

with wrath and anger but their faces are all cheerful smiles.

Irigoyen, though charming, is too much of a realist and too sincere to indulge in histrionics. He cares nothing for show. He has never lived in the presidential palace. He dislikes making speeches, yet he can talk an opponent around to his point of view with ease and tact. It is interesting to note how he is winning over his political enemies in these early months of his second term. He is almost the only Latin American living who, without beating around the bush, would consign an antagonist to a region hotter than the tropics. Not that he is the "Hell-and-Maria" type; he simply does not like to waste time. He is impervious to public opinion and he has an uncommonly lofty conception of his office and of his function in life. Who but Irigoyen would refuse to declare war against Germany when the legislature of his country overwhelmingly voted for war; when Argentine students, those passionate and effective molders of public opinion, clamored for war; when all "enlightened" people spat "Pro-German" in his face? Who but Irigoyen could refuse to capitulate to war hysteria? None! Whether it was because he was for Germany or not is beside the point. His whole public life is proof that Irigoyen is above everything, at all times, in all places, pro-Argentina. In the second place, he is pro-Latin America; but mainly because he believes Argentina's present and future are more closely linked with her Spanish-speaking neighbors than with the United States or with Europe.

He does not dislike foreign investments but invites

them. He does believe, however, that a parallel movement, sinking deeper the roots of Argentine culture, should go on more speedily than the influx of outside capital and the cultures it represents. The roots of Argentine culture are in Spain. Therefore his interest in Spain and things Spanish. The more Argentina's roots are nourished in Spain the more sturdy the branches and flowers in Argentina, the less liable to blight by contact with the thorns or the fruits of other civilizations.

Irigoyen is now seventy-four years old, hale and hearty and energetic. He still lives something of a hermit's life. He is rich and has never accepted his salary as President, but has always turned it over to charity. This may account for his extreme honesty with regard to public funds. He enjoys the confidence of the people. Though of aristocratic birth he has become identified with the masses and is, therefore, not the idol of the landed aristocrats who own 80 per cent of Argentine land. He has been a professor of history and psychology at the University of Buenos Aires. He sees clearly and seems to lack the emotionalism of most Latins. He is a radical but his radicalism must be studied in the light of the extreme conservatism of the landed aristocracy of his country.

Because of his fearlessness, his devotion to Latin-American welfare, his experience and personality, many Latin Americans pin their faith on Irigoyen. They believe that he alone can stem the tide of North American political and economic imperialism.

Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization

By RUDIGER BILDEN



A CERTAIN German traveler of the early nineteenth century sneeringly stigmatized Brazil as "das Land der Affen, Pfaffen, Ratten, und Mulatten." The ubiquitous Harry Franck contemptuously speaks of the Brazilian people in his "Working North from Patagonia" as a "mongrel race" ruled by a "mulatto government." Like characterizations might be cited ad infinitum. Whether expressly stated or broadly implied, their meaning is always the same: the heterogeneous racial origin of the Brazilian spells inferiority. Unfortunately, these opinions cannot be dismissed as readily as one dismisses their authors, for they reflect a well-nigh universal attitude, notoriously more prevalent in the United States than in Europe, despite all

protestations of Pan-American brotherhood and amity. Even the Argentinian, boastful of purer European descent, affects to look down upon his Brazilian neighbor. Nor is the attitude confined to the popular mind. Scientists who should know better commit similar intellectual atrocities against Latin America, and Brazil in particular.

To make matters worse, condemnation abroad is echoed in Brazil. Due chiefly to the influence of foreign literature, European immigration, and, of late, American prestige and penetration, many Brazilians are inclined to accept the al-

leged inferiority of colored races and the effects of intermixture and hence to regard the future of their country as seriously prejudiced. At least two outstanding and influential writers, the sociologists Euclides da Cunha and Oliveira Vianna, take this pessimistic view. Too often has the writer met the argument from educated Brazilians: "What can you expect of a nation descendant from Portuguese, Indians, and Negroes?" In such cases it is futile to suggest that the explanation might be historical rather than biological; that the probable cause of existing evils is not organic, but environmental; not race, but a combination of flexible, inter-related forces, such as century-long domination and exploitation by a prematurely exhausted and decadent Portugal, colonial isolation, four centuries of slavery, attendant social conditions, lack of sufficient and healthy immigration, cultural inbreeding, etc. Such an interpretation is too complex and involves too great a mental strain.

