rapidly multiplying responsibilities by the 21 member republics of the New World.

International problems are made much easier in Latin America by the absence of any violent race prejudices. Inherited from Spain is a cosmopolitan spirit which accepts naturally international law and settlement of disputes by arbitration. Spain itself was an early meeting place for the Orient and the Occident. Phoenicians, Egyptians, Arabs, and Berbers mixed their blood with Romans and Goths in the Iberian Peninsula. International law received its first modern emphasis in Spain, under the leadership of such distinguished scholars of the 16th century as Luis Vives, who worked for international peace and developed a plan of public welfare which included the organization of labor, social insurance, and the right of every man to steady employment. Hugo Grotius, called the father of international law, tells of his indebtedness to Francisco Vittoria and Francisco Suárez as his precursors in the development of his system. This international spirit was carried into Latin America, as shown by the continued advocacy for over a century of peace, international conferences, and leagues of nations.

Relations with Europe.—Political relationships of the Latin American republics with Europe have been mainly with the countries of Spain, Great Britain, France, and Germany. It might have been expected that the mother countries would interfere with their young offspring more than did other nations. But such has not been the case. As for Portugal, a pigmy in comparison with her enormous daughter, she has made practically no effort to meddle in Brazil's affairs.

Spain made several attempts to recover her lost colonies. About 1846 Gen. Juan José Flores, one of the former aides of Bolivar, was engaged in filibuster expeditions, aided by the Queen of Spain, to restore the mother country's power. From 1860 to 1865, during the American Civil War, Santo Domingo actually returned to the Spanish flag. In 1866 Spain sent a so-called scientific mission, accompanied by battleships, to make certain demands on Peru, but this resulted in armed activities in which Chile aided Peru. The bombardment first of Callao, and afterward of the defenseless port of Valparaiso, by the Spaniards reacted against them so completely that they withdrew their forces and never again attempted to reaffirm their sovereignty over these former colonies. The long struggle between Spain and her colony, Cuba, in which the latter made constant appeals to various American republics for aid, was a continuous cause of disturbance. Since the Spanish-American War, Spain has exercised only a cultural influence on her daughter states in America. Even this was greatly reduced with the development of the reactionary movement against the Spanish Republic by General Francisco Franco.

Great Britain.—Great Britain early became interested in Latin America, aiding in the independence movement in order to weaken her rival, Spain, and to build up markets for her goods. British bankers began to make loans to Argentina as early as 1824, and throughout the last century financed the building of railroads and other public improvements in practically all these southern lands. Her economic and political influence in Latin America often brought her into conflict with the United States.

At the Panama Congress in 1826, Great Britain sent Edward J. Dawkins as an observer, with instructions to watch any project for putting the United States at the head of an American federation. The instructions written by Henry Clay for the ill-fated United States delegates, who never arrived, contained several paragraphs in regard to efforts for the curtailment of British commerce. About 1820 Washington and London began sparring to determine who would dominate Cuba—a quarrel which continued to disturb the Caribbean peace for more than half a century.

Britain's ambitions in Mexico, in Texas, and in Central America were long a disturbing element in the internal affairs of those countries, especially as the United States had the same ambitions; and the two countries carried on their rivalries usually at the expense of the helpless Latin Americans.

The history of British Guiana, British Honduras, the Falkland Islands, and the British West Indies is a reminder of early British movements to influence the continent. Argentina still protests vigorously the holding of the Falkland Islands, as Guatemala does the possession of British Honduras. As early as 1806 Britain occupied Buenos Aires, but soon was driven out by local forces, the rout putting a stop to that empire's territorial ambitions in the Rio de la Plata, although resulting in enlarging trade relations.

Anglo-American rivalries in Central America at various times almost brought about war.



British settlers in Belize spread into the back country, as Americans had in Texas, and in 1848 British Honduras was claimed as a colony. In 1841 Britain, with an evident purpose of dominating the canal route, backed the king of the Mosquito tribe in extending his territory to Greytown, Nicaragua. This action aroused the patriots of the United States, who backed William Walker, the filibusterer, in an expedition to Central America that was to advance the position of the United States in that region. The situation became so tense that the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain. Commercial interests of the two countries have kept up a continual struggle.

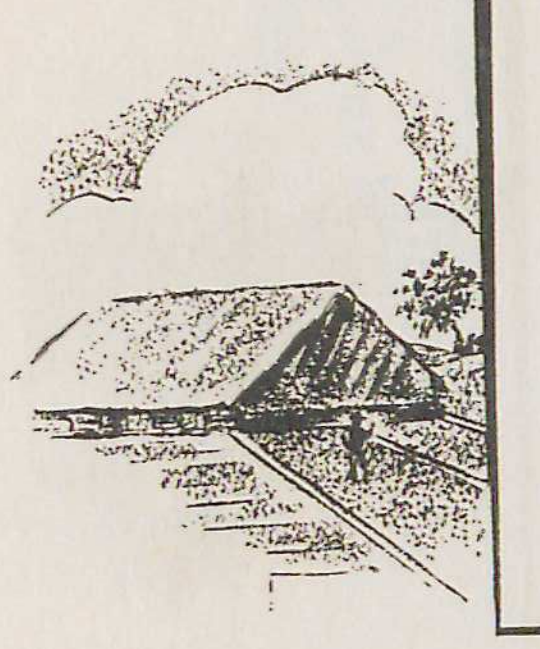
Great Britain had a serious dispute with Brazil over the slave trade and with Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana. The latter resulted in President Grover Cleveland's sending his famous message of December 1895 to Congress, in which he declared that any forcible action by Great Britain would constitute a cause of war with the United States. Closer relationship between the British Empire and the American continent developed in the European war which began in 1939, and was emphasized in 1940 by Britain's leasing to the United States (with the permission of Latin America for their use) military bases in eight British possessions in America.

France.—France early achieved a dominant cultural influence over all Latin America. She did not fail, however, to attempt political dominance. In 1838 she had with Mexico the «Pastry War,» so called because it resulted from a claim for damages by a French pastry cook who had his pastry cart overturned by a street mob. Active intervention was carried on in the affairs of Argentina and Uruguay from 1838 to 1840. The French also worked directly toward reducing the influence of the United States in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, after they had in 1804 lost Haiti which they had expected to use as a base for building a great American empire.

A most serious threat to inter-American peace occurred during the reign of Louis Napoleon, when French efforts to establish the Maximilian Empire in Mexico proved to be the greatest attempt ever made by any extra-continental nation to control the life of a Latin American country.

Germany.—Germany came late into the field, except her immigrants, who began their movement to Brazil in 1824. But once started, she drove hard and fast. From 1896 to the beginning of the World War, Germany's commerce with Latin America increased 325 per cent; her colonies, of both farmer and commercial classes, multiplied to over a million population; her ships were the fastest, her goods were the cheapest, her banks the most accommodating. German cultural societies and German schools, aided by the home government, sprang up in every Latin American country. The German Foreign Office began to take a lively interest in inter-American problems and carefully prepare young men for service there.

Germany's various involvements in the financial troubles of Caribbean countries led to her sending military forces to Nicaragua in 1878 and to Haiti in 1898. Her most famous intervention was in connection with the claims on Venezuela in 1902–03. When Germany and England, along with Italy, established a blockade of Venezuela in 1902 and bombarded the fort of San Carlos in order to collect those claims, public opinion in the United States demanded assertion of American rights. President Theodore Roosevelt warned the German government that the question must be arbitrated without occupation of Venezuelan territory; otherwise Dewey's fleet would proceed to Venezuelan waters. Arbitration proceedings followed.



Attitudes in the World War of 1914–18.—The world upheaval of 1914–18 had a profound effect on Latin American nations. It is doubtful if anywhere in the world the good results were so preponderant over the evil as here. These nations, said by Manuel Ugarte a few years before to be on «the margin of international life,» gained by the war a definite place at the council table of the nations. The world at large developed a new appreciation of them. With a new choice of suitors from Europe, Asia, and North America, and an opportunity to play the one against the other; with a fresh recognition of their need to develop their potential strength; with a new appreciation of the seriousness of right decisions when facing moral and spiritual problems in the international realm, Latin American nations entered into a new epoch.

The first changes to be felt in Latin America consequent upon the war were economic. South America had depended chiefly upon European capital for its development.

When the European war began, this order of things, which had come to seem most natural, was suddenly changed. Countries which were accustomed to borrow extra funds and to receive money for raw materials from the foreigner, found both processes suddenly stopped. The same reasons that made foreign money unavailable made foreign goods and foreign labor unobtainable.

Endeavoring to find a way out of this trying situation, Latin America did two things. The first was to turn to the United States for aid. The American government, answering the appeal, called the first Pan American Financial Conference, which met in Washington in May 1915, and provided a certain amount of financial aid for the needy southern republics.

At the beginning of the war there was not one North American bank operating in South America. By the beginning of 1921 some 50 North American banks had branch banks in South America, with an equal number in the Caribbean section. Loans began to be floated in the United States, whereas in 1913, not a single American vessel arrived at Buenos Aires. In 1919, 335 American vessels carrying 822,609 tons of freight visited the Argentine. In 1913 commerce between the United States and Latin America amounted to $743,000,000. In 1919 it had grown to practically $3,000,000,000.

Besides Latin America's endeavor to arrange for new credits and supplies in the United States, she made a second effort—namely, to develop her own resources and to manufacture her own goods. A third change in economic conditions during this period was the development of the labor movement. An aid to this was the organization by Samuel Gompers in 1918 of the Pan American Federation of Labor.

The official attitude of the Latin American countries in the World War was as follows: eight of the 20 nations actually declared war

on Germany. These were Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. Five other Latin American states, namely, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. Salvador declared a benevolent neutrality toward the United States, which permitted the use of her ports and territorial waters by the warships of the United States and the Allies. The six nations that remained neutral were Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela. Either by the statements of their executives, by resolutions passed by their congresses, by the pro-Ally tone of the majority of their newspapers, or by the utterances of their most representative statesmen, all of these countries expressed themselves in favor of Pan American solidarity. The outstanding change in the political life of Latin America brought about by the war, was its new attitude of friendliness toward the United States.

On the day after the United States declared war, Cuba followed her example. President Menocal, in his message to the Cuban Congress, said: «The Republic of Cuba must not be indifferent to this violation of the rights of peoples nor ignore the noble attitude of the United States. We are bound to that nation by sacred ties of gratitude and confraternity, and by a political treaty explicit and implied which creates between the two nations an understanding practically amounting to an alliance.»

The President of Panama in his proclamation of 9 April 1917, said: «Panama will lend its full and decided co-operation to the United States of America against any enemies that carry out or intend to carry out any hostile act against the territory of Panama or the Panama Canal or that should in any way affect or intend to affect the common interest of the two countries.»

Brazil, on declaring war on Germany, made the following remarkable declaration of friendship with the United States: «The Republic recognizes the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American continent, and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law. Brazil ever was and is now free from warlike ambitions, and while it always refrained from showing any partiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States, actuated by no interest whatever, but solely for the sake of international judicial order, and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war.»

The Uruguayan government likewise took an important Pan American attitude. On 18 June 1917, the government issued its memorable decree in which the general principle was laid down that: «No American country, which in defense of its own rights should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents, will be treated as a belligerent.» On 7 Oct. 1917, Uruguay severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Eight German ships were seized in Uruguayan ports and subsequently leased to the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States.

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Mexico was another country whose determination to stay neutral came near being upset by the publication of a German dispatch by the United States government. This was the famous note of Alfred Zimmerman, German Foreign Minister, offering Mexico for her aid to Germany, the restoration of Texas when the Central Powers were victorious. President Carranza denied any encouragement of Germany whatever and maintained his neutral position.

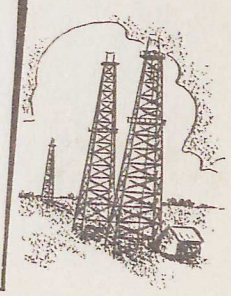
The spirit of inter-American fraternity developed in those days was illustrated during a visit to Uruguay of four United States destroyers under Admiral Caperton. The leading Uruguayan intellectual, Dr. Zorilla San Martín, in welcoming the sailors, said: «It is the breath, indeed, of that great lady of ours, Democracy, my friends, which waves those glorious banners that you unfurl on your mastheads; it is her breath which carries them into this war that America has not provoked but that has struck her in the name of her duty toward humanity.

«. . . The moment has come when I find myself related, not to a great multitude or a gigantic collective person but in immediate and affectionate contact with men whom we love individually, spirits that are to us real favorites; with each and all of you, valiant and good seamen of our great sister, toward whom I feel an irresistible impulse of genuine affection.

«If the fraternity of our countries comes from the common mother, Democracy, this of which I now speak, this which inspires in me such warmth of affection in each and every one of you, this comes from something higher and more enduring—our common universal Father, our Father which is in Heaven. I wish to speak to you of Him on this occasion, my friends and brothers, because I wish to leave in your souls as the most precious remembrance of my country, living and eternal words.

«Farewell then, brave soldiers of our free and republican America. Continue with valor and with unwavering faith in victory, your glorious journeyings on the great deep in the beneficent shadow of your spotless banner.»

At the close of the war, in speaking of its significance for Brazil, and no doubt for neighbor countries, Dr. Ruy Barbosa declared: «We must not forget to make use of another lesson of the war, for the salvation of our own country. The world moves toward other laws, toward other goals, toward a future of illimitable extent. Crowns have disappeared. The older



conditions of life are being swept away in a revolution that may have incalculable results.

«Will it be possible for Brazil in the midst of all these revolutions and upheavals, not to suffer its meed of change in the character of its politics, its institutions, the procedures of its statesmen? We must be taught by these events, and we ought to realize that our republic must accommodate herself to the new modes of thought, that our government must set its people a different example from the wonted one, or tempestuous days will be in store for us.»

Unfortunately governments did not accommodate themselves to new modes of thought. Temporarily they decided to organize a League of Nations, into which the Latin Americans entered with great enthusiasm. But the refusal of the United States to join the League and participate with the other nations in reorganizing international life shocked the other American republics. Soon the prestige of the United States had dropped to the old prewar level of Yankee imperialism. By 1932, Brazil itself resigned from the Geneva organization, to be followed by various other neighbor countries. They took the position that without the presence of the United States, the League would be rendered ineffective in any real service to the American continent.

Relations Between Latin American States.—The kinship which the Latin American nations have felt among themselves was stated at the American congress which met in Lima in 1847: «These American Republics united by bonds of origin, language, religion, and customs, by the common cause which they have defended, by the similarity of their institutions and above all by their common necessities and reciprocal interests, cannot but consider themselves as parts of the same nation.»

