

V. THE WORK OF SPAIN IN AMERICA

B.

National Histories are, in the majority of cases, huge monuments to national pride, to racial and group prejudice. Ordinary achievements, common-place happenings, even deeds of a disreputable kind, may attain heroic proportions, rise to epic heights, at the magic touch of a master phrasemaker of gingoistic proclivities. The shortcomings of the nation or clan he is prepared to extol are paraphrased, explained away, twisted to suit his own prejudices or just glossed over. Achievements performed by others are generally minimized. Sometimes they are attributed to the nation of his preference without a blush. Their shortcomings, on the other hand, are magnified; crimes they may have never committed are imputed to them, and in no few instances even the burden of his darlings' villainies are thrown unceremoniously at the door-steps of the others as if the sins of the former or their sterility in regard to great achievements could add anything whatever to the luster, grandeur and fame of the clan of which he is a part by a mere accident or by choice.

This sort of history is not intended to serve truth; it is not the mirror of some phase of the human progress; it is not a wholesome lesson to the generations present or to come. It is just cheap propaganda in the service of nationalistic prejudice, sub-servient to false and ridiculous notions of racial conceit, often a reflexion of unjustified jealousy, and at other times a clear manifestation of undisguised hatred. Is any worthy cause served by such means? Is any new impetus given to the betterment

of the race, or of the particular section thereof, whose interests it is supposed to foster? It serves only to raise higher and higher the barriers which separate nation from nation and people from people; it engenders a smug satisfaction and pride that block further strides in the true road of progress; it retards the fullest cooperation of all men in a generous effort to build up a better life for one and all.

Owing to this propaganda of flattery in regard to ourselves, and of hate in regard to the rest of the world, propaganda which is hammered viciously into our heads from earliest infancy, we come to the inevitable conclusion that we are made of better clay than the others, and that God himself must have had a hard time in finding the right kind of clay from which to fashion this truly masterpiece. How many a cultured person shudder at the mere thought of a trip to Mexico, to Italy, to China? Why? Because, they say, those peoples are lawless, murderous, just barbarians. And who can blame them for this attitude? Were these not the kind of lessons we received in infancy? And have not such lessons a persistent tendency of superimposing themselves upon our more mature judgement and upon the knowledge and experience that come from later and better means of information? These aliens have no automobiles, no radios, no bath tubs, no silk stockings, no divorces, no race-suicide, on the same huge scale we have. Therefore they are not to be trusted, they are uncultured, plain barbarians, dangerous people to meet at any cross roads. And yet, as for murders, in every 100,000 inhabitants, statistics for for 1933-4 give the United States 7.3, to Italy 3.6, to Mexico about the same number. As for China, statistics or no statistics, she is very far behind us

in this particular brand of civilization which, by the way, we have acquired in the last fifty or seventy years. Up to that time we must have been despicable and dangerous barbarians.

Instead of contemplating ourselves in the mirror of false, biased, and vicious propaganda, as Narcissus did in the silvery and still waters of the fatal lake, couldn't we improve our intellectual and moral being by a few lessons on the truth about those peoples who had the misfortune to be born outside of our borders or of our clan? Can human nature be so different just because political boundaries have been raised in its midst? What kind of air have we in this country that in half a dozen generations has wrought the miracle of transforming the sons of Babel (for such are we) into sons of God, almost gods ourselves.

2.

The work of Spain in America has been treated in the spirit of the most exaggerated partisanship for over three and a half centuries. It has been presented to the masses as the most nefarious act of rapacity and enslavement ever perpetrated against nations and tribes of weaker peoples. Spanish greed and Spanish cruelty have become synonymous of these traits raised to their highest degree, and have been accepted for several generations as very predominating characteristics of the whole Spanish policy towards America and her inhabitants. It has been maintained that Spain was not only the greediest and most ruthless exploiter of America's wealth, especially in gold and silver, but the vandalic destroyer of her native civilizations, the remorseless oppressor and annihilator of the defenseless Indians, until all her colonial enterprise became an ineffaceable blot on the otherwise spotless escutcheon of

the civilized nations.

