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THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FRONTIER THESIS: MARK TWAIN,
DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO, AND
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN AMERICAN STUDIES

AUGUST 1975

By

Cathryn Annette Ducey

Dissertation Committee

Reuel Denney, Chairman
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ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FRONTIER THESIS: MARK TWAIN
DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO, AND FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

By: Cathryn Annette Ducey

A number of hypotheses about the North American Frontier were described by writers from the sixteen to the nineteenth centuries. Mark Twain was one of the first to explain what happened, politically and psychologically, to the transplanted European when he encountered the frontier. Twain's interpretations and explanations, as presented in Roughing It, were discursive and unsystematic.

The first systematic development of a frontier thesis is said to be that developed by Frederick Jackson Turner, an American historian. His thesis, attempting to explain the political, psychological and sociological changes the frontier provoked in man, was presented in its fullest form before the American Historical Association in 1893 as The Significance of the Frontier in American History.

However, in this dissertation, the author attempts to demonstrate that the first full formulation of a general concept of a frontier and of a frontier thesis was expressed by D. F. Sarmiento in El Facundo (1845) and later in Viajes (1865). Sarmiento deserves the credit for the definitions and analyses of frontier development which historians have given to Turner.

Sarmiento was the first New World writer to formulate a
specific concept of the frontier as a meeting place or point between savagery and civilization. The Argentinian developed this general concept after examining two examples: the frontiers of North America and Argentina.

Sarmiento was the first writer, aware of cultural implications, to ask the question: What is the nature of the margin and the experiences between the settled and the not yet settled regions in a New World nation? He was the first to give a definition to that margin: "the border between civilization and savagery." He was the first to give a new meaning to the European concept of "frontier." In Europe "frontier" meant the border between two nations. In Spain, "frontier" meant the cultural border with the non-Christian Moors.

For the Hispanic-American Sarmiento the frontier was defined not only as a region, but it was also defined in terms of the psychic and cultural changes it made in the men in that region. Thus, Sarmiento's definitions, published in El Facundo, the Viajes, and in other portions of his Obras from 1847-1867, precede the definitions of native North American writers by many years.

Sarmiento was the first New World writer to evaluate, consciously, the role of the frontier as a "safety-valve," providing a haven for the unhappy, the exploited, or the adventurous. He was the first New World analyst to examine the social structure of the frontier and to draw conclusions about the future of the frontier social structure. He was the first to sketch explicitly the sociology of the successive, dominant, types that inhabit a
frontier in temporal, spatial, and occupational successions.

In this dissertation a general examination and evaluation of literary precursors of Twain, Sarmiento, and Turner is made. Primary sources--Sarmiento's primary works--are discussed in relation to earlier commentaries and evaluated against the major thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner.

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a succinct interpretation of the meaning of frontier development and values on the North American frontier to a general audience. Second, and more important, is the emphasis presented on the significance of Sarmiento's initial formulation of a frontier thesis related to North America. Concomitantly, there is an inherent and purposeful attempt to support the viewpoint that literary materials are important historical and sociological source documents.
Preface

I. The purpose of this dissertation is to place in perspective the diffuse and non-historical interpretation of the frontiers in Argentina and the United States of D. F. Sarmiento of Argentina. His ideas and statements--romantic and factual--are examined in juxtaposition with those of the two prime North American, sometimes factual and oftimes romantic commentators: Mark Twain and Frederick Jackson Turner. This is an attempt to place Sarmiento's theories about the frontier, as seminally expressed in his Facundo and in Viajes, in a comparative cultural context.

This dissertation aims:

A. to demonstrate that Sarmiento used the example of the North American frontier to develop a thesis of frontier development in a broader context than Turner later attempts, and:

1. that this thesis involved the safety valve hypothesis;
2. that this thesis defined the frontier as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization" some fifty years prior to Turner;
3. that this thesis suggested that the frontier experience in North America fostered the development of traits of individualism, independence, practicality, et al.
4. that this thesis clearly defined the successive phases of appearances of major frontier types--scout, trapper, trader, rancher, farmer, capitalist, entrepreneur.

B. to examine Sarmiento's attitudes and origin of his hypothesis:

1. from his travels in the United States in 1847 and 1865;
2. from his reading of James Fenimore Cooper.
3. from his analysis of the frontier in Argentina.

C. to discuss briefly Sarmiento's application of thesis to Argentina based upon:
   1. his campaign to "North Americanize" the pampas;
   2. his efforts to establish universal public education in order, partly, to instill "North American" attitudes of "democracy" and "individualism;"
   3. his attempts to encourage European immigration in order to accelerate the cross-cultural assimilation process on the Argentinian frontier;
   4. his attacks, verbal and political, upon Rosas and Quiroga as a part of his campaign to rid the Argentine pampas of Caudillo "strong-man" leadership and control in order to foster grass-roots development of political and social ideals.

D. to assess the reasons for Sarmiento's failure to provide a rationale for his countrymen to accept a viable program to develop his nation politically and commercially on North American lines. Such reasons for failure include:
   1. his inability to inculcate ideas, ideals, values and attitudes in Argentina;
   2. resistance of the Hispano-American to "democratic" ideals;
   3. indigenous loyalties to the Caudillo system;
   4. resistance to acculturation by Mestizos and Negroes;
5. lack of "propensity to assimilation" and "proclivity towards adaptation" of pampas' residents (as opposed to the presence of the same attributes in European-background people on the North American frontier);

6. a "too much/too soon" political program.

II. In order to place Sarmiento's thesis in context it is necessary to survey other appropriate concepts of American development expressed both prior to and after Sarmiento's writing.

A. The most widely known and most controversial is obviously F. J. Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History".

1. Striking similarities in phrasing and specific topics discussed by Turner regardless of the validity of his frontier thesis need to be shown. Turner, apparently, had no expressed knowledge of either Sarmiento or his works. This area of discussion is speculative, but interesting in its implications concerning Turner and the frontier thesis in general.

2. Numerous literary and journalistic descriptions of frontier traits, were drawn upon by Sarmiento, and later by Turner. Both men tended to use the same written sources or extrapolated from their observations in a similar manner. Further, they both expressed their theses in metaphoric, non-statistical, generalized forms.

B. There are areas for speculation: Achille Loria's _Analisi della Proprieta Capitalista_, 1889, and other works (including
La Rendita Fondiaria e la sua Elisione Naturale and some ideas in the Le Bases Economiques de la Constitution have been considered by some historians, (Lee Benson in particular, and R. A. Billington tangentially) to have influenced Turner's "safety-valve" theory. Yet these historians neglect the possibility that the "safety-valve" theory was expressed by a few eighteenth century English writers and by Sarmiento, who conceivably might have been read by Loria. This area cannot be fully explored because of the vagueness of the sources, but the speculation about a circuitous development of the "safety-valve" hypothesis is worth mentioning.

C. The conclusions and final summary aim at:

1. Establishing Sarmiento as important to the frontier controversy and suggesting further dimensions to the frontier question. Studies have been done on the application of Turner's thesis to the Canadian, Russian, Australian, African, and Brazilian frontiers. This work is more concerned with demonstrating the existence of a frontier thesis as fully developed as Turner's concerning the United States, and the failure of such a thesis for Argentina, than with discussing or trying to prove the validity of Turner's thesis in an area other than North America.

2. Suggesting that United States historians have become so embroiled for fifty years in attempting to validate or to destroy Turner's thesis that they have lost sight of Turner's
own statements that he was suggesting only one interpre-
tation of frontier development and that he optimistically
was opening avenues of and for evaluation of traits in
so-called "American character." In addition, it is
suggested that historians should look to earlier
developments and statements which give insight to the
development of what the American character may be con-
sidered to be realistically or symbolically.

3. Asking that cultural and literary historians, socio-
ologists, and cultural anthropologists evaluate literary
and journalistic expressions and descriptions as being
highly influential and basically "valid" for establishing
definitions of the frontier and attributes of the American
character. For example, Turner is attacked by many
historians for ignoring Anglo-Saxon roots of "democratic
instincts" and for using a metaphoric definition of the
frontier. Sociologists and cultural anthropologists
point to theories of proclivity to cultural assimilation
apparently deep-rooted in the European. All seem to shift
definitions of frontier to suit their own theories just
as did Turner. It is apparent, however, that many literary
and journalistic explorations or such metaphoric ex-
pressions, as of a Sarmiento or a Turner, more realistically
assess and apply the actual frontier experiences
socially, politically and culturally than those of "ob-
jective," statistical, or scientific historians, sociologists
and anthropologists.

III. The three men who are considered at length are Mark Twain, Frederick Jackson Turner and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. The following brief biographical summaries are included in order to provide background.

A. Mark Twain: pseudonym for Samuel Langhorne Clemens; born November 30, 1835 in Florida, Missouri. Twain grew up and was briefly educated in Hannibal, Missouri; became a printer's apprentice at age 12. He began work as a journalist in 1853, worked as a printer 1855-1857, and was a Mississippi River pilot 1857-1860. With his brother Orion he travelled to Nevada in 1861; was a miner-prospector 1862, and worked off and on as a journalist from 1862-1871, travelling widely in the United States, Europe, Hawaii and the Near East. In 1866 he gave his first lecture, and until his death he continued as a popular humorist-critic on the lecture circuit. His book about life on the mining frontier, Roughing It, was published in 1872. A series of books, including his best-known Adventures of Tom Sawyer and Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, were published after 1873. Mark Twain died in April, 1910.

B. Frederick Jackson Turner: born in 1861 in the frontier town of Portage, Wisconsin. He received his B. A. at the University of Wisconsin in 1885, worked briefly as a journalist, and completed the M. A. in History at the University of Wisconsin in 1887. The doctorate from Johns Hopkins University was conferred in 1890. From 1891 until 1910 he was a member of the
Department of History at the University of Wisconsin. During that period, in 1893, he delivered the address, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," before The American Historical Association and achieved considerable academic exposure. He was a professor of History at Harvard University from 1910 until 1924 when he left for a position as a Research Associate at the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California. He died in March, 1932.

C. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: born February 15, 1811 in San Juan, Mendoza, Argentina. He was educated in a frontier school in San Juan until 1825 when he became an apprentice to a French engineer. At age sixteen he travelled with his uncle, Fr. Jose de Oro to the province of San Luis. He returned to San Juan in 1827, began a career in the militia and began a life-long journalistic and political career opposed to Caudillo leadership. In the 1830's he spent time in exile in Chile, where he worked variously as a teacher, miner, clerk, newspaper editor, and educational reformer. By the time he was twenty-five years old, he had learned English, Latin, French, Italian, Portuguese, and German. In 1842 he founded in Chile the first Normal School in South America. A year later he was appointed a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at the University of Chile. In 1845 he completed El Facundo, the life of Juan Facundo Quiroga; This book was a vehicle for attack on Caudillo government and included his seminal thesis of the frontier. He travelled to
the United States and Europe, as an official of the Argentine government, in 1847 and 1865, recording his impressions in the Viajes (Travels). Sarmiento was elected President of Argentina in 1868 and served until 1874. Until his death on September 11, 1888 he continued to write on educational and political issues.
... It is not indifferent to us which way we walk. There is a right way, but we are very liable from heedlessness and stupidity to take the wrong one. We would fain take that walk, never yet taken by us through this actual world, which is perfectly symbolical of the path which we love to travel in the interior and ideal world. ...

... Eastward I go only by force, but westward I go free. ... Let me live where I will, on this side is the city, on that the wilderness, and ever am I leaving the city more and more, and withdrawing into the wilderness. I should not lay so much stress on this fact, if I did not believe that something like this is the prevailing tendency of my countrymen. I must walk toward Oregon, and not toward Europe. And that way the nation is moving, and I must say that mankind progresses from East to West.

... We go eastward to realize history and study the works of art and literature, retracing the steps of the race; we go westward into the future, with a spirit of enterprise and adventure.

... Every sunset which I witness inspires me with the desire to go to a West as distant and fair as that into which the sun goes down. He appears to migrate westward daily, and to tempt us to follow him. He is the great western pioneer whom nations follow.

... The West of which I speak is but another name for the wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that the Wilderness is the preservation of the World. ...

(Henry David Thoreau, "Walking." 1862)
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CHAPTER I

THE LITERATURE OF THE FRONTIER AND THE FRONTIER IN LITERATURE:
CULTURAL MYTH AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY

The earliest North American frontiers encountered by English-speaking Europeans were those of Roanoke, Virginia and Plymouth, Massachusetts. Although European travellers had earlier and repeatedly explored the North American continent, charting the seas and rivers and mapping the wilderness, it was not until groups of men and women landed, intending to establish permanent settlements, that the concept of the frontier (as opposed to civilization) became important. Of the first two frontier encounters one was a failure, for the "Lost Colony" of Virginia was apparently defeated by a combination of the wilderness, illness, and native inhabitants. The second survived.

Within a few months of the village establishment the Colonists in Plymouth had proven that they could tame the wilderness. Hardship was endured, the spectre of failure ignored, and articles of faith professed in order to maintain the New Jerusalem. Almost immediately after the small band of Separatists realized that survival was possible, with God's Providence and man's hard work, new frontiers opened up.

New arrivals and "old" settlers began to strike out for the wilds of Worcester, the forests of New Hampshire, the valleys of Connecticut, and the shores of Rhode Island. Whether these adventurer-colonists were driven by land-hunger, by disenchntament
with the established government, by enforced exile for misdemeanors, by individual restlessness, or by a simple desire to seek the new and the different, the result was an ever-increasing movement away from the established settlements toward the open, sometimes hostile, frontier.

As colonies were established up and down the Atlantic coast the pattern recurred. Virginians, William Byrd among them, explored the Carolinas; Connecticut men and women moved into Ohio; Pennsylvanians, Virginians, and Carolinians moved into Kentucky, West Virginia, and Missouri.

Private individuals, family groups, government-sponsored expeditions, outcasts, adventurers, entrepreneurs, crooks, school marms, journalists, artists, clergymen, new immigrants--people of all types--continued to move ever-westward throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The reasons for the movement toward the frontier and the effects of that movement have been of concern to diarists, historians and cultural analysts since, and before, the day the first colonials decided to move beyond the confines of the Massachusetts settlement.

Even before the first colonies were established in North America myths about the New World had been established. The New World was, according to many propaganda tracts, "a land of milk and honey," a boundless source of raw materials, a land waiting only to be tamed by men of courage and insight.

The vast open spaces, inhabited only, it was believed, by
a few pagans who could easily be converted to Christianity by the settlers, were also considered as a "safety-valve" feature for over-populated England. A letter written in 1572 as promotional propaganda stated that England was filled with unemployed men and women and that the population was expanding at alarming rates. Therefore the writer urged that English peoples "must nowe seeke some other place to live in". And that other place was North America, where, continued the writer, food was plentiful, and where the restless and the poor and the courageous could begin a new life.

Promotional tracts for the New World also advocated the profit motive, the need for industry, and for individualism. A prospective share in the new frontier was described by R. Rich in Newes From Virginia:

To such as to Virginia
Do purpose to repair.
And when that they shall other come,
Each man shall have his share,

Day wages for the laborer,
And for his more content,
A house and garden plot shall have,
Besides 'tis further ment

That every man shall have a part,
And not thereof denied
Of generall profits, as if that he
Twelve pounds, ten shillings paid.

Once men arrived in the New World they found a reality far

---


2 Quoted in Jones, p. 189.
harsher than they had been led to expect. Gold, Glory, and God had brought them across a sea to a promised land; God and Guts were the means to survive. They quickly learned that not all the Indians were docile and ready to be converted, that the land was often filled with glacial rock that had to be unearthed before adequate tillage of the soil could begin, that winters were far harsher than those in England, that human squabbles and illness were ever-present, that native foods were strange, and that life was hard. Only the hardy and strong could survive and prosper.

Once survival was assured, however, and prosperity apparent, if not real, then some colonists began to become restless, began to strike out from the settled village, began again as "frontiersmen." In The Planter's Plea (1630) frontier attributes were already recognized. John White wrote that as soon as a colony was established "the husbanding of unmanured grounds, and shifting into empty Lands, enforceth men to frugalitie, and quickeneth invention: and the settling of new states requireth justice and affection to the common good."3

In less than a century, villages, towns and cities were established and thriving up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Next, men began to strike out beyond the Alleghenies, beyond the Blue Ridge range, and the trans-Mississippi West assumed importance. No longer considered an area into which only government surveyors and a few fur traders and trappers would venture, the frontier

3Quoted in Jones, p. 190.
became a new source of adventure, of possible profit, of challenge to Easterners.

Howard Mumford Jones in *O Strange New World* states:

And across the river /Mississippi/ there were new dimensions of terrain and climate that reduced even American men to increasing insignificance. To survive amid this epic loneliness, these conflagrations on the prairie, this tireless plain and waterless desert, new human types had to be developed or old types modified, and soon the only persons who could cope with this solitude appeared—the western guide like Kit Carson, the mountain man, the trapper, the plainsman, and by and by the cowboy, the Western woman leading her vigorous, irregular, and dominating life, like Calamity Jane in fact and Ma Pettingill in fiction, and at the end the western humorists, such as Mark Twain and Will Rogers.4

As new areas were settled travellers and commentators followed the pioneers. In 1837 Francis Grund, in *The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*, commented: "Each western state" was "a nursery of freedom; every new settlement is already a republic in embryo.5

And a literature of and about the frontier began to appeal to readers. Easterners in the mid 19th century vicariously sought adventure in the romantic frontier novels of James Fenimore Cooper, and they would later enjoy pictorial counterparts in the paintings of Catlin and Remington. Literature about the frontier, from Madison Jones' *Forest of the Night* to the later William Faulkner's *The Bear*, from Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales" to Bret Harte's

4Jones, p. 372.

parodies in Muck-a-Muck, from Twain to Hooper to Longstreet, is ever concerned with man's fate in the wilderness and his belief in himself. Man must--for he often was forced to--exercise his ingenuity and rely on his will to survive or perish.

On the frontier, away from Eastern restrictions, he derives (according to the literature) his morality from nature, not from codified laws. From the first frontier legend, that of John Smith and his escape from Powhatan, to later literary treatments of frontier life a significant feature emerges: the European who survives the frontier becomes the American. As Turner later said, the frontier "Americanizes" the emigrant and immigrant.

Americans Interpret the Frontier

James Fenimore Cooper's "Leatherstocking Tales" are probably the best known of the literature of and about the frontier. Leatherstocking, in his various guises, is the link between savagery and civilization. Although he apprehends that he has no place, no total acceptance, in either the world of the savage or of the white man, he idealistically and altruistically prepares the way for civilization to intrude upon the wilderness.

In The Last of the Mohicans Cooper clearly establishes the conflict between savagery and civilization. This is a violent novel, a novel which has many levels and several protagonists. The "noble savage", good-by-nature Uncas, the European representative of civilization, Duncan, and the middle-man, neither savage nor European, Leatherstocking, oppose the antagonist, the evil
Indian Magua.  

Cooper introduces, to complicate action and to conform to literary tradition, a "dark" and a "light" heroine. Cora is part-Negro, and therefore, somehow, neither European nor savage, but traditionally part of both heritages. In contrast, Alice is blonde, European, and innocent.

Although romance and tragedy are part of the novel, so also are moral questions. The Last of the Mohicans is set in the early frontier, in 1757 during the French and Indian Wars. Leatherstocking, the man between two worlds, must ultimately accept the barbarism of his Indian allies under Uncas in order to sustain a hope for civilization. In this irony his adaptation to circumstances, even against his own moral principles, is understandable.

When, finally, (although not chronologically) in the series of Tales Leatherstocking dies a further significance emerges. Terence Martin states in "Leatherstocking and the Frontier" that the death of Leatherstocking prefigures the end of the frontier. Both deaths are necessary, are dramatically and culturally inevitable, says Martin because of progress.

---

6 This parallels the later view of D. F. Sarmiento that the Spanish or European inevitably opposes the barbarians of the pampas.

7 So also does Sarmiento accept the actions of the Red Brigades, of Los Cruces, as a necessary evil.

The white man on the frontier, as described in the literature, evaluates progress according to his own desires. He often rapes the land, for he knows there is still virgin land beyond.