Territorially immense, partly unexplored, highly diversified in topography, climate, and human life, Brazil is still as to both natural and cultural phenomena largely an unknown quantity, despite a century of scientific study by foreigners and the very creditable work done by the Brazilians themselves within more recent years. Moreover, available information, which at best is fragmentary in proportion to the vastness and complexity of the field, is not popularly diffused, least of all perhaps in the United States. Goodwill is a commendable state of mind, but likely to be sterile

unless supported by at least elementary knowledge of the country which is its object. For example, ignorance of the fact that Brazil is Portuguese in origin and language precludes any understanding of Brazilian culture and most particularly of the race problem, for both were fundamentally determined by the course and character of Portuguese colonization.

The following basic facts must be grasped at the outset: Brazil is not simply one of twenty-odd countries "south of the Rio Grande," but one of the two great divisions which form the entity conveniently, but somewhat incongruously, termed Latin America. As Portuguese America, it is in territory and population to Spanish America approximately in the ratio of two to three. The fact that it is today, more even than Anglo-America, a political and national unit and not, like Spanish America, split up into a motley array of states, is due chiefly to the action of forces born of Portuguese colonization.

Difference in mode of settlement, conditioned by difference in historical development at home and in environment overseas, determined the pronounced distinction between the two divisions of Latin America. While the Spaniard, sword in one hand and cross in the other, went in quest of gold, adventure, and proselytes, the prosaic and realistic Portuguese made of his portion of the New World that for which it was ideally suited—the greatest agricultural colony and for centuries the proverbial land of dye-wood, sugar, tobacco, and other tropical products. When English colonists in North America numbered only hundreds and the Spanish were still busy choking treasures out of Mexico and Peru, the Portuguese had covered the Brazilian coast from the Amazon almost to the La Plata with a continuous chain of healthy, prosperous settlements. He did this by a threefold system: plantation agriculture, slavery, and racial amalgamation. His action is customarily explained on the basis of inherent characteristics produced by his well-known polygenetic origin. But why look so far for a cause when historical factors provide a quite satisfactory explanation? Compelled early by a combination of forces to take to the sea, Portugal had developed during the fifteenth century the African slave trade, sugar culture, and plantation slavery as integral parts of its pioneer service in ocean navigation and exploration. During the following century it held, with a population hardly exceeding a million and a half, a vast empire, including Brazil, most of the African coast, a large part of the Asiatic, and the East Indian islands. The extent and character of Portuguese overseas enterprise, shortage of man-power, the tropical climate, the sparsity and very primitive state of the indigenous population, and related factors combined to bring about the colonization of Brazil by means of the latifundium, imported slave labor, and the creation of a half-breed class suited to the milieu and wedded to the Lusitanian cause. By no other system could Portugal have maintained and developed the possession.

Miscegenation was officially encouraged in Brazil for reasons of state. Besides, it was practiced individually from necessity and habit. White women being scarce, the early

settlers readily cohabited with their Indian and Negro slaves. Indeed everything favored full indulgence in a propensity acquired by the Portuguese during the long centuries of Moorish conquest of Portugal and later during the first colonial ventures on the African coast. Though sometimes received into the master class or reduced to servitude, the offspring went for the most part to form a useful and necessary class of free and half-free retainers. In consequence, Brazil grew up as a slave society in which the pure white element was numerically inferior and race lines were drawn more loosely than in any other country of European origin. Later developments operated to accentuate this trend.