This is not history; authentic, honest, unprejudiced history. It is rather the outburst of irrepressible jealousy and hatred, besides being an herculean attempt at justifying the robbery of the fruits of the Spanish titanic labours on the part of those nations which had been quarreling and drenching their soil with blood, while Spain was conquering and civilizing the vast continent of America.

In order to make more plausible these monstrous charges, it seemed pertinent to make another one, no less destitute of historical truth, respecting the quality and character of the particular men who were sent by Spain to the conquest and colonization of America. These men, it has been asserted, were the very dregs of the Spanish society, her vilest and most debased scoundrels, the worst specimens of an already notoriously depraved people, men without principles, devoid of honor, intent on all forms of pillage, treachery and murders; men whose only goal in the exploration and conquest of the New World was the amassing of wealth, and who, to attain it, did not hesitate to enslave the Indians, to subject them to horrible tortures, to exterminate the recalcitrant and keep the rest in a state of dismal ignorance, of darkest superstition.

In contrast with England—always just, fair and human—which brought only enlightenment and liberty, peace and prosperity, and all the blessings of civilization to the easternmost fringe of North America, Spain's role throughout the whole American continent, from Patagonia to the very heart of North America, was that of a bird of prey, of a devastating and consuming fire, leaving nowhere but desolation and ruins.

What may have been the cause of so much hatred, of such venomous accusations, on the part of certain nations, against Spain? The answer to this important question is to be found in the very history of the Hispanic peoples as contrasted with that of the nations that were opposed to them.

At the close of the XVth century Europe, outside of Spain, was in a state of semibarbarism, torn by internecine dissensions, devastated by protracted wars and famine, prostrate under the crushing burden of her own misery and wretchedness. All her attention and strength were necessary to cope with her problems at home—problems of reconstruction, of unification and integration. She did not have the means nor the vitality to go out of her own sphere of domestic squabbles and look for aggrandizement and expansion in the regions of the unknown, and outside of the beaten path. Then came the Reformation, accompanied by internecine wars of religion which rather aggravated than solved the internal problems that beset the nations involved in the great schism of the XVth century.

Spain, on the other hand, had long before solved all these problems. Eight centuries of relentless struggle against the followers of the Prophet had forced upon the Spaniards a national unity which could scarcely be achieved in any other way. Spain fought the Arabs and Moors not because they were alien to the soil, nor yet because the principles of just retribution demanded it, but because their religion was the antithesis of her own, a religion which was essentially materialistic and antagonistic to her own most cherished ideals. All sections of Spain might be at odds with each other on a great number of issues. In religion, however,

there was not a voice of dissent. It was a common ground where every Spaniard could meet on terms of absolute equality, and, confronting a religion which was the negation of their own, it became the most powerful binding principle of every Spaniard, the symbol of a unity so complete and so strong that it actually transformed the whole of Christian Spain from many groups with ideals and aspirations all at cross purposes, into a strong and wide-awake nation, able to perform deeds of heroic proportions in every field of human endeavor.

This unity reached its culmination with the accession of Ferdinand and Isabel, and had its logical climax during the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II. Spain had in fact attained the hegemony of Europe. Her power was felt in Germany, the Netherlands, England, France and Italy. After the Roman Empire no other European nation had wielded as much power as did Spain in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Her famous infantry, whose organization was copied by other nations, marched over Europe as if on its own private ground; her mariners boldly plowed the seven seas; her conquistadores conquered new worlds, vaster than Europe many times over; her savants taught in every great university of the continent; her missionaries converted more Indians to the Catholic religion and to the Spanish civilization and culture, than Catholics had been lost to the Roman church through the Reformation; her plays, romances, philosophical and theological treatises, and other literary forms of expression were avidly read all over Europe, including England. Even the customs of Spain were imitated in the aristocratic centers of various European nations.