Such unity should have enabled the different sections of Spanish America to have held together following the attaining of their independence. But instead, decisive forces prevailed. With the death of Bolivar, Great Colombia fell into the three states of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Peru and Colombia began fighting over the questions relating to military glory and the debts to England accumulated during the struggle for independence. When President Santa Cruz of Bolivia endeavored to form a stronger nation by uniting with Peru, Chile made war on her two neighbors to prevent the development of a strong rival. Added to these local struggles, which might be considered as mopping up the wars of independence, there were three major international wars fought in South America during the 40 years from 1841 to 1881.

The first of these major struggles was the Argentine-Brazilian War over the control of little Uruguay. It was led by Juan Manuel Rosas, the Argentine dictator, on one side, and on the other side, by a combination of Uruguayan and Brazilian forces, for a time backed by France and England. The object of this struggle was the dominance of Uruguay for which there also had been many earlier struggles. During eight years of this war, Montevideo was under siege. In the end Rosas was compelled to give up and Uruguay was once again free.



The second major struggle, growing out of the same complicated question of supremacy in the Rio de la Plata, was the Paraguayan War (1865–70). When Dom Pedro II of Brazil intervened in behalf of one of the parties in the incessant struggle in Uruguay, López II, the Paraguayan dictator, looking for a chance to try out his splendidly trained army, took the opposite side. Argentina was soon drawn into the conflict, when she refused to allow Paraguayan troops to cross the province of Corrientes. The Paraguayan War was the bloodiest of all South American conflicts. The combined forces of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil ultimately conquered the intrepid López who with great cruelty drove his people so hard that when peace was signed there were left, out of the million population, some 225,000 women and 25,000 men. Practically none of them was able to bear arms. Following the war all territorial questions were settled by arbitration, in which the United States government had a creditable part.

The third major conflict, the War of the Pacific (1879–83), was also a boundary and commercial quarrel. The rich nitrate region, which Chilean enterprise was most active in exploiting, lay largely in Bolivia and Peru, although the boundaries were in dispute. When the two latter countries laid too heavy taxes and restrictions on the Chilean merchants and miners, Chile, which had been carefully training her army, fell quickly upon her two northern neighbors. With lightning rapidity, she put Bolivia out of the war and captured Lima. After a two-year occupancy of Peru's capital, during which the Chilean soldiers committed all kinds of barbarities, Chile dictated a peace, disregarding the United States which endeavored to mediate. Peru ceded outright to Chile the rich province of Tarapacá and agreed that the provinces of Tacna and Arica should be held by the latter for 10 years, when a plebiscite should determine final ownership. Bolivia a little later ceded to Chile the rich nitrate province of Antofogasta, its only access to the sea. Thus was created the Tacna and Arica question which was a constant threat to peace between South American nations until it was settled in 1929, when Chile took Arica and Peru took Tacna.

When Bolivia was definitely shut out of a port on the Pacific by the division of Tacna and Arica between Chile and Peru, this land-locked nation began to prepare a move to control the long-disputed Chaco territory. War with Paraguay began with border skirmishes in 1929 and was formally started in 1932. A year afterward both the League of Nations and the Pan American Conference meeting in Montevideo attempted mediation, but with little success. The conflict was finally settled by a special inter-American delegation representing the five neighbor countries of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay plus the United States. On 10 Oct. 1938, the arbitral college, consisting of representatives from the same countries, made its decision which gave most of the disputed territory to Paraguay.

The successful co-operation of the Latin American countries in the settlement of the Chaco War marked the beginning of an enlarged understanding between the South American countries. Often before then, however, these states had co-operated in settling their

without the aid of either Europe or States.

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tude of the American governments World War of 1914–18 made clear, place, that Pan American unity had ed in certain countries the feeling o Europe. On the other hand, the o strengthen the friendship between States and Hispanic America. The vinced that its northern neighbor war because it followed an obligaect democratic institutions. Also es of President Woodrow Wilson a new interpretation of the Monroe wakened hopes among the Latin ople. Speaking to the Pan Amerfic Conference in Washington on the President said:

nroe Doctrine was proclaimed by States on her own authority. . . .

But the Monroe Doctrine demanded merely t European governments should not attempt extend their political systems to this side the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warni but there was no promise in it of what Amer was going to do with the implied and par protectorate which she apparently was trying set up on this side of the water; and I beli . . . that it has been fears and suspicions this score which have hitherto prevented greater intimacy and confidence and trust tween the Americas. The States of Amer have not been certain what the United Sta would do with her power. That doubt must removed . . .»

The message of President Monroe sent Congress on 2 Dec. 1823 had indeed «demand merely that the European governments sho not attempt to extend their political systems t side of the Atlantic.» But following the Me can War, when the United States took poss sion of about half of Mexico's territory, policy of Manifest Destiny began to take place of the original Monroe Doctrine. Follo ing the Spanish-American War, with the anne ation of Puerto Rico and the Philippines a the forced adoption of the Platt Amendm giving the United States the right to interve in Cuba and to occupy a naval base in Gu tanama Bay, there was developed a policy continued intervention in the Caribbean co tries. President Theodore Roosevelt, who sa «I took the Canal Zone,» explained that th interventions were due to the Monroe Doctri which, when police power must be used on American continent, authorized his country be the policeman. All Latin America dee resented these growing interventions. They w greatly pleased to hear from President Wils that a new policy was about to appear. U fortunately, when the United States entered war, this same President felt it necessary authorize his navy to occupy Haiti and Sa Domingo. It was not until the Montevideo C ference in 1933, when President Franklin Roosevelt began to put into operation the «Go Neighbor Policy,» that a treaty was sign agreeing to eliminate these interventions.

With the signing of the Non-Interventi Treaty in 1933, the Monroe Doctrine ag began to take on its original meaning. In Buenos Aires Conference of 1936, the fi steps were taken to rid the United States of onus of assuming the whole responsibility protecting all American nations. At the Eigh Pan American Conference in 1938, and the Co ferences of American Ministers of Foreign A fairs in Panama (1939) and Havana (1940 further steps were taken to «continentalize» Doctrine, that is, to make all Latin Americ nations partners with the United States in su taining the doctrine of «America for the Ame icans.»

The American continent has carried on efforts toward the organization of internation government for more than a century. T movement began in 1826 with the organizati of the Panama Conference, called by Sim Bolivar. For half a century these efforts co tinued under the leadership of the Latin Ame icans. In 1889, the first popularly called «P American Conference» met under the leadersh of the United States, at Washington. Th leadership continued quite clearly up to, and i

difficulties, without the aid of either Europe or the United States.

Latin American countries began working on co-operation among themselves in the Panama Conference of 1826. Even before that meeting their leaders had emphasized the need of arbitration in settling their disputes, of joint action in defending themselves from outside threats, of the granting of mutual citizenship among all Latin American people, of the development of intellectual exchange and mutual acknowledgment of professional titles, and of making special tariff concessions. Many of the series of Pan American conferences held today, such as the meetings on child welfare and scientific gatherings, were initiated as purely Latin American parleys.

Arbitration is one of the basic principles of the Latin American social structure, since it rests on the civil law of Rome, which provides for arbitration as one of the ordinary and usual means of settling differences between man and man. The principle of world arbitration was first proclaimed by Simon Bolivar, who originated the idea of holding the first Congress of Nations of America at Panama in 1826, for the purpose, among others, of adopting arbitration as a principle of American solidarity.

In recent years Latin America has had recourse to arbitration, and direct negotiations partaking often of the nature of arbitration, more frequently than all the rest of the world.

Outstanding movements in political co-operation have been as follows: the settlement of the boundary dispute between Argentina and Chile, marked by the erection of the statue, the «Christ of the Andes» on the borderline between the two nations; the A. B. C. Entente, an agreement between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, whereby they reduced armaments and worked in general for improved relations among themselves and other American nations; the remarkable accomplishments of Brazil in settling by peaceful means her boundary disputes with seven neighbors with which she has common frontiers; the co-operation of Mexico, along with the United States, in bringing together the Central American countries (1907) for a united consideration of their mutual problems. Following the settlement of the Leticia question between Peru and Colombia and the Chaco question between Bolivia and Paraguay, there have been numerous exchanges of visits between Presidents and Ministers of Foreign Affairs of South America to promote closer economic, political, and commercial ties.

The attitude of the American governments toward the World War of 1914–18 made clear, in the first place, that Pan American unity had not superseded in certain countries the feeling of kinship to Europe. On the other hand, the war helped to strengthen the friendship between the United States and Hispanic America. The latter was convinced that its northern neighbor entered the war because it followed an obligation to protect democratic institutions. Also the utterances of President Woodrow Wilson in regard to a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine awakened hopes among the Latin American people. Speaking to the Pan American Scientific Conference in Washington on 7 Jan. 1916, the President said:

«The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. . . . But the Monroe Doctrine demanded merely that European governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warning, but there was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water; and I believe . . . that it has been fears and suspicions on this score which have hitherto prevented the greater intimacy and confidence and trust between the Americas. The States of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed . . .»

The message of President Monroe sent to Congress on 2 Dec. 1823 had indeed «demanded merely that the European governments should not attempt to extend their political systems this side of the Atlantic.» But following the Mexican War, when the United States took possession of about half of Mexico's territory, the policy of Manifest Destiny began to take the place of the original Monroe Doctrine. Following the Spanish-American War, with the annexation of Puerto Rico and the Philippines and the forced adoption of the Platt Amendment giving the United States the right to intervene in Cuba and to occupy a naval base in Guantanama Bay, there was developed a policy of continued intervention in the Caribbean countries. President Theodore Roosevelt, who said, «I took the Canal Zone,» explained that these interventions were due to the Monroe Doctrine, which, when police power must be used on the American continent, authorized his country to be the policeman. All Latin America deeply resented these growing interventions. They were greatly pleased to hear from President Wilson that a new policy was about to appear. Unfortunately, when the United States entered the war, this same President felt it necessary to authorize his navy to occupy Haiti and Santo Domingo. It was not until the Montevideo Conference in 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt began to put into operation the «Good Neighbor Policy,» that a treaty was signed agreeing to eliminate these interventions.

With the signing of the Non-Intervention Treaty in 1933, the Monroe Doctrine again began to take on its original meaning. In the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936, the first steps were taken to rid the United States of the onus of assuming the whole responsibility for protecting all American nations. At the Eighth Pan American Conference in 1938, and the Conferences of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Panama (1939) and Havana (1940), further steps were taken to «continentalize» the Doctrine, that is, to make all Latin American nations partners with the United States in sustaining the doctrine of «America for the Americans.»

The American continent has carried on its efforts toward the organization of international government for more than a century. The movement began in 1826 with the organization of the Panama Conference, called by Simon Bolivar. For half a century these efforts continued under the leadership of the Latin Americans. In 1889, the first popularly called «Pan American Conference» met under the leadership of the United States, at Washington. That leadership continued quite clearly up to, and in-



cluding, the Sixth Pan American Conference, meeting in Havana in 1928. It is not correct to say, as critics have alleged, that nothing had been accomplished by these conferences. The Pan American Union had been organized, and was functioning as a bureau for the exchange of information and the promotion of cultural and commercial relations; important dicussions had taken place concerning the ways of settling difficulties, the codification of international law, and the development of better communications. However, aside from the Gondra Pact (1923), providing for conciliation in the settlement of disputes, permanent inter-American governmental machinery was until then difficult to discover. Latin Americans were likely to refer to the Pan American Union as the Colonial Division of the Department of State.

Not until the Seventh Pan American Conference at Montevideo did the Pan American movement begin to implement itself by definite and permanent machinery. After long years of resistance, Pan Americanism began to move toward a practical international organization. This advance is primarily due to the five following agreements: (1) to eliminate intervention by one American government in the affairs of another; (2) to include tariffs and other economic questions in the preview of inter-American government; (3) to accept as a continental principle the nonrecognition of territory acquired by force; (4) to eliminate the unilateral interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and make its enforcement the responsibility of all the American republics; (5) to introduce the principle of consultation, in which all American nations will participate whenever the peace of the continent is threatened.

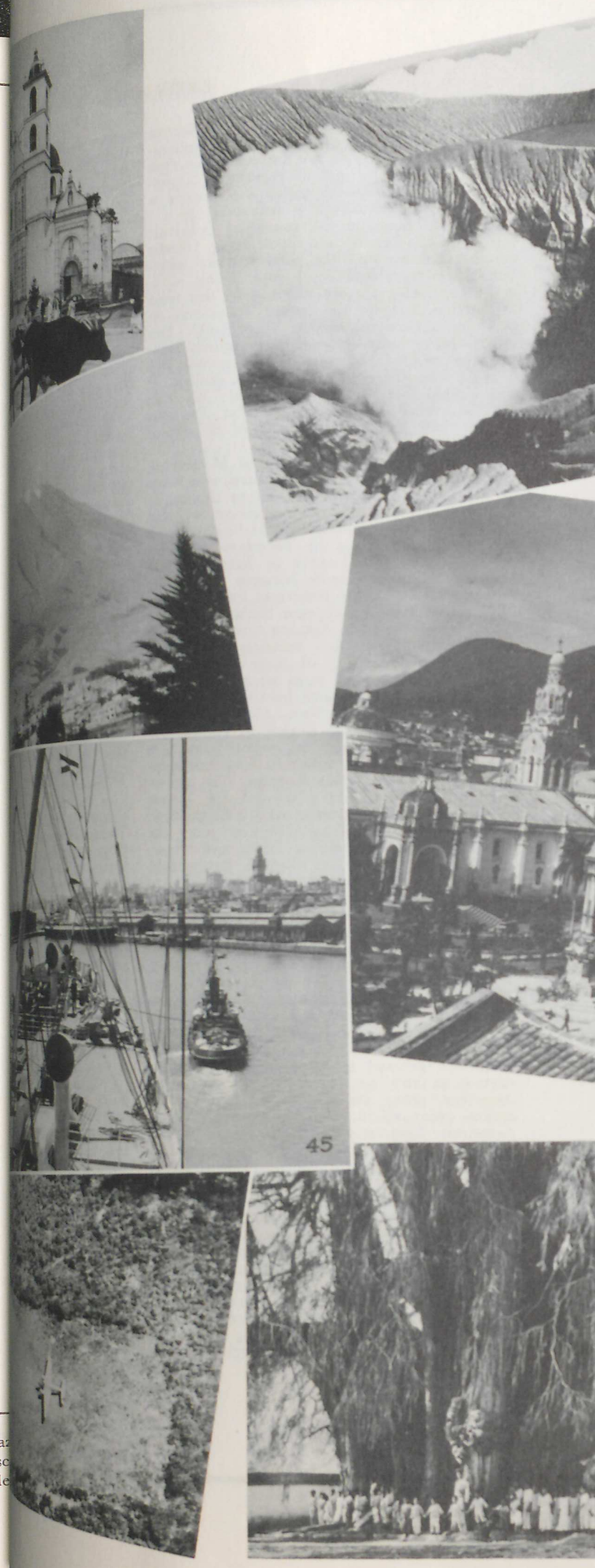
Along with these multilateral agreements, unilateral actions by the most powerful nation of the continent—the United States—made easier this rapid advance. Among these actions were: (a) the withdrawal of armed forces from the Caribbean area, where they had been since the opening of the Panama Canal; (b) the reversal of the former policy of nonrecognition of governments attaining power through revolution; (c) the abrogation of the Platt Amendment with the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba; (d) new agreements with such countries as Panama and Haiti, guaranteeing them more independent action; (e) the encouragement of various regional agreements within Latin America, as well as ceasing to object to aid by the League of Nations and the International Labor Office to their member states in America; (f) the signing of bilateral trade agreements between the United States and other American nations, including the Most Favored Nation clause; (g) development of economic co-operation through the Export-Import Bank and the lending of agricultural experts to Latin America. Such steps have changed a laissez faire Pan Americanism dominated by a few into a virile movement backed by all. The United States government thus became so committed to inter-American co-operation that it became evident that any plan for the organization of world peace, which hoped to secure the participation of the United States, would have to include the Pan American scene.