He also evaluates the Indian according to white man's standards. If the Indian is brutish and savage in his actions, the white man therefore deems him evil. He is incapable of understanding that as there is unwilled destruction and danger in Nature so also can there be unwilled cruelty and danger in the Indian whose codes are not the same as the European-white man. To the fictive, as well as to the real, frontiersman moral evil is always willed; it derives either from an understanding of and consequent flaunting of historic codes or from a distortion of nature. 9

Considerable misunderstanding between the white man and the Indian arose from the Anglo-European's inability to comprehend, says Jones, that Indian chiefs or sachems "had no power to alienate land, agree to a treaty or bring to justice in the white man's court honorable savages who had avenged themselves by scalping white families. Inevitably the Indian was charged with bad faith." 10 Therefore, the white man felt no compunction to keep faith with the Indian. Neither did the Spaniard, the European, feel that he should deep faith with the "barbarous", uneducated, Mestizos of the Plata region in Argentina.

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9 Similar parallels are found in Sarmiento's views, wherein the Blancos, Mestizos and Negroes find conflict in codes and behavior.

10 Jones, p. 153.
A writer little concerned with the Indian but much concerned with the frontier was Mark Twain. In *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* Twain symbolically establishes the practical Yankee, displaced in time and space, determined to conquer the medieval frontier of ignorance and prejudice. Twain's Yankee, later portrayed in the movies by another frontier type, Will Rogers, is a pioneer, a practical man equal to the wits of Merlin and the wiles of Arthur, ready and willing to try to change a "savage" country to a "civilized" one.

Twain faced the frontier from many vantage points. As the traveller he chronicled the Nevada mining frontier both realistically and nostalgically. He portrayed the social and physical realities of the Far West in his *Roughing It*, published in 1872. As Twain recalls what life was like on the frontier in the eighteen-sixties, he describes the Territories as offering "a curious new world" to explore, opportunities for travel, for "all kinds of adventure," the chance to become rich, the sight of Indians and deserts. The open frontier offered opportunity to the brash and the brave, to the men who set out from civilized urban areas to find fulfillment of dreams in the vast areas of the North American continent.

In the West, according to Twain, a man was to be reckoned

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11This and all successive quotation from *Roughing It* is from Mark Twain. *Roughing It*. (Berkeley, 1972.) This edition, published for the Iowa Center for Textual Studies, is edited by Franklin Rogers and Paul Baender.
with according to his intrinsic worth, his courage, and his endurance. Phoney manners, Eastern conventions, and effete ways were scorned. One needed neither "swallow-tail coats or white gloves to wear at Pawnee receptions ... nor anything else necessary to make life calm and peaceful."

Basic to adaptation to western life and values were the acceptance of liberty and freedom as principles and the realization that one had to shake free from conventional restraints. Twain looked at the vast expanses and revelled in "the gladness and wild sense of freedom" that "made my blood dance." Solitude, beauty of landscape, communion with other human beings, and delight in nature were aspects of life to be honored, just as rough-and-ready manners and customs were to be expected.

Twain emphasized in 1872, as did Sarmiento earlier in 1845, the need to adapt to local conditions, the propensity for generosity, and the acceptance of masculine values as typical in the West. As men became more prosperous the police courts became more crowded, and saloons and gambling dens and brothels succeeded faster than churches or schools.

Pre-established class consciousness was not a part of the value system; egalitarianism was basic to the frontier. Although there were rich nabobs and day laborers, levelling occurred. Man rose in status either through his ability to make money or to gain control through individual merit or force. There "in a section of the country which was without law and without even a pretense of it, a gentleman from the East, a criminal, or an
adventurer could find the means to eke out a living and even become successful." Society had ranks, of sorts, for the highest were the lawyer, the editor, the banker, the chief desperado, the chief gambler, and the saloon keeper. Of all, Twain says, the saloon keeper often became the most influential in community affairs. Society was fluid and mobile, as Twain himself demonstrated, as he shifted easily from secretary to a politician, to prospector, to entrepreneur, to day-laborer, to newspaperman. A strong parallel will be seen in Sarmiento.

Mobility on the American frontier was aided by the federal form of government. In the men of the frontier the democratic instinct seemed to be inherent. Even the staid Easterner Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1856 in *English Traits* believed that "the elasticity and hope of mankind must henceforth remain on the Allegheny ranges."12 Since pioneers did not owe allegiance to local leaders but to a distant, centralized, authority, they were able to move about at will. In contrast, the Argentinian was limited, for if he rose through violence and strength to be a leader he owed allegiance only to his own force. But the others on the Pampas, because of fear, were forced to pledge their allegiance to the local leaders. They could not move about at will, for the local cabildo (municipal council) demanded, and enforced, their allegiance through violent and cruel punishments.

Justice on both the American and Argentinian frontiers; where

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12 Boston, 1884. p. 296.
savagery and civilization met, was primitive. In the new mining areas the "rough element predominates and a person is not respected until he has 'killed his man!'" It was not unusual for a desperado, says Twain, to stalk the streets "with a swagger graded according to the number of his homicides." Heroes were not necessarily those who exhibited moral courage or who fought for principles, but were often men who had earned grudging respect, or fear because of their exploits. Yet "to give them their due, they did their killing principally among themselves, and seldom molested peaceable citizens." Vigilante law was that accepted, since the "codified, ritualistic system of law enforcement of civilization had not yet been introduced." Whatever law was enforced was done so with force, with the six-shooter, a not-so-gentle persuader and method of maintaining order and rough justice.

Shootings were common (even accepting some of Twain's exaggeration for effect) and it was not unusual for an "efficient city officer" such as Deputy Marshal Jack Williams to have the reputation of "being a burglar, a highwayman, and a desperado." Indeed heroes were not necessarily those who exhibited moral courage or fought for principles, but often were men who earned grudging respect, or fear, because of their exploits. Such a man was the "desperado Slade," and "outlaw among outlaws," who was "at once the most bloody, the most dangerous, and the most valuable citizen that inhabited the savage fastnesses of the mountains." A fearless and ruthless man, Slade as a division-agent kept order through force, "the only recognized authority."
Murders generally went unpunished and callousness became inbred in Nevada residents who seldom thought of "inquiring into them." Rocky Mountain etiquette simply demanded that a spectator be neighborly enough to help in burying the corpses! Thus men like Slade and Williams could act as "supreme judge...jury and executioner." Their exploits, exaggerated or not, were a part of the folklore of the west.

Such folk heroes then, exemplified by Twain's Slade and their later prototypes in Jesse James, Billy the Kid, and Baby-Face Nelson, were immortalized in ballads and tall tales because they acted with a kind of honor and exhibited the frontier attributes of strength, bravado, and daring.¹³

In his recollections of his western sojourn Twain emphasized the necessity of adapting to local conditions. Conventions were not always adhered to; Buck Fanshaw could have discarded his "dashing helpmeet" at any moment "without the formality of a divorce;" Scotty Briggs and his version of Sunday School could make classes progress faster than others; and the "vigorous new vernacular" clearly suited frontier values better than the conventional niceties of conversation and idle social intercourse familiar in the East.

Different conventions and a changed way of life were what the frontier had to present. Virginia City had "grown to be the

¹³So also were such persons immortalized in the Argentinian Rastreador prototypes.
'livest' town, for its age and population that America had ever produced." Money-getting schemes, gambling houses, thriving businesses, riots, and a growing but rather primitive form of government were part of the town's outward signs of prosperity. In this pioneer area high prices were common, "but people easily get reconciled to big money and bit prices, and fond and vain of both." Man learned to adapt.

These were flush times in Virginia City, optimistic times. People "by custom" gave away stock to friends, as if they were giving away cigars. The largesse came from the generous impulse, an aspect of a boom society. Thus Twain could say, "Money was wonderfully plenty. The trouble was, not how to get it,--but how to spend it, how to lavish it, get rid of it, squander it."

If, in such a society, vice flourished, "speculation ran riot," saloons and police courts were as crowded as the gambling dens and brothels, these were seen as "unfailing signs of high prosperity in a mining region." Here drinking and intoxication were part of man's world and the values of society were masculine values. Few women were there, and there was little attention paid to refined manners.

Entertainment could be sought in brawling, drinking, or even in the less exciting, but equally sociable, sitting around a campfire and swapping tall tales. Yarn-spinning, whether by a "comfortably and sociably drunk" Jim Blaine or by a group of coffee drinkers, was accepted as a means of entertainment. The liar's tales, the yarns, because of their audacious presentation and
their content, mirrored the brawling, fast-living, rough nature of both teller and milieu.

Whether sharing tales, a "common stock of blankets," or a pot-luck supper around a camp-fire, the men in mining areas, had in common with other frontiersmen "a happy, carefree sort of recreation that seemed the very summit and culmination of earthly luxury." The nomadic instinct and the pleasant, unencumbered simple ways appealed to the men not only because of necessity, but also because they enjoyed them. They could also enjoy simple practical jokes, like gulling the "emigrant." Such amusement, and sometimes source of profit, was quickly learned by Twain when he, the innocent, bought a "Genuine Mexican Plug" that "any child, and Injun, could have told...was...the very worst devil to buck on the continent of America." Men would "salt a wild cat claim" in order to gain quick returns. Fraudulent though such mines turned out to be, the act of salting them was, if not expected, at least not thought of as dishonest as one might expect. Salting mines was another example of individual initiative shown, and the one taken in was more the fool and less respected than the salter.

Newcomers found that not only were amusement and entertainment taken where they could and when they could, but also that toil and hope were the guidelines for life. All the west seemed to be a land of opportunity, and in Nevada the thought of striking it rich was at the base of man's dreams. Led on by optimistic reports of rich silver veins many men, like Twain, expected to find masses of silver "lying all about the ground." Yet each man was
expected to work for his fortune; no favors were granted, and none asked. If a man worked he was respected; if he didn’t he starved. Long, weary hours could be spent in sinking shafts, digging, drilling in the mines. But no matter how empty a mine might be, men were driven on by the hope that the next one would be rich. Men learned, as did Twain, that stern reality proved that fool’s gold, "glittering mica," the stuff that dreams are made of, is worthless. The moral that Twain draws from the experience with silver mining is most applicable to the society in which he found himself, as well as to the world at large: "like the rest of the world, I still go on underrating men of gold and glorifying men of mica. Commonplace human nature cannot ride above that."

Conspicuous of the frontier attitudes is the lack of bitterness. If another man "struck it rich," all rejoiced. If a rich lode faded out, Twain and others could reflect without rancor, "I always have it to say that I was absolutely and unquestionably worth a million dollars, for ten days."

OTHER INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

For many writers and theorists, other than Twain, the hope of the New World was fostered in and by an idealized agrarian economy. American writers from Dwight to Bryant and Longfellow celebrated the virtues of industry, natural goodness, and practicality of farmers.

And in the twentieth century Willa Cather in My Antonia evaluates the effects of the agrarian life on the agricultural
frontier. She portrays the contrast of weak, small, humans pitted against the force of the land. The struggle to subdue the land and the loss of European identity sustained in the struggle for survival, provide the drama in the novel. Yet like Faulkner's Dilsey, Antonia and the prairie not only endure but prevail.

Terence Martin in "The Drama of Memory" states that the novel My Antonia is concerned totally with the meaning of the frontier experience. It is only in retrospect, in what he calls the "drama of memory," that the significance of the frontier in its provocation of human ingenuity, endurance, practicality, and adaptation becomes readily apparent.14 For Antonia and the Shimerdas during their process of adaptation to American ways the significant reality is the struggle for survival.

In contrast to the works of Cooper, Twain, and Cather, Edgar Allan Poe hardly seems to be an author who wrote "frontier" literature. Yet in two ways Poe was concerned with the frontier. First, he pioneered in the examination of the frontier of the mind, the psychic wilderness whose conquering was an intellectual rather than physical challenge and process. The twentieth century poet, William Carlos Williams attests in his "In the American Grain" that Poe's "greatness is in that he turned his back and faced inland, to originality, with the identical gestures of a Boone."

Second, and less metaphorically, Poe had an abiding interest in the frontier and its impact on man. He reviewed Irving's

14 In Galinsky, p. 102.
Astoria in 1837, and adapted some of the material in his Narrative of A. Gordon Pym. Although Pym journeys ostensibly into an imaginary area near the South Pole and becomes involved in a shipwreck, his responses are those typical of the nineteenth century frontiersman.

When faced with "natives" Pym and his compatriots first attempt a trade of trifles for necessities and valuables. When the shrewd "barbarians" overcome the majority of the "civilized" whites, Pym and his companion are left to attempt to survive on their wits and ingenuity. They learn to live off the land, to overcome fastidiousness, to be practical, to adapt. After their ultimate escape from the wilderness and the barbarians they face finally a vision of the unknown. It is that, the mysterious and terrifying vision beyond the world of reality, and not an actual, physical frontier, which defeats Pym. He could cope with a frontier of actuality, with savages, with hunger, and danger. But he says:

My visions were of shipwreck and famine; of death or captivity... of a lifetime dragged out in sorrow and tears... in an ocean unapproachable and unknown, such visions or desires... are common... to the whole numerous race of the melancholy among men... .

It is finally the unknown, the vision of a vast white psychic phenomenon, that defeats him. In this conception Poe

goes beyond other writers of frontier literature in an attempt to confront, early in the nineteenth century, the most extraordinary, frightening borderland of the unknown--the mind.

In addition to entertaining readers and to reinforcing ideas about the frontier, the ordinary literature of the frontier established some important stylistic devices in American literature. Although Cooper failed miserably in reproducing idiomatic or dialectic speech, Mark Twain (who so vividly and humorously has detailed Cooper's literary "failures" in the "Cracked Twig" series) produced and established authentic idiom, concrete diction, and dialect in his characters. American authors since Twain, and since Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes* and J. J. Hooper's *Adventures of Simon Suggs*, have been forced to achieve idiomatic and dialectical authenticity in their characters. Twain also, in his novels and chronicles, established humor as a literary convention in America, forced the use of the first person narrative, and emphasized the need for a distinction between the author of a story and the speaker in it.

The frontier setting, which could realistically be only non-pretentious and "un-mannered" provoked Twain and others to establish literary authenticity in tone and dialect.

However, authors who exploited the frontier as setting and substance contributed to the furtherance of the mythic nature of the frontier and its inhabitants. North Americans yearned to believe that only in their America could be found mountain men who could "lick their weight in wildcats," Boones who could wrestle
a bear before breakfast, kill a passle of Indians before lunch, drink a gallon of whiskey before dinner, and dance and sing and carouse until dawn. They also wanted to believe that living in and off the land was healthier and more productive of a natural morality than living in the city.

The frontier in reality and in myth assured Americans that they were capable of seeking adventure, of taming the wilderness, of accepting challenge, of finding a place for new beginnings. Each man and woman, especially in the nineteenth century, could believe in the romance of the westward journey recalled in the ballad "Sweet Betsy from Pike" and half-believe in the "half-man/half-alligator" tales of Pecos Bill. The West was there. "Go West, young man" was an exhortation, a challenge and a belief, expressed in dreams and in literature.
CHAPTER III

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER INTERPRETS THE FRONTIER

Although American and European writers had been commenting about the frontier since its beginnings in North America, scholars were late in seeing that a broad analysis was both appropriate and necessary. It was not until 1893 that a young University of Wisconsin historian explicated an acceptable theory of the frontier before a professional group. At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Frederick Jackson Turner created an interest among historians with his apparently fresh, brilliant, hypothesis: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development." He contended that the movement of the frontier westward in the nineteenth century forced American institutions to adapt to change. American social development, he said, continually began over again on the frontier. Man in the frontier, "the meeting point between savagery and civilization," had to adapt himself, accept the conditions found, or be defeated. All of the various types of frontiers, those of the trader, the rancher, the miner, and the farmer, promoted democracy and individualism. Each new frontier, he felt, furnished "a new field of opportunity, ... scorn of older society, impatience of

16 This and all successive quotation from Turner is from "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in his The Frontier in American History, New York, 1962.
its restraints and ideas." Restlessness and change, individualism and opportunity, were the earmarks of the frontier.

The pioneers in the Western frontier were faced with the challenge of mastering the wilderness, and it was through this process of the transformation of nature that the pioneer was "Americanized." That is, in order to maintain life and defeat the primitive and savage world, the pioneer was forced to free himself from the bonds of European cultural attitudes and begin life anew not as a "displaced European" but as a "displaced American." His institutions changed or underwent adaptation as he continually had to "return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line." Indeed, said Turner, "The advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines."

Although Turner acknowledged an Atlantic frontier, the social and economic evolutions were different from those on the Western frontier. On the Atlantic frontier a man moved through the stages appropriate to land and resources: "fisherman, fur-trader, miner, cattle-raiser, farmer." Further west the stages varied: Indian hunter, trader (the "pathfinder of civilization"), pastoral rancher, farmer, manufacturer, laborer, factory worker.

The trader was remarkably important for he established continuous commercial routes, commanded the water system, fought the Indians and suborned them, and developed strong self-sufficient qualities. The rancher's frontier depended upon the trader as well as upon the nomadic cowboy and upon products which were self-transporting from the open plains to sales centers.
Settlements protected by army posts and located near salt springs characterized the farmer's frontier. And the further west, the further beyond the mountains, the more removed from Eastern institutions and sources, the more self-sufficient, apparently independent, were the settlers and the more diversified was agriculture forced to become.

Somewhat naively Turner assumes that the admixture of nationalities, religions, and backgrounds of the frontier people automatically produced, through "cross-fertilization of ideas and institutions," a nationalized person called the American, or the Westerner. This American seemed to be more democratic than the somewhat isolated Easterner who was still influenced by European goods and ideas.

Further, the frontier is "productive of individualism" and complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control and particularly to any direct control.

The only effective Eastern efforts "to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies," and by people such as Horace Bushnell.

Turner believed that the areas of free land acted as a "safety valve," providing a place for the homeless, the discontented, the adventurous.

Since 1893 there have been many historians who have attacked Turner. He has been accused of being simplistic and naive, of
being a materialistic determinist, of overlooking the weaknesses of resources, both human and geographic, of being vague and metaphoric, of ignoring legislation dealing with the western states, of denying the role of slavery, of being mystical. In his declining years Turner admitted to other historians (as perhaps he had recognized himself all along) that there were some problems with his thesis. Yet long after the closing of the frontier (which he dates, arbitrarily as 1890) that he affirmed the view that his emphasis on man's ability to cope with his environment was most important in America's development. In an address at Clark University in 1924 he stated:

I prefer to believe that man is greater than the dangers that menace him; that education and science are powerful forces to change these tendencies and to produce a rational solution to the problems of life on a shrinking planet.¹⁷

This is a more tempered, but equally strong, expression of his belief in the individual presented in his "thesis" three decades earlier:

...to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness, that practical inventive turn of mind ...; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy, that dominant individualism, working for good and evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom...

Clearly, some ideas in Turner's thesis were not "new" in 1893. Both deTocqueville and deCrevecouer had commented on the individualism, inventiveness, exuberance, and the democratic attitudes of non-city dwellers in the new nation. Thomas Jefferson in 1824 had written about western expansion and had commented on the ways Indians had existed in and on nature, about the pastoral life, and about "the pioneers of the advance of civilization."18

Thoreau, in A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers (1849) had dealt metaphorically with the meaning of the frontier and individualism when he wrote: "The frontiers are not east or west, north or south; but wherever a man fronts a fact ... ." In 1844, William Kirkland in an article for the Democratic Review (xv. 1844. p. 188), "The West, the Paradise of the Poor," commented on the breakdown of Eastern institutions as a man moved west:

... the very atmosphere of society is averse to mental culture, and all refinement is so systematically decried, as to have fallen into absolute discredit. 19

In 1835 Washington Irving, in A Tour of the Prairies, concerned about European influences on young Americans, wrote:

... we send our youth abroad to grow luxurious and effeminate in Europe; it appears to me, that a previous tour on the prairies would be more likely to


produce that manliness, simplicity, and self-dependence most in unison with our political institutions.20

A letter, February 10, 1894, from the stalwart, inveterate, and "professional" individualist Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner congratulated the historian: "I think you have struck some first class ideas, and have put into shape a good deal of thought that has been floating around rather loosely."21 Many of these "first class ideas" had been presented to the public by Theodore Roosevelt himself in his 1899 volume, The Winning of the West.22

TURNER AND LORIA

Turner's thesis, as expressed in Chicago, was not in a very real sense, original. Nor did he expect adulation as the originator of a new concept or interpretation of the frontier. What he intended to do, and did, was to present in one coherent essay a series of interpretations which might help to explain the development of the American frontier. He had earlier delineated each of the parts of what came to be known as "the Turner Thesis" in a series of articles on various frontiers in the United States. Although each of the articles dealt with a particular frontier,


21Quoted in Nash, p. 149.