It would be erroneous, however, to assume that no animosity whatsoever existed between the three fundamental ethnic groups: white, Indian, and Negro. To be sure, the first of these participated in the intermixture incomparably more by concubinage than marriage. The general stratification of society according to race, the fact that the ruling and proprietary class was predominantly white, the slave class Indian or Negro, and the intermediary, propertyless class hybrid, produced necessarily a certain amount of racial discrimination and friction. On the other hand, the character of Portuguese colonization precluded such rigid identity of race and class as existed in the English and Dutch colonies and to a less extent in the French and Spanish, and made for considerable overlapping of the lines which steadily increased with time. This tendency was intensified by the action of the distinctive Brazilian milieu. Less harsh, at the same time more humane and morally lax than any corresponding system in America, Brazilian slavery and the society resting upon it almost placed a premium on inter-breeding, and left the bondman various avenues of escape into liberty. Increasingly, restrictions on the social and economic rise of

members of the enslaved races became less severe. What antagonism there was operated more among master, retainer, and slave, rather than among white, half-caste, and Indian or Negro. It tended to disappear as these social distinctions disappeared. Throughout the three centuries of the colonial regime a gradual but steady softening of race lines can be observed. It received its greatest single impetus during the Age of Independence (1808-1831), with the termination of the political and social supremacy of the European Portuguese and the consequent solidarity of all free Brazilians, regardless of race, against the mother country. Thereafter the modernization of Brazilian life and the gradual abolition of slavery (1808-1888), culminating in the Emancipation Act (1888), and followed up by the establishment of the Republic (1889), had the inevitable effect of greatly accelerating the social equalization and hence fusion of the diverse ethnic elements. It is a significant fact that, whereas the sudden, catastrophic solution of the slavery problem in the United States has sharpened racial antagonism and raised a cancerous growth in the social body, the rational and constructive solution of the same problem has produced in Brazil greater harmony and solidarity. Needless to say, however, this variance is originally and fundamentally conditioned by the different historical antecedents of Anglo-Saxon and Por-



tuguese and by contrasting methods of colonization employed in the two countries.

It may be said that Brazil has today neither race distinction nor race problem in the North American sense. It is the only land of European origin and background where three fundamental divisions of mankind meet on terms of comparative equality, live in peace side by side, and intermingle to form a new human compound, suited to the tropical milieu and endowed with distinctive gifts. To the three comes of late a fourth, the Japanese, albeit in numbers small thus far, but promising to become larger in the future. Yet at the most the last mentioned will always be a secondary and sectional ingredient.

Legal barriers between these groups are of course wholly absent. Social discrimination is slight and based on individual preference and class. Foreign residents, North European immigrants, and native Brazilians affected by foreign viewpoint show naturally less inclination to associate and intermingle with colored people. Moreover, the predominantly white upper class, largely descendant from the old slaveholding aristocracy and hence imbued to a certain extent with the tradition and psychology of the latter, refuses in the majority to mix by marriage with persons obviously of colored origin, although a certain percentage has done so in the past and still does, primarily for the same reasons that urge members of the oldest English and German nobility to marry Jewish heiresses. This animus works far more against the Negro than against the Indian, because the stigma of servitude rests chiefly on the former. In fact, the oldest and most aristocratic planter families of Pernambuco and S. Paulo point with pride to their sixteenth-century Indian ancestry. Families of less distinction behave likewise with regard to more recent admixture of the same blood. On the whole, discriminatory tendencies are held in check by the liberal and humane attitude generally prevailing in the country. Some years ago universal and vociferous indignation forced an American nursing school in Rio to rescind its refusal to accept a Negro girl as pupil. Everywhere in Brazil members of colored races, not excluding pure Negroes and Indians, are socially admitted to exclusive circles or intrusted with high political offices, provided they have the requisite qualifications. Numerous distinguished statesmen, politicians, scholars, artists, writers, etc., of the Empire and the Republic were more or less tainted with the blood of the slave. It would be an extensive list which attempted to name present-day Brazilians of this type, some of them representing the very peak of achievement.