Just as threats from Europe impelled President Monroe to announce his Doctrine, and Simon Bolivar to call the Panama Conference to consider continental co-operation, so the drive of the totalitarian states of Europe to dominate Latin America was largely influential in the recent rapid development of Pan American co-operation. The movement was further accelerated by the declaration of war in Europe in September 1939, when American nations clearly registered their united desire to keep out of the conflict.

Three weeks after war was declared, the representatives of 21 American republics met in Panama, 21 Sept. 1939, to take a united stand on this hemisphere's attitude toward the European conflict. At that conference the nations went farther than ever before in providing machinery to assure continental solidarity. They first declared their neutrality as related to the European war. They next established two permanent inter-American commissions. The first was to deal with the questions of neutrality. The second was the Inter-American Economic and Financial Advisory Commission. Both of these organizations held meetings almost immediately: the first in Rio de Janeiro and the second in Washington.

Another action of far reaching importance was taken by drawing the famous «Safety Zone» around the continent. The belligerents were requested to desist within this zone from engaging in military activities. There was much misunderstanding concerning this safety zone. There was also no disposition to go to war in order to enforce this peace measure. It was, as Brazil stated, «a further effort of this continent, along the lines proclaimed by President Monroe, to maintain the American continent free from European rivalries and disturbances.» South American statesmen were peculiarly insistent on their rights to maintain this zone. President Getulio Vargas of Brazil declared, in answer to Great Britain's note (15 Jan. 1940) demurring against the zone, that America had as much right to set up a peace zone as Europe had to set up a war zone. The Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. José Maria Cantilo, in reply to the same note stated that Europe must not think that international law is static or that America cannot initiate changes in the same. The significance of the action marking out a safety zone lies in the new emphasis on the old idea expressed by Monroe, Bolivar, and other Americans—that the New World claims the right to live its own life in its own way, and will defend itself from any outside interventions seeking to impose on it foreign political ideologies. The Panama meeting was not a general Pan American Conference, yet it advanced the machinery of co-operation by establishing two permanent inter-American commissions, as it also re-emphasized the idea of an American system different from that of Europe.

To understand the strength of the Pan American movement, it is necessary to count the influence of such happenings as the depression of the early 1930's the Smoot-Hawley tariff, and the threat to America of the totalitarian governments. At the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928, the delegation from the United States defeated the Argentine proposal to include tariffs in the program of the Pan American Union and succeeded in blocking any resolution condemning intervention. In an impassioned plea at Havana for an enlargement of the functions of the Pan





41. Cathedral and plaza, Tegucigalpa, Honduras. 42. Craters of Iraz Costa Rica. 43. Arequipa, Peru, and Mt. El Misti. 44. Francisc monastery, Quito, Ecuador. 45. Montevideo harbor. 46. Jungle Guatemala. 47. Ancient cypress, Tule, Mexico.

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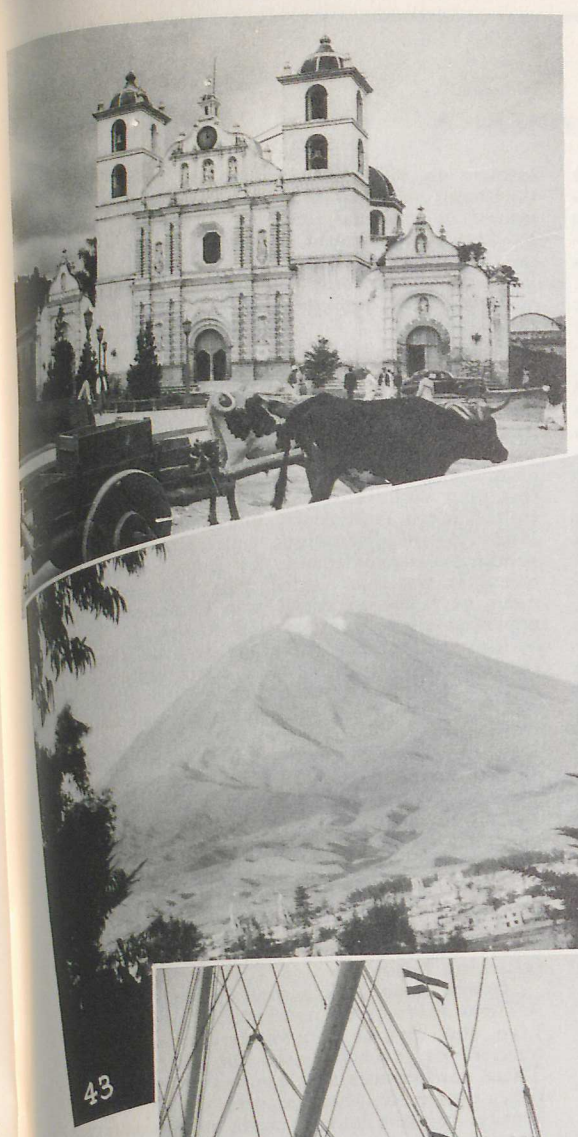

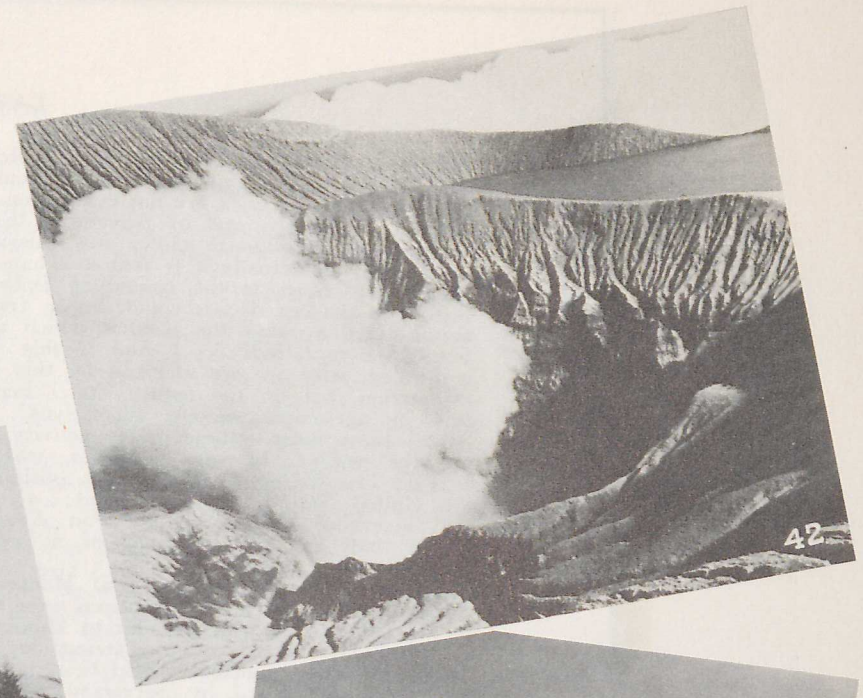



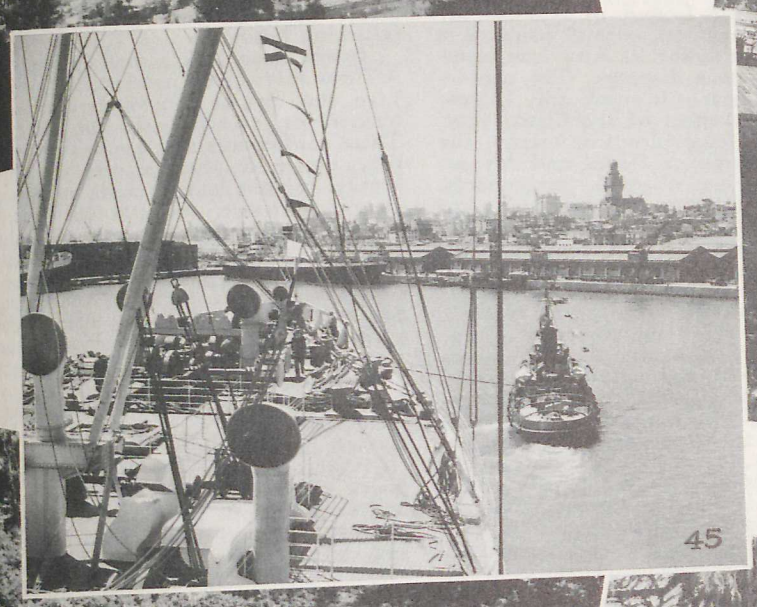

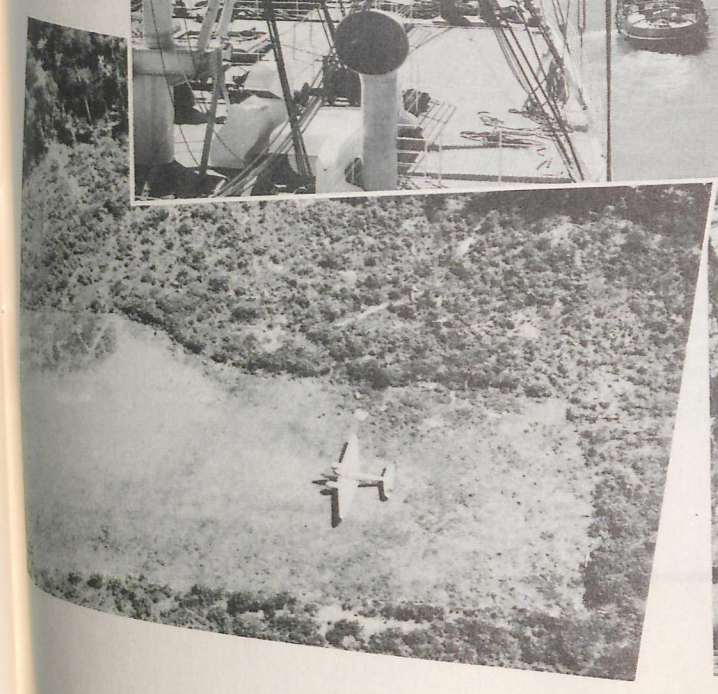



American Union, Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera of Colombia said: «Unfortunately, the continental policies of America are not carried on upon a basis of sincerity and of frankness; theoretically, the international policy of America is fraternity, but actually it is fear and hate. . . . How many times in the course of diplomatic history in the last decade could timely, friendly action have avoided the conflict which afterwards we regretted? . . . And if this is so, gentlemen, why are we alarmed by this timid insinuation that, in the future, states may do this in agreement among themselves? Pan Americanism must embrace every activity making for peace.» In vain, however, was this appeal. The conference backed the position of the United States and voted that: «Neither the Governing Board nor the Pan American Union shall exercise functions of a political nature.»

Before the next conference at Montevideo, certain steps to better these relations were taken by Dwight Morrow, Ambassador to Mexico, by President Herbert Hoover in announcing that the United States marines would be withdrawn from Nicaragua, and by Secretary Stimson's agreement that the League of Nations should act in settling a dispute between two of its member states on the American continent—Colombia and Peru—who were threatening to go to war over the little Amazon town of Leticia. It was at Montevideo however, under the leadership of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, that such fundamental steps were taken as the signing of a treaty against intervention and the initiation of tariff reductions. Also at the Montevideo Conference, the League of Nations for the first time was given its normal place as a world organization, in aiding its American member states to settle their disputes. The conference worked wholeheartedly with the League in attempting the settlement of the Chaco War.

Soon after the Montevideo Conference, the totalitarian dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini began their drive, through propaganda, cultural exchange, and trade concessions, to dominate various Latin American countries. As a partial move against this, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called a special conference (Buenos Aires, 1936) to improve the complicated series of Pan American peace treaties. At this conference, under the threat of European totalitarian influences, the United States completely faced about and advocated, instead of opposed, Pan American peace machinery. Argentina, however, with her doctrine of «universality,» refused to accept anything but the vaguest promise to consult if and when inter-American peace should be threatened. Other actions approved the study of proposals for an American Association of Nations and a Pan American Court of Justice, the enlargement of the duties of the Permanent Commission of Experts on the Codification of International Law, the confirmation of the pact on nonintervention, the signing of four other rather complicated conventions on the settlement of disputes, and the agreements for further cooperation on economic and cultural matters.

When the time came for the regular meeting of the eighth conference, at Lima, 8–27 Dec. 1938, the totalitarian threat had increased, and had driven the American nations to the advanced position stated in the historic document known as «The Declaration of Lima.» This document declared that the American continent, united by spiritual ties and a common devotion to democracy, would co-operate in the defense of the continent if any part of it were attacked. The vague agreement at Buenos Aires for consultation was implemented by a provision that the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics would meet for consultation at any time they might feel this necessary for the protection of the continent. A definite plan for an American Association of Nations, as a regional organization linked to the League at Geneva, was presented by Colombia and the Dominican Republic. After brief discussion, this plan was referred for further consideration to the ninth conference, planned for Bogotá in 1943. While discussions concerning continental solidarity overwhelmed the Lima meeting, interest in the many-sided Pan American movement as now developed was illustrated by the approval of a total of 112 resolutions. These actions enlarged greatly the responsibilities of the Pan American Union. Particularly significant was the authorization of the Union to co-operate cordially with other international organizations, and the instructions to the governing board to study the need of an enlarged budget and personnel in view of the many new projects placed in its hands. The European war caused the first test of the decision at Lima to consult if and when the peace of the continent were threatened.