22For further discussion, see also Wilbur R. Jacobs. Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy. (California: 1965).
from the Massachusetts frontier of the seventeenth century to the Wisconsin fur-trading frontier of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, or with specific frontier conditions or attributes, all of the ideas expressed in 1893 had earlier been stated by Turner before the so-called history-making address in Chicago.

The ideas had also been expressed, singly or in combination, by other authors, albeit not by professional historians. Still, one recognizes that ideas had been expressed. Certainly the concepts of individualism, independence and adaptation of frontiersmen had been clearly stated by de Crevecouer, reiterated by de Toqueville, and literally presented by Cooper. Upward mobility and the changing nature of employment and commercial conditions had been addressed by de Toqueville, Cooper, Twain, and various European commentators, including Dickens. That the frontier provided a safety valve was perhaps the most often reiterated theme in early promotional tracts about the New World.

Authors of romantic novels and stories of the frontier, social commentators, and journalist-travellers from Europe recognized that isolation from strictly enforced societal values and standards for behavior produced, or forced, the development of varying local standards, of more tolerance for deviance from accepted norms, of individual actions and decisions not necessarily sanctioned by the more stable Eastern society.

That deviant behavior, in the form of acceptance of vigilante law or of local--non-federal--legal standards which led to a form
of individualism and acceptance, could be tolerated and become acceptable was not discovered by Turner. Almost every commentator about frontiers remarked about the willingness to tolerate different forms of behavior, about the adaptation of peoples to the acceptance of individual traits. All writers seemed to recognize, even if they did not analyze the reasons, that isolation from large communities, from centralized, localized, and therefore essentially legalized modes of behavior led to acceptance of different models. As deCrevecouer had noted a man who removed himself beyond the confines of a city knew that he had to adapt to whatever he and his neighbors found mutually acceptable for co-existence or for defense or for justice.

Turner did acknowledge to his friends and colleagues that he had pulled together some ideas that had long been stated about the frontier. One of the professional analysts whose ideas, particularly on the safety valve theory, may have influenced him, was Achille Loria, the nineteenth century Italian economist. Lee Benson in his analysis of two significant historical theorists, Turner and Beard, demonstrates the debt Turner owed to Loria.23

Quotations from Loria's later Analisi della proprieta capitalista (1899) concerning the role of free land in economic development and in the development of social evolution on the frontier led Benson to the conclusion "that the Italian theorist was the

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direct source of two of Turner's most important ideas, i.e.,
American evolution recapitulates all the stages of man's social
and economic development, and the corollary that this recapitu-
lation offers an invaluable scientific laboratory for the study
of the past."24

In his own writings Loria acknowledges a debt for ideas
to Adam Smith, whom he quotes often.25 In his Economic Foun-
dations of Society Loria says that Smith attributed colonial
prosperity to "two causes: the enormous extent of fertile free
land and political liberty."26 Loria expands upon this with the
interpretations: "political liberty can ... only develop where
there is an abundance of free land," and the state itself is but
a "natural byproduct of economic conditions." He sees that the
existence of free land coupled with increasing population in the
cities leads to the appropriation of the lands, their cultivation,
and ultimately to the development of a capitalistic system.

As the land is "suppressed", i.e., cultivated, new social
forms develop among the people whose task it has been to conquer
the land for their own advantage and suppress the rights of others,

24 Benson. p. 28-29.

25 Loria's own debt to his historian predecessors is traced
Among those who contributed to Loria's analysis of economic de-
velopment were F. List and J. von Herder.

26 This and all successive quotation by Loria is from Economic
if the strong overcome the weak solely for personal profit, as happened in past (particularly in slave societies) then the rest of the society is injured. In colonial development in America, however, where the land is truly free on the frontier, available to all and not held by individual proprietors, then "the normal development of economic relations should in itself suffice to assure perfect liberty."

Loria posits an ideal view in which "morality, law, and politics," the effects of economic conditions, "instead of being placed at the service of the economic interests of one particular class, ... will benefit humanity as a whole and aid in developing its higher destinies."

Such thoughts are echoed in Turner's work. Turner's adaptation and assimilation of the theories of earlier writers has been dealt with by a number of analysts, among them James Malin, Henry Nash Smith, and Herman C. Nixon. Such commentators, as a body, attest to Turner's ability to synthesize and adapt various comments, hypotheses, and examinations concerning the frontier in the process of his working out of the frontier thesis. Turner himself alluded to various influences in letters to students and colleagues. As Wilbur Jacobs states in The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968): "Turner's interpretive bent was ... well developed at the outset of his career. ...he was not, in fact as self-pollenizing as we have been led to believe."²⁷

However, none of the analysts, either in the pro- or anti-Tirnerian camps, suggest that Turner had been influenced by the works of D. F. Sarmiento. A voracious reader and constant researcher, Turner may well, at some time, have been exposed to either *Facundo* or the *Viajes*. Yet if he was, apparently Sarmiento's ideas were not considered important enough to reference.28

The extant literature of the frontier, based almost entirely on Turnerian ideas and their applications to other countries, generally ignores the priority and originality of Sarmiento's frontier studies. Indeed, although there have been researches dealing with the New Zealand, Russian, Australian, and Canadian frontiers, historians in general have neglected Sarmiento's analysis of the frontier in Argentina.29 This is a somewhat strange omission, since the early development of the pampas in Argentina and the plans for the growth of the country espoused by Sarmiento present rather close parallels to parts of the North American frontier.

28Copies of *Facundo* were accessible to Turner, for in 1865 Sarmiento had given copies to the Widener Library at Harvard and to the New York Public Library. In addition, in the same year he presented copies to George Ticknor, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. (see Emilio Carilla. El Embajador Sarmiento. Rosario: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Instituto de Letras, 1961. p. 122.) Some years earlier he had presented a copy to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and French translations of *Facundo* were in both the Widener Library and the Library of Congress. Turner does not himself testify as to knowledge of *Facundo*, or if he knew it, to any acknowledgment that it had influenced him.

Thus, Turner had "put into shape" a number of ideas which other writers had been dealing with for a number of years. Turner's historical sources included records from the frontier, diaries, journals, papers and letters.

Although it is not listed as one of his sources, Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, published in 1872, might well have been useful to him, for in this volume are presented in unpolished and non-historical, non-academic terms, some of the same conceptions of the frontier. While Twain could give grudging admiration for the desperate exploits of some of the men of the west, he could also deprecate the systems of justice. Vigilante law was harsh. Even worse was that aspect of "civilization" which finally reached the west: trial by jury. This he felt was the "most ingenious and infallible agency for defeating justice that human wisdom could contrive." Juries came to be composed "of fools and rascals because the system rigidly excludes honest men of brains," and it seemed that "ignoramuses alone could mete out unsullied justice." It seems fair to suggest that Twain preferred the system of being rebuked with a gun to being hung by an ass.

Each frontier, whether of the farmer, rancher, miner or trader, had its own set of values, and each differed in application and adherence to those values. The frontiers of the farmer and the rancher were the most stable, based on familial organization, and therefore it was expected that there would be more adherence to traditional values and mores, although this was not always true in practice. The trader's frontier was even more fluid and mobile.
than that of the miner. Change in status could occur in a horizontal rather than a vertical sense. The trader could move from being an itinerant peddler, to being an agent, to owning a store, to being a big business man. Change in status occurred in terms of expansion and increased profits, rather than as often happened on the miner's frontier through a complete change in mode of work, with or without financial gain.

Yet all the frontiers did have in common the elements which Turner described. By 1890 historians and geographers considered the frontier closed, with stability and civilization having replaced restlessness and change. It is the end of the frontier era to which Twain points at the end of Roughing It when he sadly looks at the changes made in California since the end of its golden age. There he sees the energetic heyday of California gone, the "young braves" of the Gold Rush Days "scattered, ... aged... shot or stabbed," or "dead of disappointed hopes and broken hearts ... victims devoted on the altar of the golden calf." The daring pioneers, those of the "wild, free, disorderly, grotesque society," who were stalwart men are no longer. He infers that this will be the plight of Nevada as well when its mining frontier passes.

Thus Twain recalls for the reader his view of the men, events, and values of the Nevada mining frontier in a significant personal demonstration of the traits which Turner was later to emphasize in his frontier thesis.

Until the relatively recent (1970) publication of Michael Rockland's translation of Sarmiento's Travels, interest in the
Argentinian theorist and statesman had been practically non-existent. Although some writers on comparative education mention him as a prime mover toward public and progressive education in South America, and some studies of the economic and political development in South and Latin America deal with him as a liberal President, Sarmiento and his interest in the frontier and his plans for applying the North American model of frontier development in Argentina go unnoticed. His *El Facundo* is read by some undergraduate and graduate students, but the emphasis placed is upon the attacks, political and personal, on Rosas and other of the "barbarous" dictators. Such emphasis is, of course, neither surprising nor invalid, for the book was written purposely as an attack. Yet the secondary threads dealing with social and economic development on a frontier, which are woven into the main fabric, are also important. Neglected, overlooked aspects of *Facundo* must be examined, along with other material written by Sarmiento, as corollary to the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner.

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30 *El Facundo* is best known in the English translation by Mary Peabody Mann, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism.* (New York: 1960). All quotation from *El Facundo* will be referenced hereinafter as *Life in The Argentine Republic*...
Both Turner and Twain described the American frontier and some of the men who inhabited it. Yet their descriptions and analyses have analogues in the Argentinian frontier of the mid-nineteenth century as described by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the "Franklin" of South America.

Sarmiento also theorized, generalized, and applied concepts of the frontier. Before considering the philosophical implications in his political and sociological writings it is appropriate to describe his own maturation process. Although his activities in his mature years have been tied closely to his enthusiastic acceptance and application of ideas and techniques and programs learned from the example of the United States, examples from his youth and middle life serve to delineate the process of growth that led him to an almost total acceptance of "the American Way."

His life pattern is nearly a prototype of the Twainian upwardly mobile, totally adaptable, optimistic frontiersman. This pattern was not strange in the U. S., but it was peculiar in South America.

Faustino Valentin Sarmiento, destined to be known as the "Franklin" of South America, was born February 15, 1811 in the Argentinian frontier town of San Juan, located between the Andes and the pampas, it had a population in 1811 of about 3,000. His family was poor, as were most of the inhabitants of San Juan.
His father was a notably lazy man, who preferred to leave the
task of support of the family to his wife while he reminisced,
particularly to his son, about the excitement of being a patriot.
His father had been a soldier during the (1810) War for Indepen­
dence, and his tales of valor and romance were spun for the
children, as his wife toiled to provide food, shelter and basic
education for her children. The positive attributes of each
parent melded in Sarmiento, for he was, all of his life, to work
as industriously as his mother and to be as fierce and idealistic
a patriot as his father.

Early in his life the young man took the name of his patron
saint and became known as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. He
attended the first established school in the frontier province of
San Juan, where he was considered an excellent student. Popular
with his classmates, he often looked back upon his schooldays in
later years and reflected upon his leadership among a group of
high-spirited boys in the town. His days spent in formal education
were brief, however, and in 1825 he left school to become apprenticed
to a French engineer. His apprenticeship was also swiftly cur­
tailed, when he accepted the offer of his priest-uncle, Jose de Oro,
to travel far outside the province and to study with the cleric.
In 1827 Sarmiento returned home to San Juan de la Frontera and be­
gan work as a shopkeeper in his aunt's store.

The town of San Juan would have offered little to a young
man of sixteen in terms of opportunities for advancement. Houses
were small adobe shacks, and the centers of social life were the
local store and the church. There were no industries, other than such home industries as basketmaking and blanket making. A hand-to-mouth existence was the rule, and not the exception. Sarmiento described the town in apt terms: "Poverty, ignorance, filth, boredom."\(^\text{31}\)

The only escape from the ignorance and boredom was in books. Sarmiento became an avid reader, and between his chores at the store he read books borrowed from his uncle or from other literate townspeople. Somehow copies of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* and of some works by Thomas Paine came into his hands. These books in particular, he would remark later in his life, led him to decide that a "rationally ordered and understandable universe should exist."\(^\text{32}\) Yet he saw no evidence of it on the Argentine frontier. Instead he saw only poverty and ignorance and a chaotic political situation. Because *Caudillo* (strong-man) leaders were unconcerned about organized programs to combat poverty, illiteracy, and uncertain political conditions, towns like San Juan remained static.

Sarmiento, however, did not stand still. Between 1829 and 1832 the varied dimensions of his life began. He engaged in some political activities, involving himself in discussions concerning


\(^{32}\)Bunkley, p. 63.
needed political and social improvements in his country, particularly for the provincial areas away from the Europeanized and more urbane centers like Buenos Aires. He joined the militia, fulfilling his father's dream to have his son in the army, and he was commissioned. A glorious military career was not to be, for Sarmiento soon resigned after becoming embroiled in a controversy concerning the role of the militia and of its leaders. Ironically it was his resignation from the militia which would bring him fully in conflict with the man whom he was to oppose, politically and publicly, the rest of his life.

Juan Facundo Quiroga, the caudillo leader known as the "Tiger of the Plains" secured the arrest of the young officer, and had him jailed. Soon pardoned, through the influence of family and friends, Sarmiento joined the revolutionary army of the Unitarists. This decision was an act of conscience, for the Unitarists were opposed to the accepted leadership of local caudillos, and were generally concerned with winning Argentina from their rule. As civil dissension in Argentina became more widespread, men were forced to choose between bending to the will and whip of the caudillos or following the revolutionaries in the hopes of bringing reform to the government of Argentina. The years between 1829 and 1832 were turbulent for all Argentinians, but were particularly so for Sarmiento. In a skirmish he was captured by the caudillo forces (Federalists), escaped, fled to Chile, returned to San Juan when it came under the leadership of the Unitarists after a victory, and fled again to Chile, in 1831, when Quiroga and his
followers resumed power.

While in Chile in self-imposed exile he began writing for newspapers, (like Twain) expressing his bitter disgust—not yet hatred—for the Federalists who were raping his country. He also undertook what was to become a life-long role: teacher and advocate of public education. Textbook and methodological reforms that he instituted in the local schools forced his dismissal when local governmental officials disapproved of his policies. Not one to be restrained by bureaucratic sanctions, the fledgling teacher by-passed public officials and instituted his reforms again, this time in a school he founded in Pocura, Chile in 1832.

Anxious always to be involved, to learn, to absorb all he could of life Sarmiento left the same year for Valparaiso, where he became a clerk and learned English. This sojourn was brief, and he became caught up with the fever of the silver rush in Chile. He joined other free spirits and adventurous men and became first a mine worker, (again like Twain) and then a foreman. Such work must not have been fully satisfying, even if physically tiring, for he also gave English lessons, wrote assiduously, and began to develop his first full reform work—a program to colonize the Colorado River Valley.

At the end of the year he was able to return to San Juan, where he read Frnech authors, and endeavored to "put the European mind into American terms, with such adaptations as were necessary in view of the difference in environment."33

33 Bunkley, p. 103.
He hoped that, ideally, concepts of certain North Americans (by birth or adoption) concerning individual and religious freedom could be adopted to the situation in Argentina. By 1832 this future statesman had come to accept the ideas of writers of the Enlightenment, of the French philosophes, and had begun to examine ways in which ideas and concepts could be synthesized and adapted, in order to help his country. Always ominverous in his reading, Sarmiento's enthusiasm for assimilating and adapting ideas, programs, and philosophies which he believed basic to the improvement of the individual and the progress of the state would remain with him all of his life.

From 1832 to 1839, while political equilibrium in Argentina was shakily maintained, Sarmiento zealously applied himself to personal development and to reforming some of the conditions in San Juan. Among his pursuits during these years were the reading and writing of poetry. The soldier-miner-fledgling teacher phases of his life were over. While earning a sketchy living as a journalist his time was pleasantly spend enriching his life with seemingly more scholarly and leisurely pastimes. But his was not a man who could sit quietly reading poetry and attempting verses. He founded a literary society; he wrote newspaper articles for city newspapers, provincial newspapers, Chilean newspapers. He was asked to edit, and did, reform newspapers. And, because he believed that ideas and reform program information and exposes about the caudillos should not be promulgated only through existing newspapers, he appropriately established his own newspaper,
El Zonda, for San Juan in 1839.

Educational concerns were not forgotten during these years. Because he progressively believed that women should be educated "in order to unite the school, society, and the home in one single civilizing purpose," he founded a school for girls.34 And the College of Santa Rosa, with a progressive curriculum, was another Sarmiento brainchild, providing the youth of San Juan with a means to gain a higher education without having to find a patron to send them to a long-established university in the provincial capitol.

Although he spent nearly eight years in San Juan co-existing with caudillo dictatorships, he never acquiesced to the political philosophy of rule by force and fear. Opposition to the Federalist forces never waned, and his newspaper articles and public statements from 1832-40 attest to his continuing and deep-seated concern for his country's future. By 1840, when he was 29, however, he was ready to move more in the public eye, ready to do and say even more about education, government, and political philosophy than he had during the vigorous and busy years of his youth.

These years, and the many careers and tasks he chose for himself, were preparation for a far more significant future. He had established patterns and goals in his life since his teen years. Sarmiento had set out to become a European in education, a North

34Bunkley, p. 109.
American in politics, and a South American in loyalty. Atypical of his class, he had not lost himself in the dreams of his father, forsaking conscience to become a military leader, perhaps even a caudillo, the one way of moving from poverty and obscurity to some degree of solvency and renown for males on the frontier. Nor had he chosen the alternative presented to him by his mother, who wanted him to follow his uncle, and gain an education through dedicating his life to God as a priest. His choice was personal and individual; his path to success arduous. Having immersed himself in the ideas and ideals of the philosophes and North American political realists, he pursued his own course to success. This way to success was unusual for a Latin American whose future choices were laid out at birth in a stringently stratified class society. The upwardly mobile man, the optimism, the rags-to-riches success story, the demonstration of frontier individualism, the self-made, self-educated man--these were unknown to the pampas, and inconceivable, except to Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who believed in himself, in the models he had chosen, and in a future for his nation.

Arousing the wrath of reigning political powers, because of his newspaper articles and editorials opposing both caudillo power and Hispanic values, he was exiled to Chile in 1840, where he again wrote for newspapers, particularly El Nacional, and became well known as a crusading journalist. Among his prime concerns, then and later, were: 1) the need for a government which would provide order and secure property rights; 2) the end of dictatorship;
3) the formation of political parties based on reason; 4) establishment of equality of all men; 5) universal public education; 6) complete freedom of economic freedom of economic development; 7) "North-Americanizing" of Hispanic peoples, breaking the ties with Spain; 8) increased immigration from non-Spanish nations ("European immigration is one of the elements of American wealth, power and industry. Europe has an excess of men and a scarcity of bread; America has an excess of land and a great scarcity of hands;\textsuperscript{35} 9) guarantees of legal protection to European immigrants; 10) the necessity for language to express contemporary thought and reality.\textsuperscript{36}

By 1842, while still promoting political concerns, he was charged with creating a normal school in Chile, the first in South America, founded only two years after the first one had been established in the United States. While continuing to write

\textsuperscript{35}Immigration was considered necessary for the development of a labor force by Bernardino Rivadavia (Minister of Government, 1821-25) and by Bartolome Mitre (President, 1862-68) as well as by Sarmiento. Mitre fostered immigration from the Mediterranean countries. By 1888-9 250,000 immigrants from Europe went to Argentina. It is of note that Rivadavia also proclaimed the need for a strong federal government, for schools, and for economic reforms during the 1820s. However, his progressive policies failed. The failures were partly due to his attempt to make too many changes too quickly in the newly organized republic, and partly to governmental and financial exhaustion resulting from the war with Brazil. For further development see Henry Stanley Ferns. \textit{Argentina}. (New York: 1969), p. 79-80. See Also Juan Mantovani in \textit{La Pasion Civilizadora de Sarmiento}. Santa Fe: 1938, p. 27-29 who briefly speaks to Sarmiento's concern for immigration and to his concern always that "...Dentro del marco de sus ideas generales la cuidad es la \textit{civilizacion}, y el campo, \textit{la barbarie}.''

\textsuperscript{36}Bunkley, p. 186.
textbooks, particularly on the teaching of reading, he was in 1843 appointed a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at the University of Chile.