Nevertheless, broadly speaking, race lines still follow class lines, despite generous overlapping. The lower the class, the darker the blood. In consequence, intermarriage, both absolute and relative, is most pronounced at the bottom. Nor could it be otherwise. The native white element was dominant for four centuries and has accumulated an economic and cultural advantage which at best can be overcome only by an increasing number of individuals, not by the former subject races as a body. The European immigrant is by training and background generally superior to the lower-class Brazilian and therefore quickly improves his status. The Negroid element is handicapped, more-

over, by the fact that the abolition of slavery, while constructive, was not constructive to the point of freeing it from its dismal and insidious heritage. Only a number of generations can accomplish that end. The Indian element, for similar reasons, is rather in the same position.

All these observations have of course strictly general value in a country as vast and diversified as Brazil. A legacy of Portuguese colonization, which is an invaluable potential advantage, is the division of the country into a dozen or more autonomous culture areas varying considerably in topography, climate, economic life, and hence in ethnic composition. Inevitably, the aspect of the race problem varies accordingly. To mention only a few of these sections: the Amazon Valley is overwhelmingly populated by pure or mixed Indians; the central littoral from Pernambuco to Bahia, the home of the old sugar culture, is more than 60 per cent Negroid; the Northeastern "Sertão" is inhabited by a thorough white-Indian mixture; the four Southern states are at least three-fourths white. These divisions, necessarily very broad, contain each, of course, larger and smaller sections widely different in ethnic composition.

As may be judged from what has been said so far, the trend of intermixture is decidedly in favor of the white race. The whites and would-be whites not only have the advantage of number and social status, but their ranks are continuously swelled by contingents from Europe. Since the early eighteenth century Brazil has received some 3,500,000 immigrants, more than nine-tenths of whom were Europeans. Influx from Europe is bound to increase greatly in the near future. The Negroid element, on the other hand, has received practically no addition from abroad since the final suppression of the slave trade in 1856. It and the Indian face gradual but inevitable extinction through excessive mortality and absorption. In other words, the Brazilian is becoming steadily more and more white. The Brazilian race problem will be nearly solved when the North American problem reaches a crisis.

Since admixture of non-white blood is least marked in the upper strata of society and intermixture travels from the bottom upward, supremacy of the white race in the management of the country and in the solution of the fundamental problems of Brazilian civilization seems assured. Another factor in this direction is the tendency of the preponderantly white South to assume leadership in national affairs, because of the tremendous stimulus received from European immigration. Yet the average Brazilian will never be wholly white. Nor will he be uniform. He will show great sectional variation in degree of white purity according to longitude and to a more limited extent also according to latitude. Taken as a unit, however, the Brazilian of the future will represent a new race, neither white, Indian, nor Negro, although the first class will predominate. He will be well suited, by blending and by adjustment to environment, to realize the amazing promise which his country holds forth. He will have distinctive energy and fine endowments, among them a feeling for sensuous beauty and an appreciation of the effervescence of life, qualities which distinguish even the Brazilian of today.

The vital importance of Brazil to the world at large lies in the fact that in that



country have been solved and are being solved fundamental problems of civilization. The gradual abolition of slavery, whereby ethnic amalgamation was placed on the present constructive basis, is, if not the only, at least the foremost modern instance of a fundamental social and economic transformation of a complete society without war, revolution, or other form of violence. Today Brazil has progressed far on the road toward a harmonious blending of diverse and supposedly incompatible ethnic elements into a new tropical race.

In this process the more primitive groups are not, as in the Anglo-Saxon countries, rigidly subjected to the cultural standards of the dominant group, but are surprisingly free to make characteristic and valuable contributions. It is left to the discrimination of the reader to decide, in the light of the foregoing observations, whether Brazil should be dubbed, after the manner of some ready critics, a land of mongrels or rather be looked upon as a world laboratory of tropical civilization.