Inter-American Peace Machinery.—At the close of 1940, 50 years after the organization of the Pan American Union, inter-American peace machinery may be described under the following headings:

International Conferences of American States.—These meet on an average of every five years. Like the British Constitution, they have no written or treaty basis for their guidance. These conferences are free to treat any question they desire to discuss, and usually organize around commissions on such subjects as organization of peace, juridical questions, economic problems, social questions, and cultural exchange. Major agreements are usually registered by treaties. Declarations and resolutions also express the desires of these conferences, which are referred for their execution either to the various participating governments or to the Pan American Union. The first of this series of meetings (popularly called Pan American Conferences) met in Washington in 1889–90. The ninth conference is scheduled to meet in Bogotá in 1943.

Besides the regular Pan American conferences, there have been set up special rulings and organizations which remain under the direct control of the co-operating governments and are not placed under the Pan American Union. The most important of these is the machinery for consultation which provides for meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The two meetings so far held under this provision, adopted at the Eighth Pan American Conference, provided three special standing commissions: (1) Inter-American Neutrality Committee; (2) Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Commission; (3) Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration. Of the other more important bodies previously appointed there are the Pan American Highway Financial



…mission and the Commission of Experts …the Codification of International Law.

The Pan American Union.—The Pan American Union is the international organization …ated by the 21 American republics for the …rpose of promoting friendly intercourse, peace, …commerce between those nations. It is …ported by contributions from all the coun…s in amounts proportionate to population. …draws its authority from the official Pan …erican conferences, and serves as their per…nent organ, carrying out the instructions …n by the governments through these con…ences. It is prohibited from treating political …estions. Its activities are carried on under …following divisions: foreign trade, statistics, …ture, agricultural co-operation, labor, juridical …ations, travel, and intellectual co-operation. …new section on labor has been added. The …sonnel now numbers approximately 100 per…ns with a budget of about $250,000 a year.

…-operation Through Peace Treaties and …ficial Processes.—At present there are 11 …-American peace treaties in force for arbi…tion, conciliation, and mediation for the settle…t of inter-American disputes. None of these …aties, however, has been approved by all of …-American countries, which marks a weakness …the American peace system. At the Lima …ference, the method of *consultation* was …ed, with some indication that this would …place the older methods of settling disputes …d protect continental interests. A part of …e juridical system is the machinery for the …velopment of international law. The organiza…n of an inter-American court of justice has …en advocated at Pan American confer…ces. The juridical principles of the inter…erican peace system were stated at the Buenos …res Conference as follows:

…) Proscription of territorial conquest, and …s consequence, no acquisition made through …ce will be recognized.

…) Intervention by one state in the internal …d external affairs of another state is con…ned.

…) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts …ned.

…) Any difference or dispute between the …erican nations, whatever its nature or origin, …ll be settled by the methods of conciliation, …mal arbitration or through operation of in…national justice.

…omic Co-operation.—From the beginning …Pan American conferences, economic ques…ns have been prominent on the agenda. The …ttle progress in these matters, however, has …en made through special conferences of eco…mic experts. While the United States delega…n at the Sixth Conference, in 1928, refused …prove the inclusion of economic questions …the constitution of the Pan American Union, …at prescription was reversed at the Seventh …nference, in 1933, when Secretary Cordell …ull introduced his plan for trade agreements …ased for the reduction of tariffs and the …minination of other trade barriers. Following …e Eighth Conference, in 1938, economic co…peration has been enlarged through the follow…g successes: regular meetings of treasurers …the American republics; a commission for …e building of the Pan American Highway, …e provision for international loans; the …tablishment of a permanent commission for inter-American trade and finance; the organi… tion of an inter-American bank. The excha… of experts between governments has beco… important. Numerous nonofficial organizatio… like the Pan American Arbitration Commissi… function in this field.

Social and Health Problems.—Co-operati… in this field is maintained through the w… organized Pan American Sanitary Bureau, w… headquarters in the Pan American Union … Washington; the International Institute for t… Protection of Childhood, with headquarters … Montevideo; the Inter-American Institute … Leprosy, Rio de Janeiro; the Inter-Americ… Commission of Women, Washington; and n… merous other official and unofficial organizatio… The International Labor Office is becoming i… creasingly effective in serving the Americ… republics in this field.

Cultural Exchange.—The Pan American co… ferences have developed an elaborate progra… for cultural exchange. Numerous conventio… have been signed and a large number of res… lutions have been approved, providing for e… change of students and professors, rewritin… of history texts, preservation of national mon… ments, and exchange of art, music, and radi… programs. Numerous educational conferenc… have been fostered by the Pan American Unio… which maintains important activities through it… division on intellectual co-operation. The Pa… American Institute of Geography and History… one of the various official organizations, ha… permanent headquarters in a building presente… by the Mexican government. National commis… sions on intellectual exchange, appointed b… the various nations, co-operate both with th… League of Nations and the Pan America… Union.

Thus, it will be seen that the Pan American Peace Organization is working under six different headings. Unlike the League of Nations, these are not bound together in one organization. The right to discuss political questions has been retained by the regular conferences of the American states and the special bodies set up by those conferences. The fear of entrusting too large responsibilities to the Pan American Union has also led the governments to set up their own machinery outside of the union, to carry out many schemes for economic, social, and cultural interchange.

Enlargement of Peace Machinery.—World events since the meeting of the Eighth Conference at Lima have forced the American republics to strengthen greatly their peace machinery. When war was declared in Europe, September 1939, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 21 republics or their representatives, gathered at Panama. The meeting took three notable actions, which advanced Inter-American peace machinery considerably beyond any previous agreements. The Monroe Doctrine idea was emphasized by making out a «Safety Zone,» a line averaging about 300 miles around the American continent. The European belligerents were requested to keep any warlike activities out of this zone. A permanent Commission on Neutrality was set up, so that the continent could act in unity in reference to the European war. The economic problems raised by the war were unitedly considered. There was appointed an Inter-American Finance and an Economic Advisory Commission. These two permanent

Commission and the Commission of Experts for the Codification of International Law.

The Pan American Union.—The Pan American Union is the international organization created by the 21 American republics for the purpose of promoting friendly intercourse, peace, and commerce between those nations. It is supported by contributions from all the countries in amounts proportionate to population. It draws its authority from the official Pan American conferences, and serves as their permanent organ, carrying out the instructions given by the governments through these conferences. It is prohibited from treating political questions. Its activities are carried on under the following divisions: foreign trade, statistics, finance, agricultural co-operation, labor, juridical questions, travel, and intellectual co-operation. A new section on labor has been added. The secretariat now numbers approximately 100 persons, with a budget of about $250,000 a year.

Co-operation Through Peace Treaties and Juridical Processes.—At present there are 11 inter-American peace treaties in force for arbitration, conciliation, and mediation for the settlement of inter-American disputes. None of these treaties, however, has been approved by all of the American countries, which marks a weakness in the American peace system. At the Lima Conference, the method of *consultation* was approved, with some indication that this would supersede the older methods of settling disputes and protect continental interests. A part of this juridical system is the machinery for the codification of international law. The organization of an inter-American court of justice has also been advocated at Pan American conferences. The juridical principles of the inter-American peace system were stated at the Buenos Aires Conference as follows:

(1) Proscription of territorial conquest, and that in consequence, no acquisition made through violence will be recognized.

(2) Intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another state is condemned.

(3) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal.

(4) Any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or full arbitration or through operation of international justice.

Economic Co-operation.—From the beginning of Pan American conferences, economic questions have been prominent on the agenda. The most progress in these matters, however, has been made through special conferences of economic experts. While the United States delegation at the Sixth Conference, in 1928, refused to approve the inclusion of economic questions in the constitution of the Pan American Union, that conception was reversed at the Seventh Conference, in 1933, when Secretary Cordell Hull introduced his plan for trade agreements providing for the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of other trade barriers. Following the Eighth Conference, in 1938, economic co-operation has been enlarged through the following processes: regular meetings of treasurers of the American republics; a commission for the building of the Pan American Highway, with the provision for international loans; the appointment of a permanent commission for inter-American trade and finance; the organization of an inter-American bank. The exchange of experts between governments has become important. Numerous nonofficial organizations, like the Pan American Arbitration Commission, function in this field.

Social and Health Problems.—Co-operation in this field is maintained through the well-organized Pan American Sanitary Bureau, with headquarters in the Pan American Union at Washington; the International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, with headquarters in Montevideo; the Inter-American Institute of Leprosy, Rio de Janeiro; the Inter-American Commission of Women, Washington; and numerous other official and unofficial organizations. The International Labor Office is becoming increasingly effective in serving the American republics in this field.

Cultural Exchange.—The Pan American conferences have developed an elaborate program for cultural exchange. Numerous conventions have been signed and a large number of resolutions have been approved, providing for exchange of students and professors, rewriting of history texts, preservation of national monuments, and exchange of art, music, and radio programs. Numerous educational conferences have been fostered by the Pan American Union, which maintains important activities through its division on intellectual co-operation. The Pan American Institute of Geography and History, one of the various official organizations, has permanent headquarters in a building presented by the Mexican government. National commissions on intellectual exchange, appointed by the various nations, co-operate both with the League of Nations and the Pan American Union.

Thus, it will be seen that the Pan American Peace Organization is working under six different headings. Unlike the League of Nations, these are not bound together in one organization. The right to discuss political questions has been retained by the regular conferences of the American states and the special bodies set up by those conferences. The fear of entrusting too large responsibilities to the Pan American Union has also led the governments to set up their own machinery outside of the union, to carry out many schemes for economic, social, and cultural interchange.

Enlargement of Peace Machinery.—World events since the meeting of the Eighth Conference at Lima have forced the American republics to strengthen greatly their peace machinery. When war was declared in Europe, September 1939, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 21 republics or their representatives, gathered at Panama. The meeting took three notable actions, which advanced Inter-American peace machinery considerably beyond any previous agreements. The Monroe Doctrine idea was emphasized by making out a «Safety Zone,» a line averaging about 300 miles around the American continent. The European belligerents were requested to keep any warlike activities out of this zone. A permanent Commission on Neutrality was set up, so that the continent could act in unity in reference to the European war. The economic problems raised by the war were unitedly considered. There was appointed an Inter-American Finance and an Economic Advisory Commission. These two permanent



commissions entered immediately upon their work.

Less than a year later events had moved so rapidly in Europe that a second meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics was called. It took place at Havana, 21–30 July 1940. The American continent had become alarmed at the prospect that Germany, having just conquered France and Holland, and then threatening England, might demand that these countries turn over their American colonies to the Reich. In such a solemn hour, Secretary Cordell Hull, declared in opening the conference:

«There are pressing political problems arising out of the vast changes which have taken place on the continent of Europe. The principles on which we act with respect to these problems have been forged by the American Republics through years of discussion and practice. They are applied entirely without discrimination. . . . Specifically, there is before us the problem of the status of European possessions in this Hemisphere. These geographic regions have not heretofore constituted a menace to the peace of the Americas; their administrations were established, for the most part, many generations ago and, in our time, have acted as congenial neighbors. We have no desire to absorb these possessions or to extend our sovereignty over them, or to include them in any form of sphere of influence.

«We could not, however, permit these regions to become a subject of barter in the settlement of European differences, or a battleground for the adjustment of such differences. . . . Any effort, therefore, to modify the existing status of these areas—whether by cession, by transfer, or by any impairment whatsoever in the control heretofore exercised—would be of profound and immediate concern to all the American Republics. It is accordingly essential that we consider a joint approach to this common problem.»

The outstanding decision of the conference was embodied in the «Act of Havana» which provides for the set-up of a «regime of provisional administration in the areas now held by non-American nations in the event they are in danger of becoming the subject of barter of territory or change of sovereignty.»

Of highest importance was the procedure for setting up such administration. Unanimity among the 21 American republics, the need for which has often been a stumbling block to swift action, was not required. When two-thirds of them ratified the convention, there would be established an Inter-American Commission of Territorial Administration. This commission, itself acting by a two-thirds vote, would be authorized to name one or more American states to take over administration of a possession. At the same time, any of the 21 governments was left free to abstain from actual measures taken to carry out the policy. The «provisional administration» may be put into effect *by any one or group of the American nations* if the emergency is too great to permit consultation among all its members, but would be established only on the understanding that when the emergency had passed, the affected regions would be returned to their original status or organized as autonomous states. The act stipulates, however, that in an emergency «any of the American republics, *individually* or jointly with others, shall have the right to act in a manner required for its defense or the defense of the continent,» such action to be referred later to the emergency committee.

The agreement at Havana was a move toward introducing into the American continent the principle of international government involved in the system of mandates adopted by the League of Nations. Still further revolutionary processes were approved a few weeks after the Havana gathering. The United States, undoubtedly with the approval of Latin American republics, secured from Great Britain eight bases for the better protection of the American continent. All of these, with the exception of the one in Nova Scotia, lie close to Latin America, and one in British Guiana is actually on the South American mainland. To make this additional practical means of carrying out the Monroe Doctrine a real co-operative affair, the United States announced that the eight bases would be open for use to the other American republics.

On 16 August President Roosevelt appointed Nelson Rockefeller coordinator of commercial and cultural relations between the American republics for the Council for National Defense. Thus had Pan Americanism left its old laissez-faire, oratorical days and become an international co-operation to include joint administration of territory and joint military defense of the continent.

Future of Inter-American Peace Machinery.—Certain Latin American governments have not lost faith in the well-rounded scheme of Bolivar for an American League of Nations, and from time to time have presented plans for such an organization. At Lima, such a scheme as a regional organization linked to a Universal League of Nations was proposed. It was referred to the next conference which meets in Bogotá in 1943.

Three main objections are made to a more formal organization of inter-American peace:

(1) Governments are afraid to limit their sovereignty—the smaller ones being uncertain about the dominance of the big nations, especially the United States; the larger nations are not willing to tie their future to the votes of economically inferior and politically unstable units.

(2) Countries like Argentina, believing in the principle of «universality» and close co-operation with Europe, are afraid of the development of an isolationist policy which would offend their European kinsmen and customers.

(3) There is concern lest the introduction of political questions into the Pan American Union might mean, as in the League of Nations, divisions and rupture of the present successful work of the union. On the one hand, the insistent question is: Would the present loosely developed inter-American peace machinery stand the test in a real crisis? On the other hand, is it worth while to risk breaking up present successful co-operation for the sake of a more logical and rigid organization?