Sarmiento began his best known work, Civilization and Barbarism: the Life of Juan Facundo Quiroga (popularly known in South America as El Facundo and in the United States as Life in the Argentine Republic), during the 1840's. This pseudo-biography was a vehicle for his attack on caudillo government and an analysis of the social and political causes of Argentina's problems. Primarily for this work, but also for his newspaper editorials, Sarmiento is considered the major reformer of South America and the "Father of Spanish-American sociology."\textsuperscript{37}

With the exception of particular passages dealing solely with the tyrant Juan Facundo Quiroga most of Sarmiento's El Facundo passages in tone, style, and content both Twain's Roughing It and Turner's thesis. Sarmiento granted that he was not writing an unbiased history of Argentina; he intended, rather, a study of "national antecedents, the features of the soil, in the popular customs and traditions."\textsuperscript{38} So also with Twain and Turner, deCrevecouer and deTocqueville in their treatments of the United States. He dealt, as in all his writings, with "The history of human affairs as... a biography, the biography of a society

\textsuperscript{37}Bunkley, p. 179-80.

\textsuperscript{38}Life in the Argentine Republic ..., p. 4.
of people."\(^{39}\)

EL FACUNDO

Like both Twain and Turner, Sarmiento seldom revised or re-wrote; a "rough and ready" author, he was concerned with the immediacy of impressions made more significant through, and because of, extensive thought about historical and future implications. It is difficult, for example, to tell that it is Sarmiento writing of Argentina rather than Turner of the United States in the following passage from the end of El Facundo:

\[
...\text{Our future destiny is foretold in our numerous rivers, the boundless pasturage of our plains, our immense forests, and a climate favorable to the production of the whole world. If we lack an intelligent population, let the people of Europe once feel that there is permanent peace and freedom in our country, and multitudes of emigrants would find their way to a land where success is sure.}^{40}\]

A strong faith in the future of Argentina is evinced throughout El Facundo. Yet the primary concerns of the author are the tracing of the geographical and political conditions which changed Argentina and the describing of individuals, both specific and archetypal, who influenced change.

The first third of the book is devoted to descriptive analyses

\(^{39}\)Quoted in Bunkley, p. 199, from El Progresso, April 10, 1843.

\(^{40}\)Life in the Argentine Republic..., p. 247. Unless otherwise noted all successive quotation from Sarmiento is from this source.
of conditions leading to the 1810 Revolution and is focussed on
the pampas, the plains of Argentina most nearly like the North
American frontier. Although there were navigable rivers which
"should bear civilization, power, and wealth," the plains were
barbarous, weakly organized, and poor. Of the fourteen provinces
in Argentina all except San Juan and Mendoza were pastoral, and
the relatively small provincial cities were "small oases of
civilization, surrounded by an untilled plain, hundreds of square
miles in extent." Only Buenos Aires was based on export-import
economics. The city-dwellers of Buenos Aires were Europeanized
and civilized, while the plains people recognized only the
brutishness in life:

supremacy of the strongest, the absolute and
irresponsible authority of rulers, the
administration of justice without formalities
or discussion.

Rule by force, whether by the leaders of cattle trains and
caravans or by local gauchos, is both accepted and respected, as
it was in Twain's West. Emigrants to the plains, enduring long
journeys by caravan, learned to

acquire the habit of living far from
society, of struggling, single-handed
with nature, of disregarding privation,
and of depending for protection against
the dangers ever imminent upon no other
resources than personal strength and skill.

Although Sarmiento would continue emphasizing the self-
sufficiency of the pampas pioneer/frontiersman, he finds the
frontier traits only half-admirable. He contends, unlike Turner,
that the lack of a stable, unified government, the isolation of
"self-concentrated feudal" families, the roving nature of the
gaucho, the lack of public schools and lack of tolerance for religious differences, and the "dearth of all amenities of life induces all the externals leading to barbarism."

The continual struggle of "isolated man with untamed nature," the constant "defying and subduing of nature," develops the "consciousness of individual consequence and superior prowess," but for Sarmiento it does not foster those principles of concern for the common good and progress which he believed so necessary for the development of a republic.

The burden of labor in Argentinian frontier homesteads fell to women, who did all the domestic work, the shearing of sheep, and the weaving. This is startlingly different from the North American frontier in which women worked hard, but so also did the men and children. Young boys were encouraged in idleness, amusing themselves with lassos and bolos and with riding and breaking colts. The men cultivated maize, herded sheep, cattle and horses, drank prodigiously, and exchanged tales of derring-do.

The vernacular poetry was "popular, natural, irregular," dealing with romance and heroic exploits.41

Indeed the gaucho's life, like that of the North American cowboy's was crude, rough, dangerous, and his lack of political conscience or representation emerge in the folk epic.

41The most explicit celebration of the pampas life is in Jose Hernandez epic, Martin Fierro, (1872). (Jose Hernandez The Gaucho, Martin Fierro. trans., Walter Owen. Buenos Aires, 1960).
In Hernandez' words, "the poor guy spends all his time running from the authorities. ... The Gaucho just has to grin and bear it until death comes to swallow him up or we get a criollo chap to rule this land in the gaucho's way."\(^{42}\)

In the ballads the life of the plains was celebrated, and certain frontier types were characterized. Sarmiento carefully explores each frontier type, suggesting the analogues which he had recognized as a youth from his reading of the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, whose descriptions of people, customs, resources, and expedients seemed to Sarmiento to be plagiarized from the pampa.\(^{42}\)

Such "plagiarism"—if Sarmiento meant to be taken literally—is questionable, since it is highly doubtful that Cooper read Argentine ballads.\(^{43}\) In addition, the similarity of personal character traits, occupations, and customs of the frontiersmen of North America and of the Argentine Pampa is real. Sarmiento identifies the following types found on the Pampas in El Facundo:

1) The RASTREADOR, or track-finder, is the Gaucho of the Interior, "a grave, circumspect personage," whose declarations are considered conclusive evidence in the inferior courts. Respected, dignified, and shrewd, the Rastreador tracks both animals


\(^{43}\)Since Cooper was expelled from Yale as a freshman, where he had offered Greek and Latin as his languages, it is highly unlikely that he could have read *Fierro* which had not yet been translated into English.
and men. Sarmiento is effusive in his praise: "How sublime a creature is that which God has made in his image and likeness!"

2) the BAQUEANO, or path-finder, is a topographer who leads pioneer groups and military expeditions. Through natural and geographic examination he is able to detect the approach, direction, and numbers of both people and animals. He therefore is able to control "the fate of individuals and provinces." Some Baqueanos became so renowned through their aid to military forces that they themselves became generals.

3) The GAUCHO MALO, or gaucho outlaw, is a generally misanthropic squatter who is

Cooper's Hawkeye or Trapper, with all the knowledge of the wilderness possessed by the latter; and with all his aversion to the settlements of the whites, but without his natural morality or his friendly relations with the savages. Horse-stealer, woman-ravager, hard-drinking, egotistical, the gaucho outlaw lives by his wits. "His name is dreaded--spoken under the breath, but not in hate, and almost respectfully ... his renown flies through all the vast region around." This Argentinian Slade is "a white-skinned savage, at war with society" but he "is no more depraved at heart than the inhabitants of the settlements."

4) the CANTOR-MINSTREL is the pampas version of the troubadour, moving from settlement to settlement singing of the lawless heroes, of the laments of widows "whose sons have been taken off by the Indians in a recent raid," of his own exploits,
or of the fate of Facundo Quiroga or Santos Perez, the gaucho terrorist-chiefs. It is the minstrel who records the history and mores of people isolated from civilization, and he earns his way and his safety with his guitar, his voice, and his verses.

5) **JUDGES** exist on the plains for the purpose of punishing criminals. They are sole legal authority appointed by the city government or by provincial governors, and invent their own forms of punishment. In order to "restrain hardened men, judges still more hardened are required." Although there is some status to the occupation,

The justice is naturally someone of former notoriety recalled to orderly life by old age and his family ties. Of course, the law he administers is altogether arbitrary... his decrees are final.

6) the **COUNTRY COMMANDANT** is one of the administrators of the provinces. The position is a strong one for an ambitious man, and it is often the first step in a political or military life. Indeed, all the chiefs in the revolutionary movement had begun their careers as commandants. The title was conferred by the provincial administration in the cities upon men in the plains "whom it most fears" in order to "retain their obedience--a well-known procedure of all weak governments."

The outer pampas were loosely governed, and there was little concern shown for the sparse, shifting population. Agricultural districts, somewhat closer to the cities, like the farmer's frontier in North America, were more organized. Laborers joined to help
each other work and harvest, and exchanged tools and horses in some semblence of community feeling. Each district had a taverna and a pulperia (a general store) where the men gathered to exchange news and gossip. These became local clubs and men nearby would display horsemanship and bolo skills, boast and fight. Homocides sometimes occurred, but were considered mere misfortunes.

Even in the districts life was harsh and cheap, culture "useless or impossible." The only way to escape or to move upward in status was to become "a malefactor or military chief, whatever was expedient."44

Life and customs on the pastoral pampas contrasted sharply with life in the commercial, water-based cities:

distinct, rival, and incompatible forms of society, two differing kinds of civilization existed in the Argentine Republic: one being Spanish, European, and cultivated, the other barbarous, American, and almost wholly of native growth. The revolution which occurred in the cities acted only as the cause, the impulse, which set these two distinct forms of national existence face to face, and gave occasion for a contest between them, to be ended, after lasting many years, by the absorption of one into the other.

Sarmiento saw the struggle between Hispanic European civilization

44Upward mobility in Argentina traditionally was achieved through the army, politics, or the church; in contrast, commercial success also could provide upward movement for North Americans. Sarmiento obviously overstates the situation, for his own upward movement was achieved first through journalism and later through politics. Although he had been a member of the army, his military service did not provide him with the status he later achieved through public recognition of his political and educational views expressed in his writing.
and native barbarism as a struggle between "mind and matter"
quite different from anything else in the world.

The second two-thirds of *El Facundo* concern the rise of the
revolutionary movement and the emergence of caudillo leaders.
Particular vitriolic passages assess the character Juan Facundo Quiroga, who emerged from the pampas frontier as a revolutionary leader.

Men of the pampas, instinctively opposed to the city, banded together in warlike groups, montoneras, (men from beyond the mountains), which ultimately formed the core of the revolutionary, patriot, army in 1810. Support from the montoneras for Quiroga and other gaucho leaders led ultimately to the

... final formation of the central consolidated despotic government of the landed proprietor, Don Juan Manuel Rosas, who applied the knife of the gaucho to the culture of Buenos Ayres (sic) and destroyed the work of centuries--of civilization, law, and liberty.

It is Sarmiento's thesis that the way of life on the pampas, the individualism, independence, and anti-European traits of the gaucho, and the isolation from centers of culture, led directly to a confrontation of values culminating in the revolution.

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45 Sarmiento does overlook some aspects of Rosas' rule. Rosas did recognize, in a letter to Quiroga in 1834, that Argentina needed a central government to unify a disjointed country. (See Ferns, p. 84-86, who states that Rosas gave to the natives "self-esteem and as much dignity as dependence allows... . Under Rosas, Argentina was a democracy of what is; not of what ought to be." p. 86) The idealist-liberal Sarmiento was always concerned with "what ought to be" and therefore could not accept Rosas government which operated according to "what is."
It is important to note that the same traits which Turner cites as leading to democracy on the American frontier, as supportive to the principles of liberty and responsibility, are pointed to by Sarmiento as leading to precisely opposite goals and conditions. Just as these traits strengthened the North American Union they fractured Argentina.

As frontier pampas men opposed the conservative royalists in the cities during the revolution, so also did a third group emerge (in 1825) which opposed both the insurgent patriots and the Spanish Loyalists. The was was fought over a period of many years by different groups for different reasons. It was a war of the cities and democratic idealists against the Spanish monarchy, of the plains against the monarchy, and of the plains against the cities and the idealist Unitarios. Once the monarchy was ousted the war began anew, with the federalist gaucho/caudillo forces set against the unitarist democratic armies in a bitter struggle.

In the initial triumphs of the Federalist armies and values Argentina was forced, Sarmiento believed, to revert totally to barbarism. He delineates, not always precisely but ever incisively, the results of the triumph of barbarism. The central symbol is Don Juan Facundo Quiroga, the "Tiger of the Llanos," (the plains

of Northwest Argentina) whose actions, along with those of other gauchos, prove them to be "vipers that have thriven under the shade of their country's laurels." According to Sarmiento, Quiroga was a cruel, profligate, ambitious man who "substituted terror for patriotism and self-sacrifice." As the author relates numerous instances of the reign of terror he makes of Quiroga a negative culture-hero, who not only rejects all recognized civilization, but also "destroys and disorganizes." Avaricious and unscrupulous, Quiroga demanded the absolute subjection of all people to his will, using the jail, the whip, and the gun to enforce that will. Churches, schools, theatres, religious orders, and courts were closed or disbanded.

Quiroga adopted, as a symbol, a flag in which a skull and crossbones on a black ground represented "terror, death, hell." Under Quiroga and followed by Manuel Rosas, the Argentinian flag of two blue stripes and one white stripe "signifying justice, peace, justice" was amended by the addition of a red band, the symbol of Quiroga, "signifying terror, blood, barbarism." In 1840 all citizens were required to wear a red ribbon as "proof of unanimity of opinion." Failure to wear the ribbon and its accompanying motto, "Death to the dirty savages, Unitarios", resulted in torture or death at the hands of the caudillo leader.

Even as Sarmiento recounts the horrors of life under the dictatorship he grudgingly grants the heroic image of Facundo:

...ignorant, barbarous, for the greater part of his life an outlaw, and famous only for his acts of desperation; brave to rashness, endowed
with herculean strength, always upon
his horse, which he managed skilfully
through terror and violence, knowing
no other power than that of brute force, had no faith but in his horse, and de­
pended for success upon bravery, the
lance and the terrible charges of his
cavalry. ... He was the perfect
gaucho malo.

Manual Rosas, Facundo's successor, was to Sarmiento both
better and worse than his predecessor. If he "did not rob
cities nor outrage women," as did Facundo, he nonetheless had
"one passion—the thirst for human blood and despotism." Fearing
the possibility of the Unitarios gaining a following with their
proclamations of individual rights, Rosas, like Quiroga, pursued
a course of rule through fear. Sarmiento, the Unitario, addresses
Rosas sardonically:

Thou alone hast discovered how contemptible
are the liberties, the knowledge, and the
pride of mankind. Trample upon them all;
let all the governments of the civilized
world honor thee, the more insolent thou
art. Abuse them! thou wilt always find
dogs to snatch up the spoils thrown down
to them!

What Argentina, a country geographically "destined to be a
consolidation ... inevitably to be 'one and indivisible'", needed
was the end of the gaucho malo. "And how long will it still be
before God shall destroy the Monster of the Pampas?" Should
Rosas rule and Facundo heritage be destroyed then, Sarmiento
believed, the people could turn to reviving agriculture and could
use the rivers as communication. Rosas had opposed free river
transportation and navigation, for he had "the natural instinct
of the gaucho ... who has a horror of water, a contempt for ships' and a fear of European influence.

Instead of opening the rivers, introducing cultivation of money-producing crops, beginning factories and schools, all the gaucho leaders had given the Argentine was

A red rag! This is the extent of the government's care ... for fifteen years; this is the only measure of the national administration; the only relation between master and slave, the mark upon the cattle.

Sarmiento in El Facundo looks past present horrors of despotism under "a government which fears the influence of thoughtful and enlightened men, and must either exile or kill them." He was rightfully optimistic, and continually emphasized his belief, growing ever stronger during his own exile from his native land that

Civilization will, however feeble its present resistance, one day resume its place. There is a new world about to unfold itself, and it only awaits some fortunate general to put aside the iron heel which has so long crushed it.

In his vision of a progressive democratic future for an Argentina freed from the bonds of tyranny, Sarmiento saw possibilities through education and agricultural development.

After the hoped for defeat of Federalist forces and the institution of a constitutional government, Sarmiento himself was released from Chilean exile, became able to work for reforms within his own country as an agent for his good, and was able to travel to learn more about the rest of the world.
Embarking on a fateful trip arranged by his government as a public relations gesture to the United States in 1847, Sarmiento began a series of letters which later were published as his Viajes, translated as Travels in the United States in 1847. Always perceptive and inquisitive, Sarmiento’s discussions of and observations on American life in mid-century anticipate the personalistic reportorial genre of Twain’s Roughing It and Life on the Mississippi. Rambling, sympathetic, humorous, often disconnected, descriptions were recorded with the intention of suggesting some insights to the American character.

On his initial trip he visited twenty-one states, and was impressed by the technology, the industrial growth of cities, and by the order resulting from a federal republic based upon allegiance to ideals. Slavery concerned him deeply, and he prophetically predicted a civil war arising from bitter differences on this issue.

During this first trip he met Horace Mann and his wife, Mary Peabody Mann, and through their auspices he was able to study the American system of public education first-hand. The impressions gained further spurred Sarmiento, on his return to Argentina, to

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support such a system there. His allegiance and friendship with the Manns lasted a lifetime, and Mary Mann was, in 1868, to translate El Facundo into his authorized English version.

On the other side of the Alleghenies, the New World begins .... In the West, Yankee genius has more room to move about and expand to try new things that would seem impossible in the older states. In the West they try things which are superhuman, inconceivable, seemingly absurd.48

Such statements affirm the belief in the forward movement of the American West which is omnipresent in the works of D. F. Sarmiento. In his Travels the various stages in frontier development which he had described in Facundo are re-established and a model of the frontier expanded. On the American frontier, he says, the first pioneer is the "Indian Hater" who persecutes the native inhabitants of the lands so that they will desert them. Then come the Squatters, "who are misanthropes looking for solitude in which to dwell, danger for excitement, and the work of felling trees ... ." The real pioneers come next, "opening the forests, sowing the earth, and spreading themselves over a great area." Once they are established, the "capitalist impresarios" follow, nearly on their heels, along with immigrant laborers and fortune-hunting youth. Finally are established the proprietary class, the cities, and the commercial routes.49

48Quoted by Rockland, p. 64-5, from "Hacia el Oeste."

49Rockland, p. 190.
"The incurable barbarism" endemic to the Argentine plains does not emerge during the process of settling the frontiers in the United States because of the "ebb and flow of vital elements of regeneration which dominate the country ... insuring that the most distant and most isolated places are kept from stagnating and degenerating." 50

AVAILABILITY OF FREE LAND

Sarmiento suggests that the availability of free and open land partially contributes to the prospering western development of the United States. But he asks, "... then why in South America, where it is just as easy if not easier to take up new land, are population and wealth not increasing?" 51 There, with a greater amount of virgin land than in the United States "have the backwardness, poverty and ... ignorance" continued unabated. The reason why the mere existence of free land cannot be accepted as the major impetus for prosperity is clear to Sarmiento:

The American is a man with a home or the certainty of having one, a man beyond the clutch of hunger or desperation, a man with hopes for the future as bright as the imagination can invent, a man with political sentiments and needs. He is, in short, master of himself with a spirit elevated by education and a sense of his own dignity. 52

50Rockland, p. 191.
51Rockland, p. 153.
These are attributes the Hispano-American lacks, and until they can be developed through education the free land of the Pampas will remain uncultivated, the masses of people will remain in poverty, and the nation of Argentina will not prosper. "...Being a new country does not mean anything if action is wanting." \(^{53}\)

Americans, in contrast, are "free men and not disciplined prisoners whose lives are administered," and they are energetic and active. \(^{54}\)

In the United States frontier the land belongs to the Union and is sold for a dollar an acre to any man, says Sarmiento, while in Argentina the system of land distribution was, and is, different. There land concessions were granted first to the conquistadors who

...established earldoms for themselves, while their soldiers, fathers of the sharecropper, that worker without land who multiplies without increasing the number of his buildings, sheltered themselves in the shade of their improvised roofs. The passion to occupy lands in the name of the king drove men to dominion over entire districts, which put great distances between landowners so that after three centuries the intervening land still has not been cleared. The city, for this reason, has been suppressed in the vast design, and the few villages which have been created since the conquest have been decreed by presidents." \(^{55}\)

On the other hand, the American takes possession of his lands "in the name of the kings of the world: Work and Good Will." \(^{56}\)

Sarmiento's view of the American seeking to tame the wilderness

\(^{53}\)Rockland, p. 155.

\(^{54}\)Rockland, p. 158.