Christian and Pagan in Guatemala

S. K. LOTHROP

GUATEMALA today is still an Indian country, for less than a tenth of its inhabitants admit the presence of white blood in their veins. Most of them dwell in the South and West—a region dominated by active volcanoes. These, if at times they have spread destruction, also have brought wealth, because their eruptions have covered the vast area with a thick layer of fecund soil. Hence the present dense population.

Before the Spanish conquest several of the native tribes had attained a high plane of culture. They lived in strongly fortified stone-built cities, and were the intellectual heirs of the first Mayan civilization, which, a thousand years before, had flourished brilliantly on the rich lowland plains to the North and East. The fertility of their fields gave leisure for the creation of much barbaric splendor; yet they were by no means effete, as they devoted their spare time to fighting with each other. The most powerful tribes in the days of their paganism were the Quiché, Cakchiquel, and Zutugil. Today they number about 275,000, 130,000, and 25,000 respectively—more than all the Indians in the United States.

When the Spaniards under Cortés overthrew the empire of the Aztecs, the Indians were at an initial disadvantage because they were not sure whether the Europeans were gods controlling the lightning or men carrying a strange weapon. Also it took time to find out that man and horse were separate entities, to be attacked individually, each capable of being destroyed. These concepts had been dissipated before the Spaniards under Alvarado reached Guatemala, but the natives had little idea of how to resist the shock of charging cavalry and there followed a series of bloody defeats in the open field, which necessarily led to abject surrender. The conquest here as elsewhere in the New World was accomplished with surprising ease, remarkable in view of the numerical disparity of the conflicting forces.

A fundamental weakness of the Spanish crown in dealing with the Western World was its failure to realize that it had assumed sovereignty over an intricate and most productive economic machine. In the United States about a third of the wealth we produce annually is derived from our Indian heritage. That agriculture could outvalue gold did not occur to the Spaniards, nor did they realize that with a decrease in food supply the population would also diminish. And so the spoils included the persons of the Indians. Many were branded and sold as slaves, while the

labor of many others was allotted to individual Spaniards under a system known as *repartimiento*. Excessive toil, especially in the mines, and unsanitary living conditions in unaccustomed surroundings led to a high death-rate and tended to destroy the native culture. However, the Indian by his very inertia is the most persistent person in the world, and in Guatemala he has clung to many ancient customs, and is showing indications of regaining his economic independence.

The Indian nobility received very different treatment from what was given to the commoners. In the main this was because the feudal instinct of caste was strong in the minds of the *conquistadores* and also because the Spanish Crown soon confirmed with Spanish patents of nobility the rank of many native chiefs. The daughters of Indian princes were eagerly sought in marriage by penniless adventurers from the Old World. Thus, in part, the Indian leaders tended to merge with their conquerors. But this very class of native, which once had adorned the pagan priesthood, also has furnished a great stumbling block to cultural change by clinging stubbornly to ancient rites.

The average Indian's reaction to the church today is about as follows. In the first place, he is a "cristiano," and will be indignant if you suggest that he is not a good one. In addition, however, he has clung to every bit of his old religion that memory could perpetuate through centuries of persecution. He sees nothing incongruous in a double system of deities. If one will not answer his petition another may. Many Catholic churches stand on the sites of former pagan temples, and sometimes the very altars, reared by native hands, secretly house the image of an ancient god. Thus in bending the knee before the cross, an Indian may pray to Christ, or to Gucumatz, or to both.

One of the most interesting modern Quiché towns boasts the triple name Santo Tomás Chichicastenango Tzuilá—Spanish, Aztec, and Quiché. It differs from all others because here dwell only descendants of the former nobility, conscious of their race. Like most Indian villages the costumes of man, woman, and child are fixed by tradition, but the brilliantly embroidered details in this town are private property, inherited by individual families like a coat of arms.

Here lives one Manuel Ahanel, whom they claim as king. How he came by his title, unrecognized, needless to say, by the Guatemalan Government, I am unable to state. He is rarely seen in public, and apparently he takes