There might be some suggestions for the American continent from the report of the Bruce Commission of the League of Nations, in which it was proposed that the nonpolitical section of the League's activities be separated from the political. An American Association of Nations



might be organized to deal with political questions, taking its place with other regional organizations in a Universal Association of Nations. The Pan American Union might then continue its present activities along social, economic, and cultural lines without jeopardizing its future by the introduction of political questions. Thus, inter-American government necessary for the maintenance of peace might be advanced, while inter-American co-operation in cultural and economic affairs need not be threatened.

The improvement since 1933 in Pan American relationships was based on the coinciding of two situations: the inauguration of the Good Neighbor Policy by the United States and the threat of totalitarian forces in Europe and Asia. Whether such close co-operation will continue when conditions change remains to be seen. It is possible that the totalitarian threat may result in a closer regional organization in America that will serve as an example for the other continents and as a part of a world federation.

Latin American republics have not forgotten, nor will they forget, their devotion to international law and organization. As for the United States, the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt have been favorable to enlarged international co-operation. But the American nations who started out so enthusiastically as members of the League learned: (1) that unless all American nations were members, the League's service to American member states was difficult; (2) that the big European nations that dominated the League could, with difficulty, give attention to a dispute over a territory in which they had no stake, in remote parts of South America; (3) that expenses in the League were a strain on the budget of small nations; (4) that if the United States could be tied into inter-American machinery, the need of a distant world organization was not so great; (5) most important of all, that if the League would not protect the sovereignty of a nearby country like Ethiopia, there was little hope of faraway countries in Latin America receiving help.

In the Union of the American Republics, established by a mere resolution by the Washington Conference 14 April 1890, the sovereignty of each nation has been strongly stressed. Nothing like sanctions has been adopted. Each government is at liberty to withdraw at any time from this organization. It has always been on a voluntary basis and fortunately it has included all the American republics.

The Pan American system has not included any representative of Canada or the colonial possessions of European countries on the American continent. Before the European war which began in 1939, Canada seemed to be moving gradually into the Pan American orbit. She had not yet considered it wise to accept certain gestures made toward her official participation in the Pan American Union, but much public discussion of that question had further encouraged such participation.

The American continent has been divided in the past because of difficulties in transportation, differences in the culture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispanic peoples, and the political dominance of the United States over its smaller neighbors. Conditions are rapidly changing. All

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IMPORTANT DATES
AMERICAN H

1492 Columbus discovers
1493 Line of demarcation
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1496 Founding of Santo D
1500 Brazil discovered by
Cabral of Portugal.
1502 Negro slavery introd
World.
1513 Pacific discovered by
Ponce de León.
1516 Discovery of Rio d
Diaz de Solis.
1519–21 Mexico conquered
1524 Council of the Indies
1531–33 Francisco Pizarro
1537 Founding of Asunció
1541 Founding of Santiago
1549 Founding of Bahia.
1551 Founding of universi
(Lima) and Mexico.
1570 Inquisition introduced
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1571 Execution of «the
Tupac Amaru.
1580 Founding of Buenos
1588 Spanish Armada defe
1595 Sir Walter Raleigh s
River.
1610 First arrival of Jesuit
1621 Dutch West Indies
1623 Founding of St. Kitts,
in West Indies.
1654 Dutch driven from P
1673 Present city of Panam
1697 France acquires weste
1763 Rio de Janeiro becom
1767 Society of Jesus sup
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The American continent has been divided in the past because of difficulties in transportation, differences in the culture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispanic peoples, and the political dominance of the United States over its smaller neighbors. Conditions are rapidly changing. All of Latin America is now bound closely to the United States through modern transportation. The United States has ceased its interventions in Latin American affairs. Marked divisions between Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic approach to life are being smoothed by a common desire of the New World to escape the struggles and divisions of the Old. Economically, the American continent is becoming more and more interdependent. The United States sells to Latin America about 35 per cent of all that she buys, and Latin America is increasingly dependent on purchases made by this country. The social and educational developments of the 21 American republics are more and more intimately connected. Cultural exchange among these countries is slowly displacing the dominance of European culture, both in the south and in the north. The inter-American movement is, therefore, thoroughly sound, and may be expected to develop more rapidly in the future. On the other hand, the American continent has no desire to isolate itself from Europe. Practically every American statesman makes this clear in his public utterances. At the Panama Conference, called after the European war began, it was emphasized that the American states «will endeavor with all appropriate spiritual and material means to maintain and strengthen peace and harmony among American republics free from any selfish purposes of isolation, but rather inspired by a deep sense of universal co-operation.»

Important Dates in Latin American History

1492 Columbus discovers America.
1493 Line of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI.
1496 Founding of Santo Domingo.
1500 Brazil discovered by Pedro Alvares de Cabral of Portugal.
1502 Negro slavery introduced into the New World.
1513 Pacific discovered by Balboa; Florida by Ponce de León.
1516 Discovery of Rio de la Plata by Juan Diaz de Solis.
1519–21 Mexico conquered by Hernán Cortés.
1524 Council of the Indies organized.
1531–33 Francisco Pizarro conquers Peru.
1537 Founding of Asunción.
1541 Founding of Santiago de Chile.
1549 Founding of Bahia.
1551 Founding of universities of San Marcos (Lima) and Mexico.
1570 Inquisition introduced into Spanish America.
1571 Execution of «the last of the Incas,» Tupac Amaru.
1580 Founding of Buenos Aires.
1588 Spanish Armada defeated.
1595 Sir Walter Raleigh sails up the Orinoco River.
1610 First arrival of Jesuits in Asunción.
1621 Dutch West Indies Company chartered.
1623 Founding of St. Kitts, first English colony in West Indies.
1654 Dutch driven from Pernambuco.
1673 Present city of Panama founded.
1697 France acquires western Haiti.
1763 Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil.
1767 Society of Jesus suppressed in Spanish colonies and Spain.



1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso signed by Spain and Portugal.
1804 Haiti achieves independence.
1806 Buenos Aires captured and lost by the British.
1806 Francisco Miranda leads patriot expedition from New York to Venezuela.
1807 Government of Portugal removes to Brazil.
1807 Montevideo captured and evacuated by the British.
1808 Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, abdicates.
1810 Independence movement begins in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina.
1811 Paraguay, Venezuela and Ecuador proclaim independence.
1813 Colombia proclaims independence.
1814 Ferdinand VII restored.
1814–40 Dr. José Zaspar Rodriguez Francia is dictator of Paraguay.
1816 Argentina proclaims independence.
1817 José de San Martin defeats Spaniards at Chacabuco.
1817 Portuguese capture Montevideo which temporarily becomes Brazilian territory.
1818 Chile proclaims independence.
1821 Peru, Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador declare independence.
1822 Brazil secures independence with Dom Pedro I as Emperor.
1822 San Martin withdraws from Peru and South America.
1822 The United States recognizes the independence of various Hispanic American states.
1823 Monroe Doctrine promulgated.
1825 Bolivia proclaims independence.
1826 South America completely freed from Spain.
1826 Bernardino Rivadavia, President of Argentina, negotiates loan in London.
1826 Meeting of American Republics at Panama.
1828 Independence of Uruguay from Brazil and Argentina.
1830 Death of Bolivar.
1833 New constitution of the Chilean state.
1837–39 War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation.
1838 Buenos Aires blockaded by French fleet.
1842–52 Struggle between Argentina and Brazil over Uruguay.
1844 Dominican Republic established.
1844 Allan Gardner begins missionary work among South American Indians.
1846–48 War between the United States and Mexico.
1855 Railroad between Colón and Panama City opened.
1855–60 Santo Domingo under Spanish flag.
1856 William Walker becomes President of Nicaragua.
1857 Construction of Western Railway in Argentina begun.
1862–67 French intervention in Mexico.
1862 Bartolomé Mitre becomes President of a united Argentina.
1865–70 The Paraguayan War.
1866 Alliance between Ecuador, Chile, and Peru.
1866 Spanish bombard Valparaiso.
1867–72 Benito Juárez is president of Mexico.
1873 Vera Cruz railroad opened.
1873 Protestant missions established in Mexico.
1874 First South American cable laid between Pernambuco and Lisbon.
1877–80, 1884–1911 Porfirio Díaz is president of Mexico.
1879–83 War of the Pacific.
1889 First Pan American Conference meets at Washington, D. C.
1889 Brazil becomes a republic.
1891 Civil war between the Balmacedists and the Congressional party in Chile.
1895 Venezuelan boundary dispute involving Monroe Doctrine.
1898 Spanish-American War.
1898 Cuba independent.
1898 Puerto Rico acquired by the United States.
1899 Guayaquil-Quito Railway begun.
1900 Publication of Rodó's appeal to youth, 'Ariel.'
1901 Second Pan American Conference meets at Mexico City.
1902 International disturbance over Venezuelan debts.
1902 Arbitration treaty between Argentina and Chile.
1903 Independence of Panama.
1905 United States assumes collection of customs in Dominican Republic.
1906 Third Pan American Conference meets at Rio de Janeiro.
1907 Latin American nations' first participation in world peace conference at The Hague.
1910 Fourth Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires.
1910 Beginning of social revolution in Mexico.
1914 Panama Canal opened.
1914 United States troops occupy Vera Cruz.
1915–16 Intervention of the United States in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.
1916 United States acquires canal rights in Nicaragua.
1917 United States purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark.
1917 Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama declare war against Germany.
1917 New constitution in Mexico.
1918 Inauguration of Latin American university reform.
1919 Eleven Latin American states represented at the Paris Peace Conference.
1919 Death of Amado Nervo, Mexican poet, bringing demonstration of Latin American solidarity.
1919 League of Nations joined by Colombia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Uruguay.
1920 President Baltasar Brum of Uruguay proposes an American league of nations.
1921 Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent state.
1922–23 Brazilian Centenary Exposition at Rio de Janeiro.
1923 Fifth Pan American Conference at Santiago, Chile.
1926 Brazil resigns from the League of Nations.
1928 Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana.
1929 Treaty between Chile and Peru settles Tacna-Arica question.



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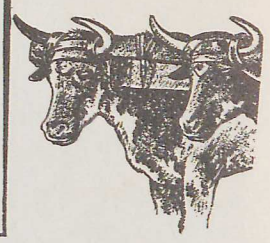
BIOGRAPHY: Angell, Hildegarde, 'Simón Bolívar, South American Liberator' (1930); Belaunde, V. A., 'Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution' (1938); Harding, Bertita, 'Phantom Crown,' chronicle of Maximilian (1939); Martin, P. A., (ed.) 'Who's Who in Latin America' (1935); Robertson, W. S., 'Rise of the Spanish American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators' (1918).

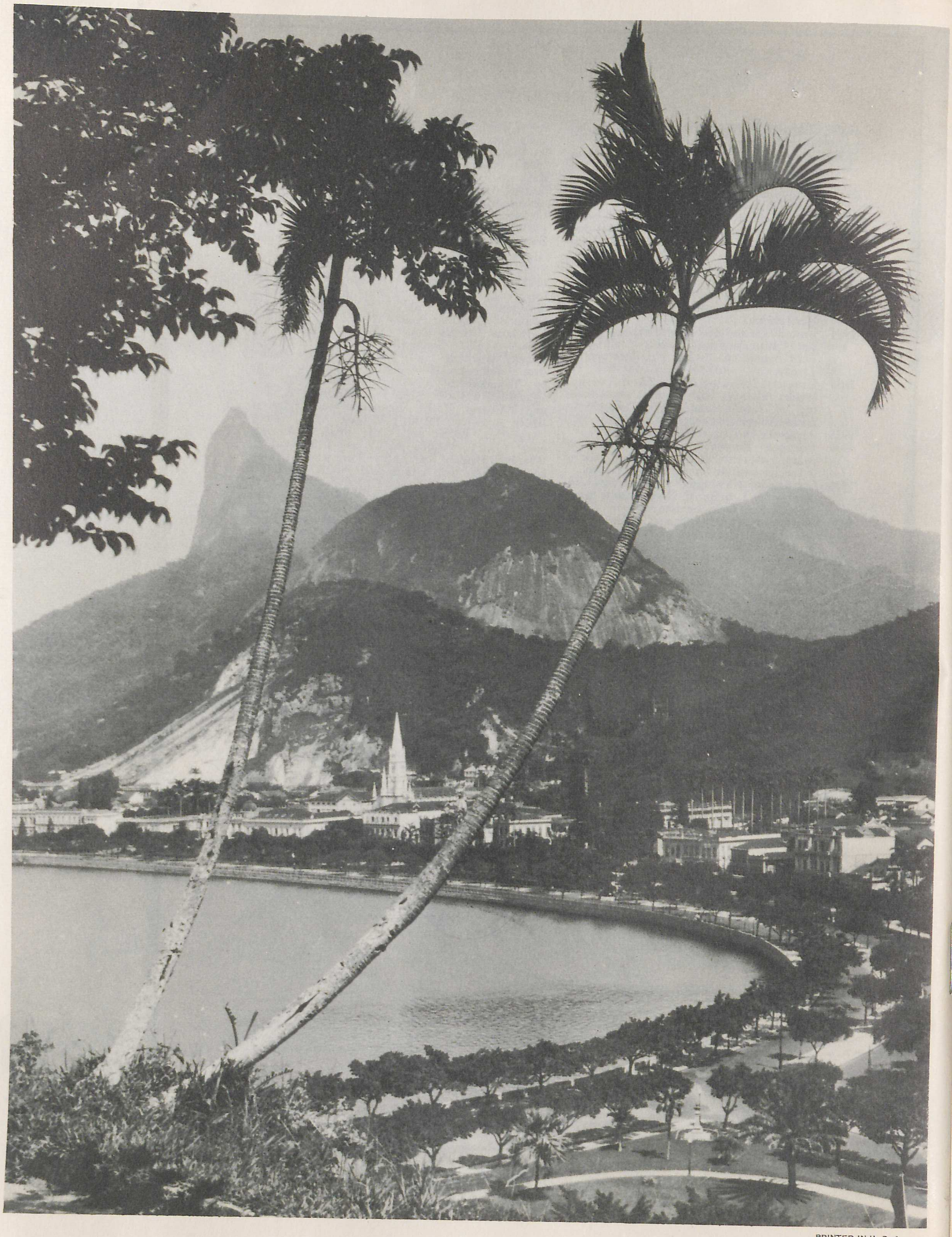
EDUCATION: Sanchez, G. I., 'Mexico; a Revolution by Education' (1936).

THE ARTS: Brenner, Anita, 'Idols Behind Altars' (1935); Coester, A. L., 'Literary History of Spanish America' (1928); Hague, Eleanor, 'Latin American Music, Past and Present' (1934); Schmeckebier, L. E., 'Modern Mexican Art' (1939); Wolfe, B. D., 'Diego Rivera, His Life and Times' (1939).