\(^{55}\)Rockland, p. 165

\(^{56}\)Rockland, p. 165.
is admittedly romantic. He sees the Yankee as "a born proprietor," dreaming of conquering the forests. The western wilderness is tamed by "American Alexanders, who wander through the wilds looking for points that a profound study of the future indicates will be centers of commerce. The Yankee, an inventor of cities, professes a speculative science which leads him by deduction to the divination of a site where a future city must flourish." Unhampered by the stigmas of ignorance or poverty and unimpeded by governmental regulations he accepts the land as his. His is a free "colonizing spirit", untrammelled by outside forces. Thus do Americans cross six hundred leagues of wilderness for an ideal. ... They sacrifice themselves for the future of the nation. ... These people carry with them, like a political conscience, certain constitutive principles of association. Political science becomes moral sentiment, perfecting the man, the people, even the mob. The municipality is converted into a phenomenon dependent upon spontaneous association. There is liberty of conscience and of thought. There is trial by jury. 

How different are the Americans from the Argentinians of any class, who are unable to conceive of voluntary association for the common good, unable to consider a political system based upon the principle of liberty, unable to forget the strictures of both religion and class. For they, their revolution notwithstanding, assume that government exists because of the necessity to regulate the actions of individuals according to a predetermined code. And, without a system of universal, says Sarmiento, education

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57 Rockland, p. 166.
58 Rockland, p. 171
the Argentine Republic will not be able to provide man with the means to develop fully his moral and political conscience.

CUSTOMS

In his Travels Sarmiento is also concerned with actions and attitudes and customs of people throughout the United States, even though his recurring emphasis is upon the westward movement and progress. But he often reflects on the differences in manners and attitudes between the Americans he meets and observes and those of his own countrymen. Some customs he finds more than a little shocking:

The Americans have developed customs which have no parallel and which are unprecedented on this earth. The unmarried woman, or 'man of feminine sex,' is as free as a butterfly until the moment she seals herself in the domestic cocoon in order to fulfill through marriage her social functions. The phenomenon of an unmarried woman travelling alone or being entertained by a gentleman without a chaperone would be unthinkable in Spanish America. 60

Various customs are a source of both interest and amusement. 61

59 Rockland, p. 135-6.
60 One should note, that Sarmiento found these customs personally enjoyable for he was quite a ladies' man. See Enrique Anderson Imbert. Una Aventura Amorosa de Sarmiento: Cartas de Ida Wickersham. Buenos Aires: 1968.
61 His intense interest as traveller-observer has been noted by a number of his later biographers. One might mention the statement by Juan Mantovani in La Pasion Civilizadora de Sarmiento. (Santa Fe: 1938), p. 17. "In Segunda estada en Norte-America, mas que la de un diplomatico, es la de un estudioso infatigable, observador de nuevas costumbres sociales y politicas e investigador de la educacion."
Lack of attention paid to leisurely eating is somewhat disconcerting to the fastidious Sarmiento: "The American has two minutes set aside for lunch, five for dinner, ten for a smoke or to chew tobacco ... . The Yankee pur sang eats all his food, desserts, and fruit from the same plate, one at a time or all together." 62

Lack of respect for privacy is rife in America: "In the reading rooms of large hotels four or five parasites support themselves heavily on your shoulders to read the same tiny bit of print you are reading. ... If you are tranquilly smoking your cigar, a passerby will take it out of your mouth in order to light his own." 63 Yet these "liberties" seem not to disturb the other Americans, for they are apparently used to an easy, if hectic, manner of life. If certain niceties of manners are not observed as they are in Europe or in South America it is perhaps because the trappings of civilization are unimportant in a burgeoning, classless society. More to the point, for Sarmiento, is the acceptance by the American of man by man, whatever he may be lacking in the social graces.

Even in discourse Americans are different. Sarmiento observes that "Americans profess the admirable and conciliatory principle of not discussing religion or politics with anyone except those who are of their own sect or persuasion. This system is based on

63 Rockland, p. 148.
a obvious understanding of human nature." 64

Sarmiento is aware that he is not the first European or South American to comment upon North American manners and customs or to be somewhat amused by them. He had read other travellers' accounts, and says that according to respectable European commentators "the Yankees are the most uncivil little animals under the sun." 65 Yet critics who judge a nation of men according to superficial criteria such as eating habits or lack of worldly civilities do not fully appreciate Americans. More important than the superficial differences he has observed is his general conclusion that "the Americans are the only really cultured people that exist on this earth and the last word in modern civilization." 66 To Sarmiento it is more important that people be viewed culturally in terms of their actions and attitudes toward each other and in their progress as a nation of people working for common goals and ideals. The American concerns for individual liberty, for education, for the "natural right to a role in political affairs," are paramount criteria on which to judge. 67 In his opinion "...the United States is the latest result of human logic. It does not have kings, or nobles, or privileged classes, or men born into power, or human machines born to obey." 68 It is a country in which

64 Rockland, p. 150.
65 Rockland, p. 150.
66 Rockland, p. 151.
67 Rockland, p. 152.
individuals are encouraged, in which the government exists for the people, in which a child growing up is ignorant of the horror of an occupying army or dictatorial force. These conditions are of prime importance, not whether or not Americans put ketchup on all their food as they hastily gulp it down! Tolerance for men, and for their vagaries and differences, impresses the Argentinian visitor.

As a Hispano-Catholic, reared with the rigid authority of the Spanish church ubiquitous in his country, Sarmiento is amazed by the American acceptance of the number and variety of religious sects. Although he finds some of the frenetic, enthusiast, or faithhealing sects both strange and unusual, he is impressed by the tolerance among the people he meets of and for religious differences. He suggests that a kind of religious chaos exists, but because of the way Americans are he expects that in the future there will be an eventual homogeneity of religious beliefs. He prophesies that the religion which ultimately will emerge will be one without apparent form or ritual, one based on human dignity and equality—humanism.

Related to the tolerance of religious attitudes and practices is the American interest in developing and supporting philanthropic and improvement organizations, an interest unheard of among South Americans. That some individuals would give away capital to help their fellow man, that others would crusade against drunkenness, that anyone would freely donate money to establish institutions for the sick, the insane, or for the education of orphans—these
are aspects of the uniquely American way of life which so intrigues Sarmiento, and of which he approves. Groups and individuals seeking the improvement of society, with nothing to gain personally, he believes are a reflection and product of the American's overwhelming interest in mass education. 69

Even if he sees much of the country and the lives of its inhabitants through the proverbial rose-colored glasses, even if he can believe that all the mill girls in Lowell are "educated... conscientious and devoted to their work," 70 one comes to understand that such seemingly naive conclusions and his almost child-like acceptance of anything American are understandable. He reaches conclusions because he almost desperately wants to believe that somewhere in the world the ideal state for all men exists. Philanthropy as opposed to self-aggrandizement, education for the mass instead of for the few, a government dedicated, at least in principle, to equality and human dignity, religious toleration rather than suppression, wages for factory workers rather than near slave status and poverty for the unskilled—all of these are better, in reality, that what he had observed and grown up with in the Argentine. Thus he could say: "When there is a school in a town, a press in the city, a ship on the sea, and an asylum for the sick, democracy begins to exist." 71 Such was his dream for his homeland. The conditions described and attacked in Facundo

69 Rockland, p. 244 and elsewhere in text.
70 Rockland, p. 246.
71 Rockland, p. 267.
had been only partially ameliorated. If the North American model could be imposed upon, or accepted by, Argentina then, for Sarmiento, even in 1847, there was reason to hope and dream that his country could one day be as settled, as prosperous, its lands as cultivated, its people as free as in the United States.

Since the United States had progressed so rapidly because Old World values had been cast off, because Americans seemed continually to search for ways of improving the land and society Sarmiento finds, upon reflection, bitter irony in the situation in South America. In his own country he deplored what "the Spaniards have not done in three centuries" compared to what had been accomplished in less time in the United States.

WEAKNESSES OF AMERICANS

Although it appears that Sarmiento is an enthusiast for nearly everything American and a romantic in his approach to all that he sees, he is not totally uncritical. His praise may often be effusive, but it is so because of his dreams and because he sees such a contrast between the countries, between the prosperous and dynamic United States and the poverty-ridden, oppressive Argentine Republic.

He does seem incapable of assessing any possible philosophical weaknesses in the American political system, but he is well-aware of individual human frailties among the new breed of men he has met. Continual and overt "breaches in individual honesty" appal
him. 72 The very basis of the political system which he so eloquently extolls so often provides the impetus for dishonesty in society: "Avarice is the legitimate daughter of equality, while fraud comes (strange as it may seem) from liberty itself." 73 The growth of capital because of the industrious nature of a free people leads ultimately, Sarmiento believes, to the "unbridled American passion" for money. 74 "All the energy of the nation is devoted to the great enterprise of the present generations, to accumulating capital or to possessing the greatest amount of property in order to establish oneself in life." 75 Thus, the American covets comfort and "if morality gets in the way when he is about to reach his goal, is there anything strange in putting it aside in order to pass by or in giving it a push if it persists in interfering. ... Thus liberty and equality produce moral defects which are not so apparent in other places where the greater part of the people has no chance to exhibit them." 76

Overzealous desires for wealth and comfort perhaps inherent in any people are not the only defects which Sarmiento assesses. The native (i.e., at least second generation) American's attitude toward the unassimilated immigrant, against the foreigner who

72 Rockland, p. 181.
73 Rockland, p. 182.
74 Rockland, p. 183.
75 Rockland, p. 184.
76 Rockland, p. 184-5.
cannot speak English and who is unable to grasp republican attitudes, is less than worthy. Thus are immigration restrictions introduced in Congress, and at times a "kind of fanatical nationalism very much like--although with different aims--our own Americanismo emerges." Overt and covert prejudice against foreigners is apparent. Yet Sarmiento remains optimistic that there will be a change, for he believes that in the expansion and "mixing and justaposition" of peoples that someday America will be "homogenous." He firmly accepted the idea of the "melting pot" as operative in the United States.

Sarmiento sees slaves as unassimilated and suppressed. He describes the system of slavery in the United States as "the deep ulcer and the incurable fistula which threatens to corrupt the robust body of the Union!" Sarmiento believes that the Founding Fathers made a "fatal error" in allowing the injustice of man's subjugation to man to exist in a country founded on diametrically opposed principles. He astutely remarks that had slavery been abolished with the Declaration of Independence or with The Constitution at a time when the number of slaves was relatively few that it would have been a much more acceptable act then than in the nineteenth century. Slavery had come to be supported from an exploitative economic and social point of view, and Sarmiento sees only ill to come from its continuation. He suggests that a "racial

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77 Rockland, p. 191-2.
78 Rockland, p. 304.
war within a century" will take place, for he sees the division between slave and free states and the increasing numbers of Negroes as portents for a dire future. He does not pursue the implications of slavery on a larger scale, nor does he relate the existence of slavery to conditions in Argentina or elsewhere in the world. He is primarily concerned that slavery is a blight upon a fruitful democratic nation.

Mistreatment and cruelty to others than slaves and foreigners occurs from time to time, when justice is mishandled. Although trial by jury is accepted by Sarmiento as a decided Anglo-Saxon benefit, in the frontier areas, just as on the Pampas in Argentina, vigilante law is not unknown. Just as Mark Twain observes that a jury can only be as good as the men on it, Sarmiento contends that for the Westerner the "civil crime" known as Lynch Law reads: "wherever seven men meet in the name of the people, justice will be in your hands." And such "justice" results in "hanging judges and juries" deplorable offshoots from republican and democratic roots. 80

DYNAMISM

In spite of some weaknesses in the North American system and citizens, by and large Sarmiento does see only good. As a

79 Rockland, p. 305.
80 Rockland, p. 193.
thoroughly curious traveller he remarks upon the many freedoms that Americans have. Among these is the freedom to travel at will. The ease of travel, as compared to difficulties faced in other countries, is especially pleasing to him. "Since everyone travels, there is no impossible or unprofitable enterprise in the field of transportation. ... The great number of travellers makes for cheap rates, and cheap rates in turn tempt those who have no precise object in mind to go somewhere." Even in 1847 Sarmiento was aware that the peripatetic American was unique in the world. The American's ability to travel freely, without passports or cartes de identification (required in Europe and South America) to be shown to officials, impresses the South American. He further notes that railroad cars are open to all people, without "class" privileges, and that all seats and ticket prices are the same, whether the traveller purchasing a ticket is a farmer, a factory worker, or a foreign Minister. "Thus," he says, "by the respect accorded every man, the sentiment of equality is diffused throughout society." How different were the attitudes in Spain and Latin America.

As he moves about the country, Sarmiento observes that in this dynamic society "the hotels will be more important than any other kind of public construction." Not only do the hotels which

81Rockland, p. 133-4.
82Rockland, p. 161.
accomodate the increasing number of travellers impress him with their public and private appointments, but so also do other buildings. As he absorbed the sight of the newly erected banks and municipal buildings in new towns he judged that the eclectic attitude of the American architects suggest: "If the Americans have not, then, created a new kind of architecture, they have at least developed national applications, forms, and a character influenced by their political and social institutions."83

The "melting pot," adaptability, and ingenuity he observes in architecture as well as in manners and customs. Over and over, Sarmiento is struck by the differences from his own country. In the major population centers of Argentina public and private architecture was solely Spanish-inspired, modified only by availability of materials. In the country the adobe huts were crude and built from available materials. Hispanic class and national attitudes were, in Argentina, reflected in the architecture. In the United States, however, what he noted in the buildings was a pride in monuments, a penchant for echoing styles of past, republican, ages, and general experimental uses of forms and materials.

Cities, with their Romanesque, Grecian, and monumental public buildings, were springing up throughout the mid and far West. As population moved restlessly the need for railroads and varieties of internal communication and transport systems developed. thus

83 Rockland, p. 145.
Pittsburgh was seen by Sarmiento "rising up in the middle of the American forests, wrapped in a dense mantle of thick, foul-smelling smoke which has already earned it the name 'The Yankee Birmingham'" as a portent of the future. And as the population "advances to the Pacific at a rate of seven hundred miles of frontier per year, it will be necessary later to have an industrial center even further into the interior." The westward movement and attendant growth of industrial cities Sarmiento attributes, partially, to "the infallible Yankee instinct for sensing places which will produce wealth... ."

Sarmiento judged the adaptability of the new westerners to be important, but recognized that even as emigrants from the East coast and immigrants from Europe and the Orient adapted to new conditions so also "the land soon puts its stamp upon them... . so the fragments of old societies are coming together in the flood of immigrants, mixing and forming the newest, the youngest, and the most daring republic on the face of the earth." The words foreshadow Turner's assertion that the land makes an impression on the people who set out, initially, to conquer it; "Americanization" takes place.

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84 Rockland, p. 122.
85 Rockland, p. 123.
86 Rockland, p. 123.
87 Rockland, p. 124.
Portents for success on the frontier include, says Sarmiento, not only the adaptability of the new westerners and their inherent native ingenuity, but also the development of towns. Sarmiento describes "the village, which is the center of political life, just as the family is the center of domestic life....the essence of the United States is to be found in its small towns. This cannot be said of any other country." 88

Sarmiento readily accepts the differences in social attitudes which set the North Americans apart from the South Americans. Even on the frontier, away from the commercial cities of the seacoast, there is a "display of comfort and wealth" in an American village quite unlike what would be found on the Pampas. The American village is a microcosm of larger population centers, and as such exemplifies the "difference between the productive power of nations." 89

Even in the poorest of villages, he notes, North Americans respect and use manufactured items (locks, kitchen utensils, plows, axes) rather than local, crudely crafted items. Amenities lacking in South American villages (signposts, hotels, newspapers, banks, churches, post offices, streets) are omnipresent in even the newest of American villages. What he sees as a basic difference between life in semi-isolated areas on the two continents is "widespread

88 Rockland, p. 126-7.
89 Rockland, p. 127.
distribution of civilized ways in the towns as well as in the
cities and among men of all classes." 90

Sarmiento is quick to accept, however, that the signs of "civilized ways" do diminish the further west one moves.

"Westward, where civilization diminishes", he writes, "and in the FAR WEST, where it is almost non-existent because of the sparseness of the population, things are, of course, different. Comfort is reduced to what is strictly necessary. ... But even in these remote plantations there is an appearance of perfect equality among the population in their dress, in their manners, and even in their intelligence. The merchant, the doctor, the SHERIFF, the farmer—all look the same. ... Americans do not wear jackets or ponchos, but have a dress common to all and a universal roughness of manner which gives an impression of equality in education." 91

How different are these views, of dress and attitudes, from appearances on the Argentinian frontier! There class differences would be readily apparent, in clothing and in manner. The peon would be recognized by his poncho and hand woven garments, the cleric by his black robes, and if perchance a wealthy merchant or doctor travelled through a farm region his European cut in jackets and trousers and his imported linens would be signs of wealth. Equality in manner, as well as in dress, was not only non-existent in Argentina, but even the thought would have been ridiculous to entertain for either the peon or the wealthy landowner.

Beyond the superficial similitude in clothing and roughness of manner what Sarmiento finds most characteristic of Americans

90 Rockland, p. 131.

91 Rockland, p. 131-2.
Is their ability to appropriate for their own use, generalize, popularize, conserve, and perfect all the practices, tools, methods, and aids which the most advanced civilization has put in the hands of men. In this the United States is unique on earth. There are no unconquerable habits that retard for centuries the adoption of an obvious improvement, and, on the other hand, there is a predisposition to try anything. ... You would have to wait a century for something like this to happen in Spain, or in France, or in our own part of America.

In his continuation of a seminal "frontier thesis" Sarmiento says that civilization is comprised of "moral and physical perfection or the abilities which a civilized man develops in order to subject nature to his desires." Such perfection and abilities exist on only one frontier in the world and only among the men who forge their way through that frontier. Only the American is able to adapt to conditions easily, accept man as man, believe in his own ability to conquer nature, to use technology, to rely on his own native gifts of intuition and intelligence not only to survive in the wilderness, but to succeed. The ability and the willingness to try new things, new ways, new lands, is intrinsic to the American: "...if you want to know if a machine, an invention, or a social doctrine is useful and can be applied or developed in the near future, you must test it on the touchstone of Yankee knowhow." The pragmatic and utilitarian and ingenious American "far from barbarizing, as we have, the elements which European

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92 Rockland, p. 132-3.
93 Rockland, p. 133.
94 Rockland, p. 144.
civilization handed him when he came as a settler, has worked to perfect them and even improve upon them."^95

With the attributes Sarmiento describes he finds it understandable that American inventions, products, and business forms are rapidly displacing those of Europe. But America's greatest potential for development lies in the citizen's "possession of the land which will be the nursery of his new family,"^96 in the small free-hold system.

SARMIENTO'S POLITICAL CAREER

After his return home, Sarmiento's publications, both in newspapers and in pamphlets, continued. In 1853, in "Commentaries", he affirmed that Argentina had adopted in its Constitutional Congress the principles of the United States' Constitution. While serving a term as Governor of San Juan he instituted compulsory education in the province. When a normal school was named for him in 1864 he said, "My thirty years of creating schools in towns where I have lived returns to its initial starting point, the basic idea of the primordial importance of primary education for the welfare of the people."^97

On March 20, 1864 he was appointed Plenipotentiary Minister and Special Envoy to Chile, Peru, and the United States, in which capacity he again visited the United States. During this 1865

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^96Rockland, p. 162-3.

official visit he again stayed briefly in Massachusetts, with
the now widowed Mary Mann at whose home he met Emerson, Longfellow,
and others. He attended a number of educational meetings and ob-
served the world around him enthusiastically:

*glued to the glass of the train windows,
from dawn to dusk, always watching, observing
the procession of woods, maize, potatoes, shacks,
factories, houses, waterfalls, and always seeing,
looking happy, silent, and contemplative.*

His curiosity, enthusiasm, and pleasure led him to ship back
to the Argentine everything from tools, firearms, books, furniture,
sewing machines, seeds, posters, how-to manuals on agriculture
and husbandry and through Mrs. Mann and Henry Barnard he enlisted
young teachers to come to South America to educate the young about
the United States.

One address given during this trip is of particular note in
its indications of basic points stated later in Turner's thesis.
The December 27, 1865 address to the Rhode Island Historical
Society concerned what he considered and identified as the basic
elements of North American civilization as assessed by Sarmiento:

1) the historical separation and isolation of North America
from the Old World;

2) its orientation to both the Atlantic and the Pacific;

3) its rich mineral deposits (gold, silver, iron, coal) so
necessary for industrial progress;

4) "ten times more land than that occupied by the present

*Quoted in Correas, p. 28.*
generation, as space for the natural increment of future generations and an increasing opportunity to absorb the excess population of other nations;"

5) its military strength;
6) its peoples' inventive genius;
7) its maritime power and contact with many different nations;
8) its "intellectual aptitudes," particularly its planned universal education;
9) its ready acceptance of ideas of progress and innovation;
10) its preparation for rapid personal and commercial transport on the railroads, canals, inland seaways, and rivers;
11) its political system of law: the "right to civil and religious freedom of action and thought;"
12) the independent nature of its peoples. 99

In a different vein, as he prepared to return home (after being recalled for budgetary reasons) Sarmiento wrote a friend, Correo del Domingo, September 22, 1866, of the similarities between his own republic and a North American "frontier" state

In case you don't know it Texas is also a province of the Argentine Republic. It has estancias 30 miles in extent and proprietors of 1000,000 head of cattle, worth $3 a cow with calf. There are cowboys, that is, mounted gauchos, and in many places they can't find milk for their tea, and butter is brought in from other states. Most of the inhabitants are poor. There is a great deal of meat, but schools are few, villages dirty, rags

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99 See Appendix A.
plentiful, and at every harsh word the knife flashes. The Texans were the first to revolt against the government and the last to surrender. Felix qui potuit cognoscere causas! The same at both ends of the world!

Sarmiento saw the beginning of a new era for Argentina after his nomination, on July 4, 1867, in Paris, as President of the Argentine Republic. On his return trip to Argentina he revisited the United States. Elated as he was over prospects for the future in his own country, he was overcome by an honor bestowed on him through the efforts of Mary Mann and Henry Barnard: in June, 1868, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Michigan. For the rest of his life this man, who had received little formal schooling, basked in the deserved title "Dr." As he left the United States on July 23, 1868, his farewell was affectionate:

I shall carry memories of it with me and examples to follow. ... I shall not forget the Republic as an institution. It is the hope of the world.

After his triumphant election as President Sarmiento was aware of the problems he faced. The country was still not united politically nor its people philosophically:

No nation in the world is socially in a worse condition now than our republic, because we are divided into aristocrats and plebeys (sic). ... This division is the result of our defective system of education. It is necessary to transform the poor gaucho into a useful member of society. ... The

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100 "Happy is he who can understand causes."


102 Correas, p. 38.
nation must be transformed into a school. He conceived his role of President as that of an "intermediary," seeking to unite disparate factions. His "New Jerusalem" would find its salvation in and through education. Since his early years as a journalist he had conceived the interpretation that all political problems were caused by illiteracy and by "a fundamental conflict between the forces of 'civilization' and 'barbarism.'" Only through education could the "barbarous" become civilized. In his quest for universal public education he did not, however, single-mindedly pursue that goal while ignoring others, as some of his enemies charged.

A life-long interest was in the formation of agrarian communities to be peopled by both Argentinians and European immigrants. In 1858 and 1859 he had been the main spur behind the development of the Chivilcoi program. Chivilcoi was a bleak and desolate area in which only 39 people lived in 1858. Through the establishment of a railroad line to Buenos Aires and through the parcelling out of farmlands (similar in effort to the Homestead Act) Sarmiento attracted squatters and emigrants to this area so that they could

103 Correas, p. 39.

104 Four major social organizations existed in Sarmiento's Argentina: the family, the army, the estancia, and the church. The landed elite who operated estancias with aide from gaucho cattlemen rarely contributed substantially to politics or to public economic development. Lower classes, the peons and gauchos, were kept from political influence unless they moved up to power as self-styled military leaders. Church officials during the Rosas regime had lost political standing and influence. The lack of a substantial middle class, or of any non-"intellectual" group concerned about public and commercial progress, was a major problem. Sarmiento sought a solution through education.
make a new beginning. After one year Sarmiento called the town "a Chicago in the desert," for it boasted a church, a public school, private schools, a bank, and a railroad station. By 1868 20,000 people were thriving in the bootstrap community, enjoying "all the conveniences of civilized life." 105

He also pioneered in the cultivation of the "Isles of the Parana." Lands were redeemed from the delta of the Parana River, and after Sarmiento introduced the cultivation of peaches and osier (a plant used in basket-making) the Isles became a thriving, money-making area.

As theorist and statesman he fully recognized that time was needed to allow Argentina to adjust to changes brought about by the break with the paternalistic Spanish Monarchy. Unlike citizens of North America, Hispanic Americans were forced by the 1810 Junta to come to terms with a new independence achieved, as in the United States Revolution, through force, violence and disruption, but unlike the United States' Revolution it happened without an underlying philosophical, unifying, base for its peoples. The Junta was a political reaction of a colony against absentee Imperial rule. The Argentinian Revolutionary forces were not, however, united in any philosophic or political goals to sustain the nation after independence, of a sort, was achieved. Sarmiento well knew the divisive forces in his country, and he had watched, and participated in, various phases of the disruption.

105 Condensed from the Biographical sketch by Mary Mann, in *Life in the Argentine Republic.*
Argentinian (and other Hispanic American) intellectuals had from 1810 like Jefferson and other North American political philosophers on

tried to create a government based on law, a nomocracy, a political form in which the personality was fitted into a pattern of political behavior created by an abstract system of law. Yet these intellectuals were incapable of dealing with illiteracy, with the uneducated gauchos, Indians, and half-breeds who could not understand Rousseauian concepts. They were further hampered by continual battles with the independent personalistic government of the gauchos of the pampas. They dreamt, said Argentinian historian Americo Castro, of creating independent republics "in accordance with the democratic dreams of the eighteenth century." But their dreams conflicted with the realities of a deeply rooted Hispanic culture. In the philosophic meeting of East (Muslim) and West (European) wrought in Spain and transplanted to South America confusion, rather than unity, of ideas and goals resulted. Hispanic Americans had created a history of "persons rather than Ideas or Things." And governments in Argentina rose and fell for decades as loyalties were transferred first from the Spanish Monarch and then to one after another gaucho leader.

In Sarmiento's home province, as in others, the first rulers

106Bunkley. Life of Sarmiento, p. 19.
108Bunkley, p. 5.
independent of the monarchy were the gauchos, exhibiting "machismo." The frontier gauchos lived on horseback, knew no philosophies of natural law or natural rights. They fought for survival and power with native ability, the bolo, the knife, giving allegiance only to those who gained their respect. This decentralized "gauchocracy" flourished into the 1820's. It was followed by more centralized, province-controlled caudillo (strong-man) leadership. Caudillo government flourished during Sarmiento's youth and early political career, and has never fully diminished, except for brief periods, since that time. "Wise" caudillo leaders learned to adapt to outward forms of representative government to gain power.

Although Argentina had a climate which was conducive to the production of foodstuffs, it lacked coal resources, mineral resources, especially industrial ores like iron and bauxite, and adequate, developed methods of petroleum production. Commerce in hides early produced the "civilizacion de cuero", the leather civilization. But there was no disciplined labor force, nor were there expandable export sources of minerals, spices or precious metals to provide for commercial growth. Ironically, the horses imported by the Spaniards enabled the pampas dwellers to gain further independence and mobility, and provided "a means of escape from agricultural employment on to the open pampas whence they [Indians & gauchos] could hunt their food, and find in hides

the trade goods sufficient to supply their simple wants."\textsuperscript{110}

The vast pampas also provided a South American version of the "safety-valve" theory, for they were a place of escape for Indians, half-breeds, and African Slaves (brought in under the Treaty of Utrech of 1713 by the English). The very existence of the pampas, where escape was possible, caused the failure of the "mita" or forced labor system, successfully enforced by Spaniards in other colonial areas. So also did the pampas provide a political power-ground for the Caudillos, for only "strong-men" could achieve any success in gaining loyalty from the disparate shifting, pampas people.

From 1829 when Sarmiento joined the Unitarist army until his election in 1868 the control of the Argentine government see-sawed between the legalistic, idealistic, intellectual Unitarists who advocated a nomocracy and the "personalist gauchocrats" who advocated a loose federalist government under provincial caudillos.

By 1868 and Sarmiento's election as President the nomocrats had succeeded in achieving and establishing some democratic ideals: free speech was guaranteed, individual rights and religious freedom were partially secured, and although the cities, and particularly Buenos Aires, still controlled the provinces, Argentina was more unified, more concerned about common interests and needs of her people, more progressive industrially than other Hispanic-American cultures. It was, in fact, a nation.

\textsuperscript{110}Ferns, p. 27.
With the progressive agrarian and educational reforms of Sarmiento (and his predecessor, Mitre) Argentina came even closer to the ideals of the modelled-after nation, the United States. Even today Argentina has, thanks to Sarmiento, one of the best organized, the least restrictive, most progressive educational systems in South America. During his Presidency (1868-74) Sarmiento was to observe the closing of the Argentinian frontier and was to realize the goal of universal public education. He was also to see the advent of the middle and landowning classes as the pivot of power in the nation. The age of the gaucho had ended; the age of the merchant and cattleman had begun. The aim of this group was stability, order, and material progress.\textsuperscript{111}

When Domingo Faustino Sarmiento died on September 11, 1888, he was already a symbolic figure in Argentina. Like the man who was his ideal in the United States, Benjamin Franklin, he had achieved renown through diligence and unstinting work for the good of his people.

The Life of Franklin had been one of the first American books Sarmiento had read as a youth and he was deeply impressed by it:

\begin{quote}
I felt myself akin to Franklin, and why not? I was a poor but studious boy like him. By dint of hard work and careful planning, following in his footsteps, I might also become, like him, a doctor ad honorem and make a place for myself in the world of letters and American government.\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{111}Bunkley, p. 449.

\textsuperscript{112}Quoted in Correas, p. 1-2.
At the end of his life he wrote what could be appropriate as an epitaph:

I have spun my humble cocoon, and without becoming a butterfly, I shall survive to see the thread I have spun utilized by those who follow me.113

Nearly seventy years separated the American Revolution from Sarmiento's programmed application of American ideals to his own republic; more time indeed separated the forces that produced the two republics. It is, in fact, amazing that Sarmiento had any success in applying American principles in his Hispanic setting. The ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment rooted readily in North American soil; it was not so in Spanish America. The New World Anglo-American colonies sought and won independence from an Old World "tyrant" and were able to establish, sustain and maintain a federated republic dedicated to public interest and order. Yet in Spanish America, although Old World monarchical rule was dissolved by 1810, centuries and traditions of caudillo-personalistic, strong-man, government were difficult to defeat. The ideals of public interest and order were generally non- or misunderstood by both the masses and the leaders of the ever-changing governments.

Spanish Argentinians, long under the control of the Spanish monarchy and their colonial Viceroys, lacked the legislative experience of the North American colonials. The country was relatively self-sufficient in agricultural terms, and although trade with Europe early made Buenos Aires a mercantile center in

113 Quoted in Correas, p. 45.
South America, the provinces were not dependent upon European trade for survival or on European philosophies for sustenance. The Catholic religion was pervasive; society was hierarchical.

Although Buenos Aires was sophisticated and Europeanized and intellectuals, whether self-made like Sarmiento or not, were cognizant of liberal ideas of representative government, the pampas and provinces were poor, the people were nearly illiterate, and their attitudes toward government were "free-wheeling." In colonial Argentina society early developed on egalitarian lines paralleled only to similar developments in the frontier in North America. On the pampas, however, self-sufficiency and individualism were several degrees removed from those same traits on the North American frontier. Lacking any background in or awareness of representative government based on egalitarian ideals, the proto-egalitarians, the supra-individualists of the pampas responded not to political theories but to practical realities, not to liberal political activists but to personalistic actualists.

The United States might have had its strong personalities--its Adamses, Jeffersons, Hamiltons, and Jacksons--yet at base what each of these wanted was the continuation of a union of peoples, a union supported, whatever its directions, and maintained by the ideals of order and progress.

This was not so in Hispanic America. There personality was the rule. Although some caudillos in the name of order might

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114 Ferns, p. 29.
proclaim rights or freedoms, in the wings of the drama of power politics were other personalities with their programs of repression and control. Unity of the people was defined not in terms of purposes or programs, but unity of force and loyalty. The least of their concerns was the education of the masses, upon whom support should, but did not, rest.

It was Sarmiento's recognition of the traditional and prevailing assumptions and conditions and his understanding of forces and programs in the United States that made a change in the direction, at least in the nineteenth century, of the republic of Argentina.

Again and again in his various works Sarmiento recalls the points made in El Facundo: that an inevitable confrontation occurs when civilization and barbarism meet and that the outcome of that confrontation decides the future of a nation. At the beginning of El Facundo he wrote:

If any form of national literature should appear in these new American societies, it must result from the description of the mighty scenes of nature, and still more from the illustration of the struggle between European civilization and native barbarism, between mind and matter—a struggle of imposing magnitude in South America....

In North America only Cooper, Sarmiento suggests, was able to capture the sense of this struggle,

by removing the scene of the events he described from the settled portion of the country to the border land between civilized life and that of the savage, the

115Life in the Argentine Republic, p. 25.
Theatrical war for the possession of the soil waged against each other, by the native tribes and the saxon race.\textsuperscript{116}

Sarmiento notes further that:

The natural peculiarities of any region give rise to customs and practices of a corresponding peculiarity, so that where the same circumstances reappear, we find the same means of controlling them by different nations.\textsuperscript{117}

As he pursues these points as journalist and statesman he repeatedly affirms his frontier thesis.

**AN OVERVIEW OF THE GENESIS OF THE FRONTIER THESIS**

The cultural historian Henry Nash Smith asserts:

Turner's most important debt to his intellectual tradition is the idea of savagery and civilization that he uses to define his central factor. His frontier is explicitly 'the meeting point between savagery and civilization.'\textsuperscript{118}

One might assert that Sarmiento's location of the scene of man's struggle as "the border land between civilized life and that of the savage" and his emphasis upon the battle between "European civilization and native barbarism", nearly fifty years before Turner, to be equally, if not more, important to the intellectual tradition.

Had Sarmiento been read in North America or a Twain more seriously accepted as a social critic it is possible to speculate that their evaluation of the frontier might have produced a

\textsuperscript{116} Life in the Argentine Republic, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{117} Life in the Argentine Republic, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{118} Smith, p. 293.
polished "Turnerian" thesis earlier than the last decade of the nineteenth century.

What conclusions may be drawn from the material presented? Those who would decry Turner for his romantic, non-factual, exploration of the development of the American frontier will, with equanimity, dismiss material presented herein. One cannot state that Sarmiento tried to present a fully developed, historically and statistically accurate, frontier thesis. Indeed, he was as much an enthusiast about northern new world ideals as a deCrevecouer, as careful a commentator on "American" developments as a deToqueville, as much an idealist and philosophe as a Franklin, as wry a commentator as a Twain, and as unsystematic a commentator as a Turner.

What makes Sarmiento unique is the background from which he writes. He was neither a semi-trained political theorist as was a deToqueville, nor was he a transplanted--but seemingly thoroughly adapted "American" as a deCrevecouer. Nor was he a native-born, self-made, thoroughly new-world, North American as was Franklin. Although he could assess and accept the vagaries of American frontier life, he was not the native satirist, or the "adaptable" American that was a Twain. Nor, indeed, was he a Ph.D. trained historian, a product of the West, of the East, of universities, of the Germanic "school" of analysts as was Turner. He was not the interesting romantic novelist, as was Cooper, nor an intellectual like Emerson, nor a politician-statesman like T. R. Roosevelt. He
was none of these and all of them.

Sarmiento is examined, although rarely at length, by historians who concern themselves with developments in Latin and South American history and political theory. He, Echeverría and Mitre and Rivadavia, as Argentine political theorists and presidents, belong in histories and analyses of South American development. But only Sarmiento can be considered as an instigator of changes in Argentina based upon analyses of a North American model. For it is he alone who could look at his own country and decide that he needed to assess analogues before he could set forth possible changes. He alone looked to a North American model as a total possibility for a means to develop a free and prosperous Argentina.

Beyond and above all else, it was D. F. V. Sarmiento of Argentina who formulated a thesis concerning the American frontier as coherent and complete—if not more complete—as that of Frederick Jackson Turner of the United States.
CHAPTER VI

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF THeses CONCERNING THE FRONTIER

Many contemporary historians have dismissed Turner's thesis for its generalizations, its roots in a romantic view of the American West, and its overemphasis upon individualism. Others have questioned his lack of emphasis upon economic changes and his over-emphasis of the frontier as a decisive factor in shaping American life and thought. The validity of his interpretation has been argued by George Pierson, David Potter, Merle Curti, Carl Becker, Ray Allen Billington, Stanley Elkins, among many others. Few argue, however, about his definition of the frontier as a meeting point between civilization and savagery as being uniquely American. And, historians do credit Turner with being the first commentator to approach the concept of the American frontier from an analytic viewpoint. It seems almost futile to dismiss his "Frontier Thesis" as unimportant in analyses of American culture. If nothing else, he precipitated arguments about the nature of American development, and thus prompted other historians to delve into reasons for what shaped "the American Character."

Turner wrote, primarily, in the late nineteenth century, and he is especially important for two reasons: 1) he precipitated his historiographical inquiry based on New World, not Old World, models; and, 2) he attempted a definition of New World development unlike any previously recognized by the North American Academic world. He wrote within a context; he was a westerner, a man brought
up on the frontier past--its realities and myths. His was, like Twain's, an "insider's" interpretation.

The positive emphasis in the academic community upon his "unique" thesis lasted until his death in 1932. Thereafter, scholars began to re-examine his thesis and began to evolve other theories of causation--as Turner might have wished. As a historian he offered his thesis, and reemphasized parts of it in later essays. He did not, however, insist upon his thesis as the sole explanation of American development, even though some of his critics have asserted this to be so. He was a trained scholar, and as such, he offered his interpretation to be tested. Its popularity during his lifetime may have reinforced his stance, but its re-examination in later years would have been an expectation of Turner-as-scholar.

The Turner Thesis did foster an already existing mythology about the frontier as a nursery for democracy, about American-Western inventiveness and individualism. That mythology exists today, as Americans still discuss stalwart ancestors, admire the courageous frontiersman, and flock to John Wayne movies.

Like Turner, Mark Twain also wrote from "inside" a context. Twain had been an "effete" Easterner who learned to adapt in the West. He lived many of the phases of the frontier that Turner later describes. Twain's descriptions in Roughing It are those of an Easterner who knows he is only temporarily in Nevada; he has other "frontiers" to conquer. Yet, while on the mining frontier he describes first-hand, albeit with some exaggeration for comic effect, attributes which appear later codified in Turner's Thesis.

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Both Twain and Turner were nurtured on generalizations about the American frontier. It was accepted as a "safety-valve," a place where Huck Finns could "light out," if necessary, to build a new life. Frontier life produced archetypal political characters in Daniel Boone and Andrew Jackson. Controversy over slavery was promoted because of the Territories. Travellers continually commented about the New American produced on the frontier. That many of the frontier aspects celebrated by both Turner and Twain had existed earlier in a Tidewater Virginia or a Puritan Massachusetts, that a deTocqueville or a deCrevecouer had earlier described many of the same concepts of the American Character as "foreigners" observing life in the New World--These were ignored. They were ignored, or overlooked partially because both Twain and Turner wrote out of their own understandings and experience and partially because frontier attributes were psychologically accepted by most nineteenth century Americans. Both Twain and Turner solidified concepts, myths, and psychological viewpoints. Both wrote a "uniquely American" experience and causation because they believed themselves to be "uniquely" American.

In contrast, D. F. Sarmiento's interpretation of a frontier and of the North American frontier arises from a different set of experiences and background. Sarmiento was the "outsider", a Hispanic-American, self-educated, and was relatively uninformed about North America. His knowledge of North America and of that frontier was very limited when he finished Facundo in 1845. He
had read about Franklin, he was familiar with Cooper's frontier
tales, and he knew, primarily through French and Spanish writers,
about the North American model of contract/federal government.
From his limited knowledge he expressed in Facundo some startling
insights: 1) a redefinition of the frontier as a meeting place
between barbarism and civilization; 2) a celebration of individuality
as it develops away from the cities; and, 3) an elaboration of the
several phases of frontier social development.

Sarmiento, like both Twain and Turner later, sees the frontier
as process, as a step in the development of a nation and a national
class. From a totally different psychological, social, and
educational background he arrives at similar definitions. He did
not have first-hand observations of the American frontier until
two years after Facundo was published. His travels in the United
States solidified his impressions and interpretations, but did not
create them.

There are some geographical and cultural differences in the
contexts in which Turner and Sarmiento wrote. For Turner barbarism/
savagery meant both the wilderness and the Indian in the North
American western lands. Both had to be conquered. Civilization
meant European ideas and influences. Beyond the meeting point of
savagery and civilization lay free land to be entered, conquered,
and made usable. The free land provided a "safety-valve"; as long
as free land existed there was a place of escape, a place of new
beginnings, a place to develop new philosophies of life or to
transform old (European) philosophies.