RELIGION: Mackay, J. A., 'The Other Spanish Christ; a Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America' (1933).

SAMUEL GUY INMAN,
Lecturer and Adviser on Latin American Affairs; Author of Latin America, Its Place in World Life.





PRINTED IN U. S. A.

PPF-9 "I"

MEL January 30, 1942.

Respectfully referred for consideration and acknowledgment.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

Letters to the President: Referred to the State Department.

DUGRENIER, Mr. Hector, Sec'y., Pine Grove School, Minnitaki, Ont., Can., 1/13/42. Sends flag and asks that it be presented to any school in U.S. in behalf of the Pine Grove School. Asks for flag in return. GIFT

MARTIN, Mrs. M.E., 1131 Richards St., Vancouver, B.C., 1/9/42. Sends two scrap books of cartoons, etc. which she wishes to present to the Pres. and Mrs. Roosevelt. Books on war. Referred to State. GIFT.

SPARKS, C.R., Arncliffe, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia, undated. Sends philatelic medallion celluloin to Pres. for gift. Contains block of six with printers name, and others. Framed. GIFT.

IDBURY - KINGHAM - OXFORD, Eng., undated. Book (quarterly), entitled "The Countryman". No accompanying letter. Editor's name not on book. BOOK

XIMENEZ, Pedro Luc, Av.De Mayo 1430, (20 23) Buenos Aires, undated. Sends book entitled "La Mision Historica del Radicalismo en el Continente" which he has written and wishes to present as gift. BOOK

PILLONI, Raymundo O., Director, "Ferrovia" Revista Mensual, San Pedro Sula, Honduras, Undated. Sends three pamphets entitled "Ferrovia". Evidently a monthly magazine.

THEERTHA, Swami Dharma, c/o The Hindu Missionary Society, P.O.B. 225, Krishna Nagar, Lahore, India, 9/23/41. Reg. Sends gift of two books(same). He is the author, entitled "The Menace of Hindu Imperialism". BOOK

HILL, Dr. R.B., and Dr. F.I.Benarroch, no covering letter or package cover. Book entitled "Anquilostomiasis y Paludismo en Venezuela. BOOK

* * * * * * *

MANLEY, Elmer, 4218 Sarpy Ave., St.Louis, Mo., 1/26/42. Re sends crude model for ship protector. Also explanation and return postal card. Referred by memorandum to the Department of Commerce, NIC.

January 30, 1942

PP.7.
9-I

My dear Miss Ives:

Thank you ever so much in the President's behalf for your courtesy in sending him the copy of the book. He deeply appreciates your friendly birthday greetings.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Miss Laura Ives,
Essex Fells,
New Jersey.

cb

B

DOW, Mrs. Albert
Greenville, S. C.
February 5, 1942.

Sent the President a little carved camel with tiny inkwell under a lid and a piece of wood of an olive tree brought from Palenstine. (Series B)

See P.P.F. 9 - D

PP.F. 9-I

mef

February 12, 1942

PPF 9-I

My dear Mr. Southworth:

In acknowledging your letter of January twenty-eighth, I want to thank you very kindly, in the President's behalf, for your courtesy in sending him a copy of your book, THE AMERICAN WAY.

PPF 9-B

I regret that we must return the second copy of the book unsigned. The pressure of the President's work these days is so terribly heavy he is unable to comply with the many requests for his signature. I know you will understand.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

E. F. Southworth, Esq.,
Iroquois Publishing Company,
Chimes Building,
Syracuse,
New York.

fhs

Enclosure

ack
2/2/42 WH

Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc.



SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS

E. F. SOUTHWORTH,
PRESIDENT

HOME OFFICE
CHIMES BUILDING
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

January 28, 1942

Sorry 4/5T

for return
letter to Steelay

To The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

It is my privilege to mail you two copies of a book we have just published entitled THE AMERICAN WAY by Southworth and Southworth.

It may be of interest to know that the book contains your memorable speeches of December 29, 1940, and December 8 and 9, 1941.

We shall be distinctly honored if you consistently can and will autograph and have returned to us one of the two copies we are sending you.

Respectfully yours,

E. F. Southworth

efs/gbr

E. F. Southworth, Esq.,
Iroquois Publishing Company,
Chimes Building,
Syracuse,
New York.

Attach to file

GGT 2/12/42

27, 1942

P.P.F.
9-I

My dear Mr. Starr:

Your letter of February fourteenth has been received and I want to thank you, in the President's behalf, for the copy of THE NEEDLE TRADES. I can assure you that he will be most appreciative of your friendly thought in sending the book to him.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

xP.P.F.9-B

Mark Starr, Esq.,
Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union,
3 West 16th Street,
New York,
New York.

pl

UNION LABEL

INT'L LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

OF THE I.L.G.W.U.

426

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

This letter has not been acknowledged.

RR

P.P.F. 9-I

27, 1942

My dear Mr. Starr:

Your letter of February fourteenth has been received and I want to thank you, in the President's behalf, for the copy of THE NEEDLE TRADES. I can assure you that he will be most appreciative of your friendly thought in sending the book to him.

xP.P.F.9-B

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Mark Starr, Esq.,
Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union,
3 West 16th Street,
New York,
New York.

pl

UNION LABEL

Int'l. LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION

OF THE I.L.G.W.U.

426

February 27, 1942

P.P.F. 9-I

My dear Mr. Starr:

Your letter of February fourteenth has been received and I want to thank you, in the President's behalf, for the copy of THE NEEDLE TRADES. I can assure you that he will be most appreciative of your friendly thought in sending the book to him.

xP.P.F.9-B

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Mark Starr, Esq.,
Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union,
3 West 16th Street,
New York,
New York.

pl

UNION LABEL
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION
OF THE I.L.G.W.U.

426

D DUBINSKY
President-General Secretary
LUIGI ANTONINI
First Vice-President
FREDERICK F. UMHEY
Executive Secretary

General Executive Board
MORRIS BIALIS
JOSEPH BRESLAW
MAX COHEN
ANTHONY COTTONE
ISRAEL FEINBERG
HARRY GREENBERG
JACOB HELLER
JULIUS HOCHMAN
ABRAHAM W. KATOVSKY
PHILIP KRAMER
CHARLES KREINDLER
LOUIS LEVY
ISIDORE NAGLER
SALVATORE NINFO
SAMUEL OTTO
MEYER PERLSTEIN
ROSE PESOTTA
ELIAS REISBERG
GEORGE RUBIN
SAMUEL SHORE
HARRY WANDER
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

WAtkins 9-6868

Cable Address
ILGWU—NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

3 WEST 16th STREET NEW YORK

February 14, 1942.

ack
Feby 19th

ack'd
2/27/42

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Not only because you were the first citizen of this State before you became the first citizen of the nation, but because of your close and intimate relationship with the needle trades in building up its codes of industrial statesmanship, we feel that you will be interested in adding "The Needle Trades" by Joel Seidman to your library.

This organization is honored to present the volume to you and hope that the present strenuous times will be soon past so that you will have a chance of reading the story of the collective bargaining procedures which you helped so materially to develop in this industry.

Yours sincerely,

Mark Starr

MARK STARR,
Educational Director.

ms/lw

UNION LABEL
I.L.G.W.U.
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION
OF THE I.L.G.W.U.

P.P.F.
9-I

March 17, 1942

Gentlemen:

Permit me, please, to acknowledge the receipt of and thank you for the copy of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of Illinois. You may be sure the President will appreciate your courtesy in sending it to him.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Department of Agriculture,
Springfield,
Illinois.

ms

Illinois Department of Agriculture

x P.P.F. 9-B

413

x 76-B

B

P.1.7.
9-I

March 21, 1942

My dear Mr. Ingle:

Thank you, in the President's behalf, for your kindness in sending him the Service Flag you designed, to which you refer in your letter of March fifteenth. I want to assure you that your thoughtfulness is deeply appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Mrs. Alfretta Ingle,
2405 Glen Arm Avenue,
Dayton,
Ohio.

ms

Dayton Ohio

March 15-42

The President, White House.

Washington D.C.

Dear Mr, President:

In honor of those in your family who are connected in the War of to-day, I am sending you this Service Flag designed, whith five stars, which represent Mr, Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, and your three sons. I hope the arrangement of this flag meets with your approval.

V for victory, U for unity, and a star for each one in the service.

Very Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Alfretta Ingle

2405 Glen Arm Ave,,

Dayton Ohio,

(who designed and made this Service Flag,)

10

Series B.
Acc
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MS

n Inanout Register -

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CHERRY 0590

Returned please

MARIE L. McGINTY

BREDEMEIER, Henry E.
Kenmore, N. Y.
March 17, 1942.

Letter to the President saying he was sending an Inanout Register - for use on Telephone Switchboard - given to Miss Hackmeister.

See P.P.F. 9 - B

P.P.F. 9-4

mef

CHerry 0590

MARIE L. McGINTY

GENERAL INSURANCE
710 The Union Commerce Building
CLEVELAND, OHIO

PROTECT Your Loved Ones INSURANCE

ACCIDENT (PERSONAL)
ACCIDENT AND HEALTH
AIR CARGO INSURANCE
AIRCRAFT INSURANCE
(ALL COVERAGES)
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE
(ALL COVERAGES)
BOILER INSURANCE
BONDS
COURT
FIDELITY
SURETY
BURGLARY, THEFT AND LARCENY
BUSINESS INTERRUPTION
(VARIOUS COVERAGES)
CAMERA FLOATERS
CONTRACTORS' EQUIPMENT FLOATERS
DENTISTS' LIABILITY
DEPARTMENT STORE FLOATERS
ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT
EXPLOSION
EXPRESS FLOATERS
FINE ARTS
FIRE INSURANCE
FIRE AND THEFT INSURANCE
FUR FLOATERS
FURNACE EXPLOSION
GOLFERS' FLOATERS
HAIL INSURANCE
HOLD-UP INSURANCE
OFFICE
MESSENGER
PERSONAL
JEWELERS' BLOCK POLICIES
JEWELRY FLOATERS PERSONAL
LAKE CARGO
LIABILITY (ALL COVERAGES)
OWNERS' & TENANTS'
PERSONAL INJURIES
PROPERTY DAMAGE
LIFE INSURANCE
LIVE STOCK
MERCHANDISE INSTALLMENT FLOATERS
MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES FLOATERS
MOTION PICTURE FLOATERS
MOTOR TRUCK CONTENTS INSURANCE
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT INSURANCE
OCEAN CARGO
PARCEL POST
PERSONAL EFFECTS
PERSONAL PROPERTY FLOATERS
PLATE GLASS
PHYSICIANS' LIABILITY
PRODUCT LIABILITY
PROFITS INSURANCE
PROJECTING MACHINE FLOATERS
RADIUM INSURANCE
RAIN INSURANCE
RENT OR RENTAL VALUE INSURANCE
RIOT AND CIVIL COMMOTION
SALESMEN'S FLOATERS
SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS (ALL RISKS)
SILVERWARE (ALL RISKS)
SPRINKLER LEAKAGE
TORNADO INSURANCE
TOURISTS FLOATERS
TRANSPORTATION FLOATERS ANNUAL
TRANSPORTATION TRIP INSURANCE
WEDDING PRESENT FLOATERS

April
4th.,
1942.

Miss Grace Tully,
President's Secretary,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Tully:

In the President's mention of defense of the four freedoms, I believe it to be the consensus of national opinion that the most important is freedom of religion. In freedom of religion we are able to experience a love and duty to "GOD" without which existence would lose its value. In the American way of life we believe that the Church shall not meddle with politics and the government shall not meddle with religion. In group living with one another there can be no security for a man who lacks religious principle. This is manifested in our love for our fellowman which can only live and exist in our hearts.

I am enclosing a clipping from the April 2nd edition of The Cleveland Plain Dealer which depicts the contribution of our Most Rev. Auxiliary Bishop James F. McFadden in giving Cleveland's draft selectees a patriotic send-off to the Army Camps. It was at Bishop McFadden's suggestion that the PARMADALE BAND, which is made up of YOUNG CATHOLIC ORPHANS, be used to give the draftees a rousing send-off. This is only one of the many civic contributions of the Church of Cleveland.

I am also forwarding under separate cover two thermometers from the Insurance Company of North America, one of the companies I represent, and the company which has provided the underground steel air-raid shelter for the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia.

I pray the goodness of life and the benediction of EASTER will remain with you forever and I also pray that EASTER will bring the PRESIDENT - peace, happiness and contentment.

Respectfully as ever,

Marie L. McGinty.

MLM:M
ENCL.

April 10, 1942

My dear Miss McGinty:

I have received your letter of April fourth. The gifts to which you refer have been handed to the President and I can assure you that he deeply appreciates your friendly thoughts in sending them to him.

It is exceedingly gratifying to the President to know that he has your prayers.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

Miss Marie L. McGinty,
710 The Union Commerce Building,
Cleveland,
Ohio.

ms

Evelyn Isariotis (Writer)
430 West 16th St.
Kansas City Mo.

12

P.P.F. 9-I

April 6, 1942

Stenoroom

My dear Miss Isariotis:

This will acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March second. It was kind indeed of Mrs. Condos to want the President to have the sketch made by her son and he asks if you will not be good enough to convey his sincere thanks to her, as well as his good wishes.

xP.P.F. 9-S

Your courtesy in the matter is very much appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

X

Miss Evelyn Isariotis,
430 West 16th Street,
Kansas City,
Missouri.

B

ms

Evelyn Isariotis (Writer)
430 West 16th St.
Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. Smith
Mail Room

Artist died in 1939
28

Address of artist is on back of portrait.

3/30/42

Acc'd 4-6-42 mrs

4-3495-3496
/ORYCRAFT

12

of a friend of
uri, who is a
her happiness
or our wonderful
country, the

Mrs. Cor passed away August
22, 1939. I ief resume of Nick
Condos' case

He was born in San Francisco, California in 1915 of Greek parentage who were very poor, as Nick's father died and left five little children with no income or insurance. Therefore, Nick's life was one struggle after another to receive an education and to support his family.

Nick had one ambition, and that was to become a great artist someday. He worked by day to support his family and would sit for hours by candle light and kerosene lamp to do his sketches, as he was determined that someday he would be a success.

He was compensated later, when a friend discovered Nick's remarkable talent and recommended him to the Kansas City Journal newspaper to draw for the sports and theater sections. He did his work so splendidly that he received much publicity therefore, becoming exceedingly popular in the art field.

In 1936 he became head artist for the W.P.A. Construction labor works, making blue prints until his death in 1939.