For Sarmiento the meeting point between barbarism and civilization was at the edge of the Argentine pampas, in the vast, uninhabited tract of land between the Chilean Andes and the cultivated cities of Cordova and Buenos Aires. He redefined the frontier as opposed to the Hispanic definition of the frontier as a borderland between the Moors and Christian Spain. The cities in South America represented Hispanic Europe, "civilization," customs, order, and religion. In contrast, the immense plains with uncharted but believed to be navigable rivers of the Pampas represented a wilderness, an area of land for possible development and a place of refuge (a "safety-valve?" for the adventurous and the discontented.

On the Pampas there were "savages, ever on the watch"\textsuperscript{119} who were an ever-present danger to caravans of wagons bringing settlers. These "savages" were Indian, Mestizo, and "zambos"--those groups of non-Spaniards who lived "wild" on the plains. Sarmiento compares them with the North American Indians ("aborigines" is his word) who were equally dangerous and threatening to the pioneer caravans in the American West. Life on the pampas was insecure; death was a part of life; man survived through his wits and courages.

Because men had to recognize that to survive in the wilderness of the pampas, "adapting themselves to the physical conditions

\textsuperscript{119}All Sarmiento quotations in this chapter are from Life in the Argentine Republic.
which surround them" they constantly changed. Different types--roles--emerged as time passed. Men on the pampas developed strongly individualistic and determined traits; they changed roles as conditions changed.

The available free and arable land in Argentina was vast: "the earth yet waiting for the command to bring forth every herb yielding seed after its kind." The rivers were "a latent power," possibly to be developed for commerce as in North America.

Buenos Aires was a stark contrast: "The only city in the vast Argentine territory which is in communication with European nations." The city inhabitants had the advantage of foreign commerce and goods and of order, created through both the established church and the state. The rulers of Buenos Aires, however, the "Statesmen" of the cabildo, ignored the needs of those who sought on the frontier.

Cultural and sociological differences, therefore, existed between the two frontiers and two civilizations of North America and Argentina. In North America, as men passed into and conquered the wilderness, as the frontier moved further west, help in the form of goods and military support were sent from the "civilized East." In Argentina, when men moved to the pastoral pampas and as small settlements grew, there was almost total isolation from the parent "civilization." In both frontiers men had to become self-reliant. In North America men also sought material success through their self-reliance. For the Argentinian on the pampas, except for those who sought personal power, men sought only
bare survival.

What became "positive individualism" among North American pioneers, working together (consciously or unconsciously) to build a nation was, in contrast, a "negative tyranny of individuals" in Argentina as a few gaucho/caudillo leaders sought personal power and aggrandizement on the pampas.

On the pampas, Sarmiento says, the individual must strive alone, in order to survive. What the pampas' men lack is a sense of nation, a sense of patriotism, a sense of res publicae, (sic) which would foster growth of a federated, unified nation. Sarmiento recognizes, as does Turner later, that unless men carry with them some sense of national "belonging," of "civic virtue," that they will remain as isolated groups of individuals working for their own purposes, rather than seeking to achieve a group or national goal.

When Turner analyzes the frontier movement he recognizes that each time civilization and savagery met a process of change for the better occurred. Ultimately civilization conquered, but each change in the process was important. Sarmiento saw in Argentina a contrast: when civilization and savagery met a battle between values continued. His ideal was the process of change he saw in North America. Realistically he recognized that the process toward "Americanization," toward achievement of an ideal model, would take many years in Argentina. The Hispanic/Old World values were deeply rooted; resistance to "democratic" ideals was strong.

Sarmiento often described, in various editorials and works
the Hispano-American culture as a hybrid of Oriental (Muslim) and Occidental, a combination of the logic and abstractions of the west and of the personalistic responses of the west. This background, and the restrictions he thought the hierarchical Roman Catholic church placed upon its people, hindered the development of a democracy in Argentina. Sarmiento described the phases that Argentina had to pass through before a republic could develop:
1) the gauchocracy; 2) the caudillo tyranny, and 3) adaptation by necessity of the caudillos and gauchos to an outward form of republican government. As President he recognized that an Argentine government, emulating the North American model, did begin when 1) a middle class of independent landowners began to emerge; 2) the age of the gaucho and the caudillo ended; 3) when the independent cattleman and merchant could succeed on the pampas/frontier; 4) independent, public, universal education was available to all—in the cities and on the pampas.

It took three decades to establish any real political order in Argentina, to establish a civilization of which Sarmiento approved. The internal political battles between the caudillos of the pampas and the civilized political leaders of the cities occurred between 1830 and 1860. Until the wars ended, until the internal strife subsided, the frontier of Argentina remained pastoral and settled only in isolated areas. With the end of the wars, with the establishment of a federated republic, then, and only then, could emigration into the pampas, could navigation of the rivers, could any plan of settlement take place. Late in his
career (1868-88) Sarmiento was able to see an end to the barbarism he abhorred and the beginning of civilization on the pampas and the spread of public education as a part of the "civilizing process."

To his regret, however, Sarmiento never did live to see his country become as stable a republic as that of the United States which he so admired. And, perhaps happily for him, he also did not live to see a return to the personalistic, modern caudillo form of government that has existed in contemporary Argentina.

None of the writers who have dealt with the frontier thesis have suggested a relationship between Sarmiento's description and analysis of the North American and Argentine frontiers or his definition of the frontier and the frontier thesis later expressed, in 1893, by Frederick Jackson Turner.

Among North American historians who discuss the "Turner Thesis" not one mentions Sarmiento as a precursor. Billington, Jacobs, Potter, Benson and others sometimes point to Turner's study of European history as a backdrop for his analysis of the changing American frontier. Ray Allen Billington, in a number of his studies of Turner, mentions that Turner emphasized the need for historians to study European sources--German, French, and Italian. Hispanic or Latin American sources are not mentioned.

Turner in his commencement address at the University of Washington (June 17, 1914), entitled "The West and American Ideals" says: "New relations have been created between Spanish America and the United States and the world is watching the mediation of
Argentina, Brazil and Chile between the contending forces of Mexico and the Union." This statement is, among all his essays, his only specific reference to the changing relationships of the United States and Latin America. Nowhere in his published works or in his letters to his students does he mention reading or using any Latin American sources.

In his works Turner cites his use of material from traveller-commentators: de Tocqueville, Harriet Martineau, Charles Dickens. He does not cite material from either Sarmiento or Mark Twain, nor does he use any material from novelists, especially from Cooper.

Turner used sources from economics, political theory, state historical society records, annals, and letters. He was in college and graduate school between 1881-1890, and was, apparently, highly trained in the use of sources at Johns Hopkins. Yet he--like his contemporaries--apparently looked only to Europe for background, parallels, and contrasts. He was a student during part of Sarmiento's lifetime and while Sarmiento was relatively well-known in the United States. Sarmiento's *Facundo* and *Viajes* were in the Library of Congress and in Widener Library in French, German, and Spanish editions. It is somewhat surprising that he did not, during his collegiate and graduate years, or later when he was at Harvard, at sometime become aware of or curious about Latin American travellers, the Latin American frontier, or about Sarmiento.

Turner's failure to examine Latin American sources is equally the failure of our contemporary historians. Turner's thesis
attempted to explain that the difference between European and American civilization was explained by the unique, advancing, frontier of settlement. He was the first, historians say, to redefine the frontier in New World terms as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization," as distinguished from the European frontier—"fortified boundary line running through dense populations." On this new, American, frontier, Turner said, American development continually begins; man learns to transform the wilderness; independence from European influences grows; the record of social evaluation from pathfinder to trader to entrepreneur can be clearly seen. The American frontier was, as well, "a military training school..." developing the stalwart and rugged qualities of the frontiersman. The frontier produced individualism, "antipathy to control," escape from the bondage of the past, inventiveness, and exuberance.

The Turnerian definition and analysis so closely parallels Sarmiento's definitions and descriptions of the frontier in Argentine America (especially in Chapters 1-5 of Facundo) that questions must be raised about the seemingly limited historical research concerning the origin of the "frontier thesis."

It is possible—even probable—that Turner's development of a frontier thesis along the same lines as that earlier (1845) expressed by Sarmiento is an historical coincidence. The general lack of interest of North Americans about Latin American history, people, and culture is deep-rooted. "American" is almost universally used to describe an inhabitant of the United States. "New World" ideas and traits are equally defined as "North American." Writers
and historians traditionally have looked to Europe and not to Latin America for parallels and differences.

For many years North American historians have been trained to use "reliable" primary source materials, and only in recent years have "cultural historians," such as Smith or Marx or Jones, interpreted literary sources and diaries as "reliable" documents of the not-so-distant past.

Therefore, it is not totally surprising that Sarmiento's insights, definitions, analyses, and descriptions of American development and of frontier traits have been overlooked. Nor is it surprising that Cooper's socio-literary or Twain's socio-critical insights to the frontier and frontier traits have been given rather cursory attention.

What is necessary, however, is a refashioning of the "American" outlook so that Latin America and its writers, so that works by men such as Sarmiento, will be recognized as important in analyses of New World development.

The dissertation presented--"The Development of a Frontier Thesis: Mark Twain, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Frederick Jackson Turner"--is intended as a first step in establishing Sarmiento's imposing role and priority as a frontier analyst.
CHAPTER VII

AN AFTERWORD: WHAT HAPPENED WHEN THE FRONTIER CLOSED?

After the closing of the north frontier became accepted by both the publicists and the public it was apparent that a new means of escape, new myths, and new economic answers had to be found to the problems of the city, to overpopulation, unemployment, and dehumanization. The frontier after 1870 (although Turner uses 1890, neither date may be appropriate) was no longer a viable safety-valve.

Thus, it was not until the frontier had closed that any American author could write a successful Utopian novel. Utopias had been in fact established earlier, and most had failed very quickly. But the intellectual utopia, proposed in an American novel, did not appear until Edward Bellamy published Looking Backward. His utopian solutions, followed by other literary solutions and utopias in works by William Dean Howells and others, were not possible while the dream of the frontier as an economic panacea existed.

As soon as Americans recognized the closing of the frontier Bellamy's proposals for an economically sound world based on socialism and "nationalism" began to appeal to American readers and theorists. In Bellamy's world no one needed to escape for all wants and needs were sustained by a beneficent state, by equal distribution of goods, both material and cul-

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tural. In *Looking Backward* frontier values and attributes are not important. A man need not be a stalwart individualist, need not assert his independence, for to do so gained him nothing. His place in the system was established at birth and he grew up in an economically secure national womb. Bellamy's response to the end of the frontier was a proposed ideal world.

THE FRONTIER AND THE FUTURE

Debate over the significance of the frontier in American development may continue for a number of years. Just as Americans continue to be interested in reading about or seeing dramatic or melodramatic representations concerning frontier life and heroes, so also are they still interested in finding reasons why Americans exhibit certain traits. Americans have been, and are still, more interested than any other nationality in self-examination and analysis. It seems likely, therefore, that examination of the frontier, both in actuality and in fiction, will persist. Historians and literary men need to be joined, however, in their analysis of the frontier by more sociologists, cultural anthropologists, behaviorists, and psychologists. In examining the past, reasons for the present and answers for the future are sought.

In 1962 Howard Mumford Jones in *O Strange New World* briefly ascribed some contemporary social conditions to the frontier experience. He asserted that the effect of the vast space of the West, allowing endless opportunity for movement, contri-
buted to the rootless nature of the American family. The effect of geographic and social space, he said, was to foster the escape from religious, social, economic, and familial ties. Western mobility also provoked the growth of communication channels and means of travel, and underlies the American desire to travel quickly from place to place. As Americans moved they escaped not only from ties but also from history, and they created a new history on the frontier.

Such concerns as Jones briefly explored a decade ago are surely to be examined in the future. The contemporary Conestogas—the Volks Van and the trailer—filling today's highways, the recent interest in camping—roughing it on vacation—and even the Whole Earth Catalog suggest that the frontier spirit is not dead.

It is interesting to note that when the frontier of the moon was invaded by Americans that airlines immediately began to receive reservations for trips to colonize that strange new world. Americans also seek frontiers elsewhere in the world. The Peace Corps Volunteers were and are pioneers of a new sort, accepting challenges of meeting conditions in underdeveloped countries partly from idealism, partly from a missionary spirit, and partly, one suspects, because new frontiers were offered. Australia, with its vast outback, also attracts a number of Americans seeking a new start, adventure, challenge, or escape from political or other ties.
The lure of the frontier is still present. Although some have stated pessimistically that the only frontier left is that of the mind, it could be argued that material frontiers still exist.

The significance of a frontier, of the frontier, psychologically, historically, and culturally demands further study. The pro-con Turner discussions have reached the point of being intellectual games played by a few dedicated sportsmen for a relatively small audience.

It is important that in coming years that investigators from disciplines other than history interest themselves in the impact of the frontier upon American beliefs and values. Comparative and cross-cultural studies of frontier concepts in various countries and inter-disciplinary examinations of the effect of the frontier in myth and reality upon both the past and upon contemporary America need to be undertaken. In addition, analysts must be aware of the continuing need to redefine the word "frontier," as the world changes.

One may suitably end with an extended, timeless quotation by Walter Prescott Webb from his article entitled "Ended the 400 Year Boom:"

... Western civilization today stands facing a closed frontier, and in this sense it faces a unique situation in modern times. If we grant the boom, we must concede that the institutions we have, such as democracy and capitalism, were boom-born; we must also admit that the individual, this cherished darling of modern history, attained his glory in an abnormal period when there was enough room
to give him freedom and enough wealth to give him
independence. the future of the individual, of
democracy and capitalism, and of many other modern
institutions is deeply involved in this logic, and
the lights are burning late in the capitals of the
western world where grave men are trying to deter­
mine what that future will be.

Meantime less thoughtful people speak of new
frontiers, though nothing comparable to the Great
Frontier has yet been found. The businessman sees
a business frontier in the customers he has not
reached, the missionary sees a religious frontier
among the souls he has not yet saved; the social
worker sees a human frontier among the suffering
peoples whose woes he has not yet alleviated; the
educator of a sort sees the ignorance he is trying
to dispel as a frontier to be taken; and the scien­
tists permit us to believe that they are uncovering
the real thing in a scientific frontier. But as yet
no Columbus had come in from these voyages and an­
nounced: "Gentlemen, there is your frontier!" The
best they can do is say that it is out beyond, that if
you work hard enough and have faith enough, and put in
a little money, you will surely find it. If you
watch these peddlers of substitute frontiers, you will find
that nearly everyone wants you to buy something, or
believe in something. They want you to be a frontier
for them. Unlike Columbus, they bring no continents
and no oceans, no gold or silver or grass or forest
to you.

I should like to make it clear that mankind is
really searching for a new frontier which we once had
and did not prize, and the longer we had it, the less
we valued it; but now that we have lost it, we have a
great pain in the heart, and we are always trying to
get it back again.... If the frontier is gone, we
should have the courage and honesty to recognize the
fact, cease to cry out for what we have lost, and de­
vote our energies to finding the solutions to the prob­
lems now facing a frontierless society... 120

120 In Harper's, October, 1951, p. 26-33.
APPENDIX A

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DECEMBER 27, 1865

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO,

ARGENTINE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

PROVIDENCE

KNOWLES, ANTHONY & CO., PRINTERS

1866
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

of

HIS EXCELLENCY DOMINGO FAUSTINO SARMIENTO

to the

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND,

DELIVERED DECEMBER 27th, 1865.

Mr. President:

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

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

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

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

I had hardly visited your picturesque city when I met Mr.
George E. Church, whom I knew as a civil engineer in Buenos
Ayres, where he was commissioned by the government to inspect
our frontiers; and wrote an important report indicating a sim­
pie plan of defense against the savages, based upon the study
of our geography. Here, I find him a Colonel of Rhode Island
soldiers, who went forth at the call of liberty in danger; as
he has seen us in our country with sword buckled on for the
same cause. Perhaps Mr. Church remembers with sympathy, that
people to whom he lent his intelligence, as also, the names of
those who knew how to appreciate his talent.

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

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

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

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

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

But what was my surprise on visiting the library of Mr. John Carter Brown, the distinguished lover of books, to meet in Providence with the most complete, abundant, and instructive collection of Spanish authors, above all, those who have written
upon South America, from the first days of the conquest to our epoch. After admiring so rich a treasure I could comprehend the praise of the talented English historian, Helps, author of an excellent history of the Spanish conquest, where he declares, that he procured from this library in Rhode-Island, documents upon Spanish America, which the library of the British museum could not furnish him. But I do not comprehend, unless we appeal to those mysterious sympathies of which I spoke at the commencement, how it is that this treasure, which South America would envy, is found in Providence. If, for example, it was desired to write about the present war between the Argentine and Uruguayan Republic and Brazil as allies, against Paraguay, it would be necessary to come to Rhode-Island to find in the rich collection books upon the Jesuit missionaries, and the wars between Spaniards and Portuguese on questions of frontiers, the geographical description of each portion of those countries, as well as the causes of subsequent tyrannies, and of the present war, flowing from the theocratic governments of the Guarani Missions.

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

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

I will not extend this picture of a fossil world, but will expunge it by substituting the most important lineaments of the present scene, together with some mention of the principal South

*Waist cloth descending below the knee, used instead of pantaloons.
American cities Mr. Arnold visited, to show him, that whilst passing years whitened our heads as individuals, there, as here, society extended its branches, and like the fruit trees, loaded them with golden harvests. Let us begin on the coast of the Pacific. Not far from the port of Copiapo in Chili, where the English steamers touched in 1848, the port and city of Caldera was founded in 1852. From its wharf the railway starts which, sealing the Cordillerias of the Andes, brings down from the Chanarsillo and Ilse Puntas, the silver ore which increases the commerce of the world. One day's sail to the south will bring him to the port of Coquimbo, and another railway, to Serena. On the announcement of the blockade of these two ports undertaken by the Spaniards, copper doubled in price in England.

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

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

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

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

The railroad, designed by his friend Hopkins, would carry him from San Fernando to Belgrano, a city born between night and morning, thence through Palermo de San Benito, the former residence of the barbarous tyrant Rosas, now converted into a school of arts and sciences, to Buenos Ayres, a city of at least 150,000 inhabitants. This city increases at the rate of one thousand houses per annum, and its gas illuminated streets contain the sumptuous Hotels de la Paz, the Club of Progress, of the Plata, the Capitol, the Exchange, the Colon Theatre, the cupolas of ten new Temples, five of them Protestant, and an active people, half European, promenading streets well paved in front of stores and shops of all kinds, which expose for sale the industrial riches of the whole world.

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

This, my Colleagues, is the Buenos Ayres which we, of the liberal Constitutional UNION Party of the Argentine Republic, have made in ten years, after having, in twenty years of hard battling, torn out the indigenous plant of the tyranny of Rosas. A part of this, the genius, the capital, and the progressive spirit of Rhode Island have done, and all of you ought to congratulate yourselves for it.

If you remark that I note in each country village, or in the Capital, or in some of the Provinces, the existence of fine school houses, I beg my friend, Mr. Arnold, to remember, that it is hardly three weeks since I asked him to accompany me to the Northern Cemetery of Providence, and there, after wandering about its shady streets and roads, ascending its elevations, or going down to the little valleys, which so vary this smiling mansion of the dead, on perceiving two funeral columns, "it is the second," I said, and dismounting from the carriage, we religiously drew near to the tomb of Horace Mann. I had recognized its obelisk, because I knew it was copied from that of the Vatican, the form of which I remembered. This is yet another bond between Rhode Island and my country. Those schools which beautify the pampa of Buenos Ayres, are the effect of the inspiration of that guest of the Northern Cemetery, who reposes by the side of your parents and children. "The school building is the school itself, almost the whole school." This was the axiom which I learnt from the experience of Horace Mann, during our colloquies at West Point, in 1847; for it is proper you should know that at the very time Mr. Arnold was visiting my country, by his capital and his friends, at some future day, to communicate to it a spirit of progress, I was visiting the land of his birth, to carry away from it a little of that sacred fire which gives life to the flame of liberty--the universal education of the people. I have, therefore, one friend more in Rhode Island,--Horace Mann; one bond besides the Historical Society,--the Common Schools.
I will not stop to mention our interior lines of steamers, save to say that at the request of my friend Hopkins, the Argentine Congress passed a law, last August, subsidizing with $20,000 per annum the United States and Brazil line, so soon as it will extend beyond Rio de Janeiro to the port of Buenos Ayres. This bill passed in the lower house unanimously, and is justly considered as an invitation which your Congress will hardly neglect. Nor will I mention our newspapers and reviews and other evidences of our advancement, since the dark day of tyranny—which yet stains our national reputation abroad—passed away from us forever. Your mariners can recount you all this and much more. But I can tell you that if some day our ports should be blockaded, as Spain is now doing with those of Chili, you may be prepared to close half your cloth manufactories, because the increase of wool in the Argentine Republic during only the last ten years, is but little less than the production of Australia. In four years more it will exceed that and the product of the Cape of Good Hope united; and at the rate of our increase, in ten more, as when the United States ceased to provide cotton, the world will tremble with cold during winter, if our sheep pelts should be wanting. This is to show to political Rip Van Winkles, that they have a great and personal interest in permitting the full development of America; because every government ought to feel to-day what the freedman Terence felt some two thousand years ago. "Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum puto."—Nothing human is indifferent to the modern world.

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

II.

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

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

France in 1790, yielding to this fatal propensity of the human mind, looked back into history to seek in Greece and Rome the liberty and the republic which Lafayette could teach her, and which he carried to her with the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. Truth, which, always rich in actual facts, and the only caryatide which sustains the entablature, or carries authority with it, appears to be ignorant of its own force or the light with which it illuminates others. Will the United States escape this historic fatality?

Let us look at the Monroe doctrine with which the atmosphere seems to be impregnated, rather like a dark cloud than a bright light. Some hope to see rays emitted from its bosom; others hope to see it resolved into a fixed and resplendent aurora borealis, into that northern light which Webster pointed out, destined to guide the magi of the south to the cradle of American liberty. It is rather a cause of perturbation to the world.
Yet the Monboe doctrine has its example in history, and its prepared place in the law of nations. Christianity has its Monroe doctrine, accepted by Islam, and the western powers. France has for centuries exercised the moral protectorate of the holy sepulchre, and intervenes with the consent of Europe in favor of the Christians in the East, on condition of not putting a profane hand upon the sacred deposit, for her own benefit.

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

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

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

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

What an eclipse of history by clouds of dust.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The United States, from afar, hurried on the independence of South America. The Anglo-American colonies on declaring themselves independent, established certain truths as self-evident, which had not been so to all the peoples of the world, until the dawn of this happy experiment in the Constitution of the United States, but which were proclaimed in the name of humanity as Lincoln expounded it in his immortal interpretation of the Declaration, in Independence Hall. Yet there are others which apply to peoples placed in certain circumstances with relation to others. "When in the course of human events," it says, "it is necessary for a people to break the bonds which have bound them to another." &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Sir, what is meant by this? Is it intended that the people of the United States ought to be totally indifferent to the fortunes of these new neighbors? Is no change in the light in which we are to view them to be wrought by their having thrown off foreign dominion, established independence, and instituted on our very borders republican governments essentially after our own example? Sir, I do not wish to overrate, I do not overrate the progress of these new states in the great work of establishing a well secured popular liberty. I know

*Historia Argentina, by Dominguez
that to be a great attainment, and I know they are but pupils in the school. But, thank God, they are in the school. They are called to meet difficulties such as neither we nor our fathers encountered. For these we ought to make large allowances. What have we ever known like the colonial vassalage of these States? When did we or our ancestors feel, like them, the weight of a political despotism that presses man to the earth, or that religious intolerance which would shut up heaven to all of a different creed? Sir, we sprung from another stock. We belong to another race. We have known nothing, we have felt nothing of the political despotism of Spain, nor of the heat of her fires of intolerance. No rational man expects that the South can run the same rapid career as the North, or that an insurgent province of Spain is in the same condition as the English colonies when they first asserted their independence. There is, doubtless, much more to be done in the first than in the last case. But on that account the honor of the attempt is not less, and if all difficulties shall be in time surmounted, it will be greater. The work may be more arduous; it is not less noble, because there may be more of ignorance to enlighten, more of bigotry to subdue, more of prejudice to eradicate. If it be a weakness to feel a strong interest in the success of these great revolutions, I confess myself guilty of that weakness. If it be weak to feel that I am an American, to think that recent events have not only opened new modes of intercourse, but have created also new grounds of regard and sympathy between ourselves and our neighbors; if it be weak to feel that the South, in her present state, is somewhat more emphatically a part of America than when she lay obscure, oppressed and unknown, under the grinding bondage of a foreign power; if it be weak to rejoice when, even in any corner of the earth human beings are able to rise from beneath oppression, to erect themselves, and to enjoy the proper happiness of their intelligent nature,—if this be weak, it is a weakness from which I claim no exemption."

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


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

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

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

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

Spain is a subject worthy of study in its artistic manifestations, which, notwithstanding some collateral influences, are its own, without the inheritance of ancient art which was not revived for it as for the rest of Europe, with the fall of Constantinople. To this day, in the Peninsula, and in Spanish America, Sophocles and Homer are not used for Greek readings in their universities. Velasquez, Murillo, Surbaran, are not,--like Michael Angelo and Raphael,--disciples of Phidias, and Praxiteles. The model of Velasquez is the shepherd of old Castilla, elevated to the rank of Patriarch; the virgin of Murillo is the Andalusian of undulating outlines as the curvilinear beauty of the human ideal requires. Calderon de la Barea invented a dramatic art from top to toe, and carried it to greater perfection than that mysterious people did their statuary, who have left their monuments in Nicaragua.

*The sanbenito is a gown marked with a yellow cross behind and before, and worn by penitent convicts of the Inquisition.
His merit does not pass beyond these, however; although it is so great that humanity owes him an accessit. It is a prodigy to create an art without the aid of human tradition, but such attempts cannot serve for models, and after being admired, they pass into museums of curiosities.

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

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

From the time that their country ceased to be English, in order to be AMERICA in the history and progress of the human race, another current of their own history was to carry the North Americans to South America. Beyond the frontiers and the present, are the monuments of a civilization which has had its dark age but not its renaissance. America has her petrified cities, the abode of a great people who flourished in them, pyramids which rival those of Egypt, temples and palaces which now fertilize the trunks of trees centuries old. The architecture of Satir reveals a civilization anterior to that of Egypt, yet a branch of the same human family, as is manifested by the pyramidal construction, and by the mummies which are found in Thebes and in Peru, with the same canopo or idol, with same name and located in the same place. When these monuments, which begin with the mound and end with enormous masses of hewn stone, sculptured with a thousand hieroglyphics, have been studied, classified and compared, the history of both Americas will begin upon the same page, will be illustrated with the same lights from the time of their origin to that of Columbus. Here it divides into two great chapters, Cabot and Pizarro, who terminate in Washington and San Martin, and then their peculiar institu-
tions and successive developments evolve the common history of
the great American family.

For a long time there has been no hope of critical his-
tory applied to the raw materials collected by plastic his-
torians and observing travellers.

"A new History of the Conquest of Mexico, in which Las
Casas' denunciations of the popular historians of that ware
are fully vindicated, by Robert Anderson Wilson," has just
opened a new epoch in the history of the most ancient world.
This historian shows, by a critical examination of the ruins
of thirty cities in Central America, that, before the appear-
ance of the Greeks and Romans, India, Phoenicia, Egypt, Yuca-
tan in Central America, Mexico in the north, and Peru in the
South, were leagued together by navigation, religion and the
arts; for the Peruvian ruins do not yield in importance to
those of the other countries named, nor in evident indications
of the common origin of the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and the
ancient American civilizations. "The labor necessary," says
Wilson in his work, "for the production of this chapter, has
not only carried conviction to the mind of the author, but
has brought together a mass of testimony beyond the reach of
doubt--testimony sufficient to prove a traditional title in a
court of justice--an Egyptian title to Central American civil-
ization, and a Phoenician title to the religion that at that
early period was dominant on this continent, under the influ-
ence of the eastern colonies, while it fully explains the neces-
sity the Romanists were under of inventing the fabulous mission
of the apostle Thomas, to account for the religious emblems
which they recognized as belonging to their own superstitions."

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

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

La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay, being a narrative of the exploration of the tributaries of the river La Plata and adjacent countries, under the orders of the United States' Government, by Thomas Paige, U.S.N. Commandant of the Expedition, is a work of exploration of the course of the South American rivers, next in size to the Amazon, and the continuation in 1855 of the mission of 1817 in the frigate Congress, by the Water Witch.

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

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

The North American Stephens undertook to connect the two oceans by the Panama railroad,—a dangerous work which only the American go-a-head-ism could attempt, calculating beforehand,—like the general who wishes to take possession of a strategic position,—the number of victims he would have to sacrifice to the infernal gods. Panama has again become the centre of the commerce of both seas, and will be so of the east and of the west, with the archipelagoes of the intermediary oceanic world.

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

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

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

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

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

On the other side, only England and the United States have fundamental institutions to offer as models to the future world. England because she propagates hers with her commerce, industry and language, to her numerous colonies, not exporting from her own territory her monarchy or her nobility; the United States because they have fertilized and diffused them upon their own territory which is exempted from the traditions of the past. Aristocratic England may be proud of having produced the democratic United States, as the patrician Cornelia was proud of her Gracchi of the Tribune; but she fails to see whether the modern Gracchi understand better how to direct the popular forces, and saving themselves for themselves, save the world from one of those retrogressions which follow the wanderings of the initiators.

IV.

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

Such was the situation of South America at the beginning of our century. The United States detached themselves, at the end of the last century, from the mass of the European world, and took a position among the ancient nations, filling the hiatus which separated the ancient East from the modern West. The commotion was soon felt throughout the whole earth. South America felt herself irresistibly impelled to become independent also; she struggled and battled from one extremity to the other, severed her chains and won her independence. "And it was the evening and the morning of the first day." One the following day she had still another task; to organize a Government. Should they be Republics? The French Republic of 1793 had fallen. Should they be Monarchies? One of the kings of Spain was an imbecile, the other was a captive. Should they be Empires? The great emperor, as a warning, was bound to the rock of St. Helena. The European storm having cleared away in 1819, and the chaos illuminated, the political world appeared in three groups—Continental Europe under the Holy Alliance; liberal and monarchical England; the Republican and Federal United States. Which of these types shall South America take as a model?

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

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

At the same time, the Liberator of the extreme south of America, General San Martin, whose life and public acts I have had the honor to offer to your library, said: "I feel sick at heart whenever I hear federation spoken of. Can it be realized?" And, nevertheless, he lived to see the intuitive federation established in his country, in spite of the Congress of 1818, which accepted monarchy; in spite of the Congress of 1826, which constituted the Unitarian Republic. After his death, the very persons who, like himself, felt sick at heart when they heard the word federation, constituted the United Provinces of the River Plata, submitting to the popular vote, and Mexico has struggled for twenty years to be called the United States of Mexico.

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

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

As to the direct influences of the great Republic, a single fact will serve to give an idea of them. In 1848 a traveller returned from the United States, where he had obtained an insight into the admirable working of the Federal Constitution of the United States, and, to the surprise of his former co-politicians, he initiated a movement in the press, which spread thence to public opinion, to parties, to wars and to institutions. His reasoning was simple: "The will of the
people, violence and the course of events, have given to the State the federal form. Constitutions are nothing more than the proclamation of the rights and obligations of man in society. In this view all the constitutions of the world might be reduced to a single one. As to the Federal mechanism, we have at present no model except the Constitution of the United States. We are determined to Federals; then let us be so after the manner of the only people who have this form of government! Do we care to invent some other Federal form hitherto unknown in the world? . . . . Take the name of the United States of South America, and the sense of human dignity and a noble emulation, will conspire to preserve from reproach that name with which great ideas are associated." In 1859, after ten years of fluctuations in events and ideas, the United Provinces of the River Plata were proclaimed, and Story dethroned Rosas, who was the fruit of the doctrine of free and uncontrolled will in constitutional matters; as were also the works of Rousseau, Sieyes, Robespierre, Napoleon, and the disasters of the French revolution, which decapitated Louis the XVI. in the name of liberty; thus reviving the times of Julius Caesar, or, in other words, going back two thousand years in the science of government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But, in the mean time, do you imagine that those countries have been ruined? Mistaken notion of old fashioned common sense! There was a time when the United States, which now clothe the world with their cotton, sent the first seven bales to England. You well remember how long ago that was. Well, in less time, the Argentine Republic has become the chief market for hides and the second for wool—Chili holds the highest rank for copper and silver, and her coal supplies the entire Pacific coast. Without the saltpetre of Peru, fewer cannon shot would be fired in Europe, and without her guano the European soil would be less fertile. Quinine is exclusively the production of Bolivia, and indigo and cochineal form the riches of Central America; Ecuador and Colombia participating in a greater or less degree in each of these productions; and we must not forget to mention Coffee, which constitutes the wealth of Brazil. All these great and growing industries commenced with the revolution, and have since been developed, Spain having been ignorant of the capacity of American soil. There is not among them a single State which is not constructing railroads, or has not had them in operation for some time past; and while the press here has but recently announced the project of a code of civil laws of New-York, we have already had commercial, civil and criminal codes in force in different sections of South America, from five to ten years back. I think we shall have to fight once more to establish the system of public schools. We will fight, and it will be established. Look at the following statement of a newspaper, "The Standard," of Buenos Ayres, published in your own language.

THE PROGRESS OF FIVE YEARS--1860-65.

When we look back only five years, and compare the Buenos Ayres of 1860 with that of to-day, we find a wonderful improvement, and persons who have returned hither after that short interval confess the change almost similar to that observed among British Colonies. It may form a just motive for pride with our countrymen, that this great progress has been mainly owing to English enterprise and the increased influx of capital and emigrants from the British Islands.
In 1860, there were but 15 miles of railway in the River Plate. In 1865, we have over 200 miles open to traffic, as many more actually in construction, besides concessions granted for 500 miles not yet begun.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beside several projects, many of undoubted realization:

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

And many others which do not at present occur to us. Here we have an aggregate of £12,000,000 of British capital, without taking account of the immense fortunes belonging to British residents, all of which is being actively employed for the industry and progress of the country. We doubt if there be any other part of the globe, not a British colony, in which so much English capital has been invested, and without any vain glory we may lawfully say that the advancement of Buenos Ayres dates from the same epoch--1860--as when British public enterprise first appeared in the River Plate.

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

Mexico, also, clamored for an Emperor, to insure to the church its own property. This is the official truth, the probable truth, the truth but not the whole truth, as Lincoln said. The whole truth, is, that for some time back the era of the Caesars has been revived in Europe, the political principles which are the basis of the United States government have been opposed, and, in their stead, the method employed for the regulation of nations is the calculation of the parabola described by the cannon ball. What fault is it of Mexico,
that this or the other political theory has been tried in Europe where so many have been under proof without success, and that the war of the United States gave to European power the opportunity of bringing her imperial theories to their very doors, as a stumbling block to their advance. Nevertheless, Mexico is suffering the consequences. But yet, Mexico, so undervalued, so incapable of government, so demoralized as it is thought to be, did not succumb in Puebla, as Rome did at Pharsalia; and tiring out her detractors, and would-be subduers, she begins to interest the world by her courage, her constancy in misfortune, and her love for Republican institutions. If Tallyrand still lived, he would say to the present emperor what he in vain said to the first: "Your majesty will never hear the last shot fired in a war with a people who have fought eight hundred years with the Moors." South America consummated her independence by defeats, until, from the confusion, came forth the Grants and the Shermans, the Bolivars and the San Martins, who end in one campaign a struggle of four years. If the saying of Paul Jones, "I have just begun to fight," when his vessel was sinking and he was told to surrender, is North American, South America is a colossal Paul Jones who makes the same heroic speech from the River Plata and Conception to Central America and Mexico. Colonel Pringles, my compatriot, hemmed in on the sea coast by the Spaniards, plunged into the sea with his detachment of cavalry, and continued fighting among the waves without surrendering. The enemy respected that heroism, and not only allowed him to pass, but escorted him to his army.

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

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

Here, in Providence, in Mr. Brown's library, you will find four hundred volumes written on that war, commencing by a bull of Pope Alexander VI. I will give you an appendix to those books. You will remember that in Massachusetts the Puritans attempted to put in practice the laws of Moses. In Paraguay, the Jesuits attempted to prove certain theories of government deduced from the Epistles of St. Paul and the traditions of the primitive times of the church. They instituted a paternal theocratic government, with all the peculiar characteristics of their order: abnegation of the individual, passive obedience perinde ac cadaver, community of property, poverty of the individual and wealth of the State. They made their experiment in corpore vili, on conquered Indians; and were successful so long as there was a Father jesuit to ring the bell for the people to go to their work, to go to meals, to go to prayers, to perform drills, to extinguish their fires at bed-time, to rejoice when the bells rang merrily or be saddened when they tolled solemnly for the dead. So successful was their experiment, and so advantageous,—not for the paternally governed Indians but for the governing Fathers,—that the Catholic kings, whose authority the Indians of the Paraguayan missions did not recognize, save through the missionaries, made a general onset upon the jesuits throughout the whole extent of Spanish America, and, in one night, had them all expelled. After this exodus, the consequences of the paternal government were evident. The Fathers had been taken away; hundreds of bee-hives had been bereft of their queens; confusion reigned over the whole land; the human bees, educated to obey another's will, dispersed and wandered helplessly for the want of the regulating power which had thought for them and given them life. The revolution came next, and a political disciple of the jesuits established his government upon the basis of the passive obedience of the human bee, and thus for half a century was the Guarani State, peacefully governed. He was succeeded by the first one who happened to turn up when the tyrant died, who, in his turn, appointed by testament his son as his successor, only two or three years ago. Here we see a Republic (?) that in fifty-four years has had but two dictators. Few monarchies in the world can point to such long reigns. Since the time of the jesuits, the government carries on, for its own account, all foreign commerce; it sells the tobacco, the yerba mate, the timber of the forests. The citizen of that model republic has the right to work, and
that of selling to the government at the price designated by it. The second of the Dictators, putting himself in contact with the external world, provided himself, in England, with arms, steamers, machinists, engineers and captains, and one day, to the surprise of all Paraguay,—which had been shut up within itself for half a century, indifferent to the war of independence in which it took no part,—his son invades Mattogrosso on one side, and Corrientes on the other, without giving notice to Brazil or the Argentine Republic thus assaulted, until after the attack was made.

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

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

Having shown the good and evil influences which affect us, I will close this long exposition by pointing out one North American influence which is still wanting. Man does not live by bread alone; and we have New-England to prove it for the honor of the human race, and in compliance with the precept,
I have already shown you how the spirit of Horace Mann colonized South America, raising excellent schools wherever his doctrines are known. This moral action should be continued, spread abroad, strengthened. Your philanthropy is so great that even after shedding its influence all around you, applying balm and healing to every wound, you have still enough to spare. The Bible Societies annually expend a million and a half of dollars, to take the light of Christianity to the most remote portions of the globe. But South America does not participate in these gifts, nor would she yet accept them in that form. She needs to be instructed, not in the written word, but in the practical Christian spirit. You have founded a normal school, in Providence, to prepare teachers to take to the South and bestow the bread of morality on the freed people, by cultivating their minds. Governor Andrew has already sent six hundred teachers to Washington Territory, to prepare it to assume the dignity of a State. This is the crowning form for propagating the principles of the gospel, together with freedom and free labor. This is what South America needs and would accept. In the schools which I have visited, French is taught in some, German in others, Spanish in none. Are your teachers preparing to go to France to teach the principles of American liberty? The Spanish language is the key of South America. Your great historians owe to it their fame; your navigators, engineers and builders require it whenever they travel; on either side of Cape Horn, from California to Havana, their vessels touch the coast or penetrate to the interior. In the olden time, when nations looked back into the past while advancing, the Greeks learned the Egyptian language, the Romans learned Greek, the barbarians Latin. They feared to go astray. Now, however, that the nations are self-reliant and progressive, it is the language of the future which they should learn, and English is the language of the oceanic world, as Spanish is the language destined to spread itself in continuity with the English throughout the vast extent of South America. The Castilian language lies before the North American people like a conducting wire, and should be the language taught in the schools where any other language is taught besides English. Your teachers will then open colleges in twenty South American States, in two hundred capitals of Provinces, in a thousand towns and villages, and with advantage to themselves, will prepare the ground for the plough, the cultivator, the sowing and reaping machines, and the six thousand six hundred patents of invention granted by your patent office this year, which are not now used among us, because the understanding of the people is not prepared to appreciate them.

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