Nick Condos was your friend dear President. He took pride in making sketches of the presidents of the U. S., but your photograph he exhibited very proudly to his many friends and wished to send it to you. Therefore, I am sending you this photograph and I shall know that we fulfilled Nick Condos' last wish.

Very respectfully,
Evelyn Isariotis

Evelyn Isariotis (Writer)
430 West 16th St.
Kansas City Mo.

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12

L 4-3495-3496
VORYCRAFT

2, 1942

President F
White House
Washington,

Dear Presid

I am wr ehalf of a friend of
mine, Mrs. S Missouri, who is a
Greek lady, to you her happiness
for the sple ing for our wonderful
country, the

Mrs. Co passed away August
22, 1939. I ief resume of Nick
Condos' case

He was born in San Francisco, California in 1915 of Greek parentage who were very poor, as Nick's father died and left five little children with no income or insurance. Therefore, Nick's life was one struggle after another to receive an education and to support his family.

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Very respectfully,

Evelyn Isariotis

Evelyn Isariotis (Writer)
430 West 16th St.
Kansas City, Mo.

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Mr. Kao
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March 2, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Roosevelt:

I am writing you this letter in behalf of a friend of mine, Mrs. Sam Condos of Kansas City, Missouri, who is a Greek lady, and who wished to express to you her happiness for the splendid work which you are doing for our wonderful country, the U.S.A.

Mrs. Condos had a splendid son who passed away August 22, 1939. I shall try to give you a brief resume of Nick Condos' case history.

He was born in San Francisco, California in 1915 of Greek parentage who were very poor, as Nick's father died and left five little children with no income or insurance. Therefore, Nick's life was one struggle after another to receive an education and to support his family.

Nick had one ambition, and that was to become a great artist someday. He worked by day to support his family and would sit for hours by candle light and kerosene lamp to do his sketches, as he was determined that someday he would be a success.

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Very respectfully,

Evelyn Isariotis

Evelyn Isariotis (Writer)
430 West 16th St.
Kansas City Mo.

NED G. LEVIEN, B. CHEM. B.C.S.
PRESIDENT
FOSTER MONACO
VICE-PRESIDENT
E. W. LEVIEN
TREAS.-SEC'Y

Ivorycraft Company, Inc.

PHONE: STILLWELL 4-3495-3496
CABLE ADDRESS: IVORYCRAFT

12

SUMNERLIN, Hon. George T.
State Department
Washington, D. C.
May 5, 1942.

Letter to Miss Tully transmitting copy of dispatch dated 1/20/42 from the American Ambassador at Chungking, transmitting for the President at the request of the National Art Society of China, on behalf of Mr. Kao Tien-hsing, a member of the Society, a tapestry box containing a pair of stone seals engraved for the President by Mr. Kao a box of Chinese seal ink, and a seal brush, together with a sample sheet of the seals with a translation thereof and copies in translation of letters addressed to the President by the Nat'l Art Society and by Mr. Kao. Copy of Mr. Sumerlin's letter retained for our files. The papers and articles referred to above were sent to Mr. Shipman by Registered Mail by memo dated 5/19/42 initialed F.D.R. saying "This is a very lovely example of Chinese art and I think it is worth showing with an explanation".

P.P.F. 9-K

See P.P.F. 9 - K

maf

NED G. LEVIEN, B. CHEM. B.C.S.
PRESIDENT
FOSTER MONACO
VICE-PRESIDENT
E. W. LEVIEN
TREAS.-SEC'Y

PHONE: STILLWELL 4-3495-3496
CABLE ADDRESS: IVORYCRAFT

Ivorycraft Company, Inc.

MANUFACTURERS

40-17 Twenty-Second Street, Long Island City, N.Y.

ack for
Ack-ack
give Mrs R's to
her office
file

rec'd
5/20/42
ack

P.P.F.
9-1

May 12, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that we are herewith enclosing Mrs. Roosevelt's Identification Tag and your own which we know is in keeping with your own expressed ideas.

It might interest you to know that we are supplying over a million and a half to the New York City Board of Education, each Identification Tag bearing the full name, age, and identifying number of each individual child coming under their jurisdiction.

If one of your secretaries would be kind enough to give us the full names and information desired, we will be pleased to make up Identification Tags for Sissie and the other grandchildren, and also, for Mr. Harry Hopkin's daughter.

These are Bakelite Tags and illustrate how Plastics can replace strategic metals.

x P.P.F.
9-1

Respectfully submitted,

IVORYCRAFT COMPANY, INC.

President

NGL:RBB
enc

Study

RPT

June 8, 1942

May 28, 1942

My dear Mr. Levien:

Your letter of May twelfth has been received and I want to thank you on behalf of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt for the identification tags to which you refer. I can assure you that they appreciate your kind thought of them.

I need hardly add that these gifts can be accepted only with the understanding that there will be no publicity in connection with their presentation.

Very sincerely yours,

GRACE G. TULLY

N. G. Levien, Esq.,
Ivorycraft Company, Inc.,
40-17 Twenty-Second Street,
Long Island City,
New York.

cap

CC: To Mrs. Lund with 2 identification tags for Mrs. Roosevelt.

Stephen Early

June 8, 1942

PPF 9-I

Dear Mr. Frazier:

Many thanks for your letter of May twenty-ninth. Your action in making available a copy of THE INLAND PRINTER, containing an adaptation of the Treasury Department's standard Savings Bond poster is greatly appreciated. I shall be glad to make it available to the President at the first opportunity.

x21
x4408 mscl

x PPF 9 M

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

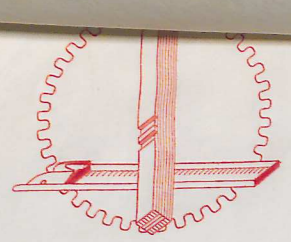
Mr. J. L. Frazier,
Editor,
THE INLAND PRINTER,
309 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

AW:mb

May 29, 1942

JLF:lw

J. L. Frazier, Editor
THE INLAND PRINTER



The Inland Printer

J. L. Frazier, Editor: The Leading Business and Technical Journal of the World in the Printing and Allied Industries

309 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Stephen Early,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Early:

On page 26 of the current issue of THE INLAND PRINTER which I am mailing you under separate cover, you will find an adaptation of the Treasury Department's standard Savings Bond poster which is given the position of the magazine's frontispiece.

Typographically, and from an advertising display point of view, this adaptation of the poster embodies some improvements over the original--particularly in the use of a second color and the arrangement of type.

Our use of this composition as the frontispiece was inspired by patriotic motives, as the page is left unprinted on the reverse side to enable our readers, the leading printers and publishers of the nation, to remove the page for display in their plants. We believe that it will help promote the sale of War Bonds and Stamps. Certainly, we hope that it will.

Naturally, we would be gratified if you saw fit to bring the poster adaptation before the attention of the President.

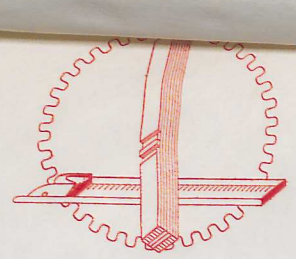
Sincerely yours,

J. L. Frazier

J. L. Frazier, Editor
THE INLAND PRINTER

May 29, 1942

JLF:lw



The Inland Printer

J. L. Frazier, Editor: The Leading Business and Technical Journal of the World in the Printing and Allied Industries

309 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Stephen Early,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Early:

Thanks a lot for your letter of June 8th. I am happy to know you are going to send the copy of our May issue on to the President, and I am sure he will be very glad to see the fine promotion we have given in our frontispiece of that issue to the sale of War Savings Bonds and Stamps. I believe it is going farther in the way of support, at least editorially, than any publication has gone. We have run several page advertisements to like effect.

I also feel that the design of our frontispiece is better than the poster which is used, particularly in clarity and general impressiveness. I always felt the line "For Defense," partly covered by the head of the Minute Man, was a weakness.

I appreciate, of course, how busy the President is, but I think it would be a very good idea if you could draft a letter for him to sign, the letter being to me, commenting on this design of the poster in some way. We would be happy to print the letter, which would have a further effect in stimulating the sale of Savings Bonds and Stamps.

Sincerely yours,

J. L. Frazier, Editor
THE INLAND PRINTER

June 12, 1942

JLF:lw

June 16, 1942

Dear Mr. Frazier:

In acknowledging your further letter of June twelfth, permit me to explain that ever since the President has been in the White House he has adhered strictly to the policy of not commenting in any way on literary, musical or artistic works submitted to him.

There have been innumerable posters and slogans and ideas submitted to the President in connection with the campaign to sell War Bonds and Stamps and as the President has not commented on any of them, I am sure you will understand why he could not make an exception by writing the letter you request.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. J. L. Frazier,
Editor,
THE INLAND PRINTER,
309 West Jackson Boulevard,
Chicago, Illinois.

RR:mb

TR:AVA

reversed.

TRANSLATOR'S SUMMARY OF COMMUNICATION

PP.7.
9-I

Language in which written: Spanish

Date of communication: July 22, 1942

Addressed to: The President

Name and address of writer: Israel Inciarte
Independencia 82
Valencia, Venezuela.

+ PP.79-B

Substance of statements made by the writer: By registered mail he is sending the President a copy of his book "Eventus Satanae" [The Fate of Satan] which will be followed by another, "Una Major Vida" or "Secretos de Dicha robados a Satanás" [A Better Life, or Secrets of Happiness Stolen from Satan]. Between them, these two books will provide a panacea against univeral economic difficulties.

Request made in communication:

Remarks:

TR:AVA

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Date of communication: July 22, 1942

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Request made in communication:

Remarks:

TR:AVA

WH

ISRAEL INCIARTE
INDEPENDENCIA 82
VALENCIA

Valencia (Venezuela): 22 de Julio de 1942

TO STATE DEPT.
OCT 5 = 1942
for TRANSLATION

Sr Franklin D. Roosvelt.
Presidente de los E.E. U.U. de América
Washington

Muy apreciado Sr. Presidente:

Por correo-certificado- me tomo la libertad de enviarle un ejemplar de la obra Eventos Satana, de la cual soy autor, la que espero será del agrado de su espíritu democrático y no menos elevado criterio.

Luego, al editarse, tendré el gusto de hacer llegar a sus manos "Una Mejor Vida" o "Secretos de Dicha robados a Satanás," donde se expone y se prueba con números la teoría para el Bienestar humano dejada entrever en la anterior, que me parece muy realizable y que considero como una panacea contra el Malestar Económico Universal. Ojalá que a su alto juicio lo fuese también y que mereciese el honor de la acción, en la seguridad de que se haría, aun mas, inmortal su nombre y con él el de su gobierno.

Soy de Ud. Sr. Presidente,
Israel Inciarte

U.S. BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 7 1942

ack 8/21/42 dd.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

ack 9.7. Study

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUL 24 9 27 AM '42
RECEIVED

July 22, 1942.

P.P. 7
9-I

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Institute on World Organization, I have the honor to present to you herewith a copy of "World Organization: A Balance Sheet of the First Great Experiment."

xPPF
9-B

This volume contains the lectures and addresses delivered at the sessions of the Institute on World Organization held on the campus of The American University in September, 1941. The second annual session will be held September 8-14, 1942, at The American University. The objective of this year's proceedings will be: "The Future of World Organization: General and Regional Problems."

The Institute is a group, international in personnel and outlook, most of whose members have had years of experience in international relations and administration. The Institute supports the thesis that constructive work for future organization must be based upon experience. It endeavors to arrange for objective studies that will make a concrete contribution toward the solution of post-war problems.

Yours respectfully,

Paul F. Douglass

Paul F. Douglass,
President.

PFD/W

S P O N S O R S

Mme. L. Dreyfus-Barney
Dr. Clarence A. Berdahl
Mrs. Emmons Blaine
Dr. George H. Blakeslee
Dr. Philip Marshall Brown
Rev. Fred S. Buschmeyer
Dr. Ben M. Cherrington
Mr. William H. Cochran
Mrs. Avery Coonley
General William Crozier
Dr. William C. Dennis
President Paul H. Douglass
Dr. Clyde Eagleton
Dr. Ellen D. Ellis
Dr. C. G. Fenwick
Dr. D. F. Fleming
Dr. Harry A. Garfield
Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld
President Harry D. Gideonse
Rev. C. Leslie Glenn
Dr. Ernest S. Griffith
Dr. Clarence H. Haring
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman
Rev. Frederick Brown Harris
Mr. M. H. Hedges
Dr. Emily Hickman
President Fred. G. Holloway
Mrs. Hennen Jennings
President R. B. von Kleinsmid
Dr. Walter M. Kotschnig
Dr. John Howland Lathrop
Dr. Waldo G. Leland
Bishop A. W. Leonard
Rev. Albert J. McCartney
Hon. Edward F. McGrady
Mr. George Maurice Morris
Dr. William A. Neilson
Dr. Ernest M. Patterson
Mr. Clarence E. Pickett
Dr. Harold S. Quigley
President Bessie C. Randolph
Dr. Carl F. Remer
Mr. George Rublee
Rev. John W. Rustin
Msgr. John A. Ryan
Hon. Wm. Franklin Sands
Dr. James T. Shotwell
Dr. Henry I. Stahr
Dr. Eugene Staley
Admiral Wm. H. Standley
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Hon. Charles Warren
Professor John B. Whitton
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Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Mr. Lester H. Woolsey
Dr. Quincy Wright
Dr. George F. Zook

COMMITTEE

Ricardo J. Alfaro, William E. Armstrong, Laura Dreyfus-Barney, Henri Bonnet, Philip Marshall Brown, Paul F. Douglass, Elizabeth Eastman, Jan Hostie, Ethel M. Johnson, Laura Puffer Morgan, Bertram Pickard, Pitman B. Potter, Ellery C. Stowell, Arthur Sweetser, Hon. Charles Warren, Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer.

August 21, 1942

My dear Dr. Douglass:

Your letter of July twenty-second, with the enclosure, has been received and I want to thank you in the President's behalf for the copy of the book to which you refer. I can assure you that your courtesy in sending it is very much appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

B

Dr. Paul F. Douglass,
President,
The American University,
Washington, D. C.

dd

WORLD ORGANIZATION: A Balance Sheet of the First Great Experiment.

October 6, 1942

P.P.F. 9-I

My dear Mr. Hardesty:

The President has received the letter from you and Mr. Leo L. Ortiz and asks me to thank you for your courtesy in sending the pictures to him. He much appreciates your friendly thought of him and wants you and everyone concerned to know how grateful he is for your assurance of support.

XP.P.F.9-P

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

A. R. Hardesty, Esq.,
Del Norte Courts,
El Paso,
Texas.

ms

ack: Print Case
U. S.

acre 1/6/42

EL PASO, Texas,
September 14, 1942

Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President, United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President: x407-A

Under separate cover we are mailing you pictures of our International Labor Day Celebration in El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico, September 7, 1942. We hope these pictures will in a small way show you the interest manifested here in organized labor. x146-A

Permit us to express our deep appreciation for all you have done for organized labor. Be assured of our continued and complete support to you in this crisis. Your wishes are our commands.

Respectfully,

Leo L Ortiz
Leo Ortiz, Representative
International Union of Mine,
Mill and Smelter Workers.

Box 573
El Paso
Texas

A. R. Hardesty
A. R. Hardesty, Representative
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

ARH:emd

x2546

Del Norte Courts
El Paso Tex

October 12, 1942

P.P.F. 9-I

My dear Mrs. Isahagian:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of September twenty-sixth and for your courtesy in sending him the copy of the booklet to which you refer. He appreciates your friendly thought of him and is indeed grateful for your kind expressions.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

xP.P.F.7-9-B

Mrs. Lily N. Isahagian,
541 East San Jose Avenue,
Burbank,
California.

dd

encl. atte.

ack 9/27

ek 10/12/42 ed.

Burbank, California
September 26, 1942

To The President of the United States of America
Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am very happy to be able to sent you a copy of the 20th. Anniversery Number of the , Armenian Apostolic Holy Cross Church. Being sent under seperate cover. With your picture in it.

I am a Citizen of the United States and have lived here for the past eighteen years. I come from Armenia and during the World War No. 1. all Armenian homes had the picture of President Woodrow Wilson in them, as a tribute to him. He was always so condiderate of all the small Nations and with all my heart I feel that you will carry on the great work started by him.

I do hold you in great esteem and the Armenian Church prays for your safety in these perilous times. We think you are the greatest leader since George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

George Washington was the Father of the United States of America and I am confidant that after this struggle we are going through that you will be looked upon as the Father of the Whole World.

Yours in Loyalty to the
United States of America.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lily N Isahagian

BB. —
to study
MG —

PPF
9-I

The President is pleased to accept that picture of the flag which you so courteously sent him in behalf of the members of the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers with your nice note of September twenty-second. His appreciative thanks go to all of you with this little note.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

x PPF
9-P

John J. O'Keefe, Esq.,
Secretary-Treasurer,
International Association of
Cleaning and Dye House Workers,
1583 West Ogden Avenue,
Chicago,
Illinois.

cap

October 28, 1942

PPF 9-I

My dear Mr. O'Keefe:

The President is pleased to accept that picture of the flag which you so courteously sent him in behalf of the members of the International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers with your nice note of September twenty-second. His appreciative thanks go to all of you with this little note.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

John J. O'Keefe, Esq.,
Secretary-Treasurer,
International Association of
Cleaning and Dye House Workers,
1583 West Ogden Avenue,
Chicago,
Illinois.

cap

BB
Sent to
Mrs Ray Cahill
by I.A.
QST

...CIATION OF
...USE WORKERS
...3

...oor
...or

...enue

...Treasurer

TRUSTEES
Marguerite Reed
Ocie Riddle
Leo Kuss
Joseph P. Murphy
Clarence Forde

(11)

acld
10-25-42
Ltr

September 22, 1942.

Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept the enclosed picture as a token of appreciation from our Local Union.

Respectfully yours,

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE
WORKERS, LOCAL UNION NO. 3.

John J. O'Keefe

JJO/js

Secretary-Treasurer

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKE

LOCAL UNION No. 3

Affiliated with the
American Federation of Labor
Chicago Federation of Labor

Haymarket 4062

1583 West Ogden Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.

JOHN J. O'KEEFE, Secretary-Treasurer

554

September

...Groh, Recording Secretary

Ack; Give to me G.T.

OFFICERS
...nberg, *President*
...muel Wagner, *Vice-President*
Phillip Groh, *Recording Secretary*

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS
LOCAL UNION No. 3
Affiliated with the
American Federation of Labor
Chicago Federation of Labor
Haymarket 4062
1583 West Ogden Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHN J. O'KEEFE, Secretary-Treasurer
554

TRUSTEES
Marguerite Reed
Ocie Riddle
Leo Kuss
Joseph P. Murphy
Clarence Forde

September 22, 1942.

Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept the enclosed picture as a token of appreciation from our Local Union.

Respectfully yours,

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE
WORKERS, LOCAL UNION NO. 3.

John J. O'Keefe

JJO/js

Secretary-Treasurer

OFFICERS
...einberg, *President*
...amuel Wagner, *Vice-President*
Phillip Groh, *Recording Secretary*

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS

LOCAL UNION No. 3

Affiliated with the
American Federation of Labor
Chicago Federation of Labor

Haymarket 4062
1583 West Ogden Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHN J. O'KEEFE, Secretary-Treasurer

554

TRUSTEES
Marguerite Reed
Ocie Riddle
Leo Kuss
Joseph P. Murphy
Clarence Forde

August 17, 1942

Fellow Member;

This flag comes to you with the compliments of Local Union No. 3. You will find the picture suitable for framing. Display this flag in a public place, so that all the world may know you are an American and proud of it.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt is the Commander-in-Chief of our army. Upon him falls the task of leading us on to victory. However, as great as the job may be, and the tremendous responsibility of his problems, it does not rest alone on his shoulders. It is our job, each and every one of us, and only by our consciousness of our American way of life, and by putting our shoulders to the wheel, can we win. By our contributions and actual efforts will we succeed.

Therefore, let us, not as different races, but as Americans, do the task set before us. We want our union by its unanimous cooperation in the war effort, to rank high in the finale, to show that we as an organization of varied creeds and nationalities have stood as a united whole.

Be proud of your flag and let it wave over the free men of the world. IT CAN--IT MUST--IT WILL!

Yours for victory,

John J O'Keefe

Secretary-Treasurer.

November 23, 1942

PPF 9-I

My dear Mr. Inman:

The President has noted with interest all that you say in your letter of November thirteenth. He has asked me to convey his thanks to you for your courtesy in sending him the inscribed copy of your book LATIN AMERICA: Its Place in World Life.

PPF 9-D

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

Samuel Guy Inman, Esq.,
Pondfield Court,
Bronxville,
New York.

pl

Dele
Finder
497

SAMUEL GUY INMAN
PONDFIELD COURT
BRONXVILLE, NEW YORK
November 13,1942

ahd
11/23/42
pe

My Dear Mr.President ;

I am taking the privilege of sending you an inscribed copy of my latest book on Latin America. Although I do not dare hope that you will have a chance, in these terrific days,to read it,you may find it useful when facing some sudden question in relation to Argentina, Chile,Mexico or other country. In the first chapter, "Thinking Continentally", you will find my enthusiastic commendation of the far reaching Good Neighbor Policy. It has been a pleasure to commend this Policy in hundreds of addresses and articles during the last several years.

Please allow me to congratulate you and to thank you for the great offensive in Africa,which brings new hope to all the world.

Yours obedient servant and faithful friend,

Samuel Guy Inman

The Honorable Franklyn D.Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House,
Washington , D.C.

PPF-9-I

BRYAN, Captain H. Ross
c/o Postmaster, New York City, N.Y.
November 4, 1942. Ackd. 11/16/42.

Let. to the President, enclosing ivory letter opener from above and two other members of the armed forces who are serving outside of the U. S. To vitrine in the President's study. On Nov. 16, 1942 the above received Presidential acknowledgment as follows: "My dear Captain Bryan: Many, many thanks to you and to Lieutenant Milton Langsner and Lieutenant William W. Mabe for that handsome gift. I am more than pleased to have it. My sincere good wishes go to each of you with this little note. Very sincerely yours, (Sgd) Franklin D. Roosevelt."

ilo

SEE: PPF 9-B

PP 7
9-I

November 16, 1942

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge the receipt of the copy of the book which you forwarded recently. Your courtesy is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

x PP 7
9/B

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

International Publishers Co., Inc.,
381 Fourth Avenue,
New York,
New York.

pl

The book is VICTORY AND AFTER by Earl Browder. Sent in by the International Pub. Inc.,

PP.7:
9-I

December 31, 1942

PP.7:9-B
+ pp.7:9

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Ishill:

I have been pleased to make available to the President that little book you sent him, conveying the Season's greetings. He asks me to thank you very much for your kind thought and to extend his good wishes to you for the coming year.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully
Private Secretary

x

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Ishill,
The Oriole Press,
Berkeley Heights,
New Jersey.

B

eb

INSTEAD
OF A
Christmas Carol

DEC. 1942

INSTEAD OF A CHRISTMAS CAROL

*

INSTEAD OF

A

CHRISTMAS CAROL

INCLUDING

THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S
UNITED FLAG DAY ADDRESS



PUBLISHED AND PRINTED PRIVATELY BY
« THE ORIOLE PRESS »
BERKELEY HEIGHTS, NEW JERSEY
1942

Don't Crowd

Don't crowd, your world is broad enough
For you as well as me;
The doors of art are open wide —
The realm of thought is free;
In all earth's places you are right
To chase the best you can —
Provided that you do not try
To crowd some other man.

Don't crowd the good from out your heart,
By fostering all that's bad,
But give to every virtue room —
The best that may be had;
Be each day's record such a one
That you may well be proud;
Give each his right — give each his room
And never try to crowd.

— CHARLES DICKENS



AFTER A WOODCUT BY WILLIAM BLAKE

Instead of a Christmas Carol

IN BY-GONE YEARS WE LOOKED FORWARD EAGERLY TO THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS whose biblical promise and happy festivity are enshrined in the heart of a universal humanity. ¶ But even then Christmas was beginning to evoke a new spirit in addition to the traditional one. The leaven of democracy was at work among the people; they were learning to understand the

significance of a more fundamental sharing in a more harmonious world. Then, alas, dark and destructive forces suddenly descended upon mankind; the whirlwind blew out light after light; the lamps were shattered and the oil spilt so that the illumination by which men guided their steps throughout countless centuries went dark in a little space of time.

¶ And so for many this Christmas will not be, as it was in the past, an occasion for joy in the redemption of celestial promise. Many whom we know and love are not in their accustomed places; they are in strange lands, on distant battlefronts, beneath alien skies and seas fighting the good fight, the old, old struggle of good against evil to the end that all we are and hope to be may survive.

¶ We therefore beg the indulgence of our friends because this Christmas we send them greeting other than a Christmas card—something in place

of a Christmas Carol. For in the immortal work of Dickens, Tiny Tim could be, and was, healed by those benevolent agencies already in the gift of a mankind slowly evolving toward a fuller harmony with his fellow-men. It was only Tiny Tim's body which nature had marred and man could heal. In spirit Tiny Tim was soundest of all in that divine work. But today it is different. Not an impersonal, large-minded nature, but brute force incarnate and with deliberate malevolence has struck down the Tiny Tims of the world, both old and young, with a calculated cruelty aimed at the most inviolable place, their individual and exquisitely differentiated personalities which together make up all the diverse beauty of soul and mind. For those there will have to be a fundamental healing. They must be taught that their inviolability is really intact; we must seal up the broken portals through which so ill a wind was loosed upon them.

¶ This fundamental healing has been outlined in that impressive statement by one who is even today acknowledged as a harbinger of good tidings to those in every land who are cowering defenseless in the storm, our President of the U. S. A.—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Strength has been given him for his great mission, the liberation of mankind, not only for this century, but for all time.

¶ Following is the text of President Roosevelt's UNITED FLAG DAY address which is herein included with the Season's greetings of—

ROSE FREEMAN-ISHILL & JOSEPH ISHILL

Berkeley Heights, New Jersey
December, 1942.

¶ The text of President Roosevelt's United Flag Day address

WASHINGTON, JUNE 14, 1942.

TODAY ON FLAG DAY WE CELEBRATE THE DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS — THAT GREAT ALLIANCE dedicated to the defeat of our foes and to the establishment of a true peace based on the freedom of man. Today the Republic of Mexico and the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands join us. We welcome these valiant peoples to the company of those who fight for freedom.

¶ The four freedoms of common humanity are as much elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies—deprive him of a part of them

and a part of him withers. Give them to him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man.

¶ These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live. This is their heritage, long withheld. We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage.

¶ The belief in the four freedoms of common humanity—the belief in man, created free, in the image of God—is the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face today. In it lies the absolute unity of our alliance, opposed to the oneness of the evil we hate. Here is our strength, the source and promise of victory.

¶ We of the United Nations know that our faith cannot be broken by any man or any force. And we know that there are other millions who in their silent captivity share our belief.

¶ We ask the German people, still dominated

by their Nazi whip-masters, whether they would rather have the mechanized hell of Hitler's "new" order or—in place of that, freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear.

¶ We ask the Japanese people, trampled by their savage lords of slaughter, whether they would rather continue slavery and blood or have in place of them, freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear.

¶ We ask the brave, unconquered people of the nations the Axis invaders have dishonored and despoiled whether they would rather yield to conquerors or—have freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear.

¶ We know the answer. They know the answer. We know that man, born to freedom in the image of God will not forever suffer the oppressors' sword. The peoples of the United Nations are taking the sword from the oppressors' hands.

With it they will destroy those tyrants. The brazen tyrannies pass. Man marches forward toward the light.

¶ I am going to close by reading you a prayer that has been written for the United Nations on this day:

"God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives today to the cause of all free mankind.

"Grant us victory over the tyrants who would enslave all free men and nations. Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. Grant us brotherhood in hope and union, not only for the space of this bitter war, but for the days to come which shall and must unite all the children of earth.

"Our earth is but a small star in the great universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a

planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, color or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man.

"The spirit of man has awakened and the soul of man has gone forth. Grant us the wisdom and the vision to comprehend the greatness of man's spirit, that suffers and endures so hugely for a goal beyond his own brief span. Grant us honor for our dead who died in the faith, honor for our living who work and strive for the faith, redemption and security for all captive lands and peoples. Grant us patience with the deluded and pity for the betrayed. And grant us the skill and the valor that shall cleanse the world of oppression and the old base doctrine that the strong must eat the weak because they are strong.

"Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day but for all our years—a brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds. We are all of us children of earth—grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure. Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace—that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands but throughout the world. And in that faith let us march toward the clean world our hands can make. Amen."

INSTEAD OF A CHRISTMAS CAROL,

including the text of President Roosevelt's UNITED FLAG DAY address which concludes with a prayer by Stephen Benet, was hand-set with the Garamond types. Edition limited to one-hundred-and-sixty copies; none for sale.



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