Such are some of the causes of the jealousy and hatred of the chief nations of Europe towards Spain. But there are more, the most important of which was the fact that, when a great part of Europe was becoming Protestant, Spain adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, dared to oppose the Reformation, and used her power to coerce and punish all forms of dissent. This was for the Protestant nations one of the greatest offenses committed by Spain.

But could Spain have done otherwise without renouncing the prominent place she had won through this principle of national unity? For the Catholic religion had been the principle of her unity and the cause of all her greatness. It was her ideal, acquired and beaten into shape in eight centuries of deadly conflict with the followers of the Crescent, and it is ideals that lead men to enterprises of enduring fame. Besides, in choosing to remain faithful to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, Spain was in perfect accord with the fundamental principle of the Reformation, that is, freedom of conscience, liberty to choose one's own form of worship. Spain chose to remain Catholic. Who had the right to quarrel with her?

The fact that Spain proceeded to safeguard her faith by means which were used even more harshly over all Europe, and by the same means tried to prevent the spread of Protestantism, should not astonish anyone, for the Spaniards were men of their own time, more conscious of what they thought to be their duty than any other people of the period of the Reformation. If their ideal was the only valid one, as they believed it was, and one which had raised the Spanish nation to such heights of fame, prestige and prosperity

the ages, have been led by ideals, rather than by earthly considerations; by the spiritual, rather than by the material, and have, by following their convictions to the end, achieved such extraordinary results both in Europe and in America, could not fail to arouse the most unreasonable and maddening jealousy in those who were and still are, unable to comprehend it. It is not unnatural, therefore, that they should, like impotent and disappointed children stamp their feet in rage, and vent their jealousy and hatred in the most vicious and unreasonable manner.

Spain's undisputed supremacy on the continent; her adherence to the Roman Catholic Church; the defense of her faith—her highest ideal—by the drastic means well known to, and lavishly used by, the Protestants themselves; her death struggle for ideals and principles instead of for materialistic aims; her phenomenal conquest and colonization of a new world; the unprecedented number of gigantic heroes she produced in a brief century; and, finally, the tremendous wealth she derived from her colonial empire, such were some of the causes of Europe's animosity towards her.

3.

The first charges against the Spanish rule in America, especially in regard to the treatment accorded to the Indians, were made, by Father Las Casas. He had been a large property-holder and had made use of many Indians in the cultivation of his lands. Other property-holders were doing the same thing under a regime never sanctioned by Spain, a regime which was soon investigated and abolished.

why should they not defend it to the utmost? For ideals not so lofty, but rather for the retention of the estates and the wealth stolen from churches and monasteries, or for the opportunity to steal new ones, what did the Protestant monarchs, princes, bishops and magnates do, in Germany, England, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and others? They imprisoned, banished, executed, massacred by the hundreds of thousands not only Catholics but even those who, although Protestants, like themselves, did not exactly conform to their constantly changing articles of faith, or got in the way of their materialistic interests and desires.

And in this respect, as in many others, differs the character of the Spaniards, as their work differs from that of other peoples. That of Spain, according to Juderías, "was above all spiritual. She did not seek, as an ultimate goal, what other nations sought. Consequently, when the conditions of life changed and she refused to adopt their openly materialistic aims, she was despised by all those who believed, and still believe, that the highest ideal for men to pursue is the greatest possible acquisition of wealth and comfort, even at the price of many transgressions of the moral order. Don Quixote did not sally forth to earn money, but honor; Sancho, on the other hand, was always thinking of the island his master had promised him, and could never divert his mind from the escudos which he found in the saddle of the dead mule he came upon in the Sierra Morena; between Spain's ideals and those of other nations there is a similar difference."(1)

This baffling spirit of the Spanish people who, throughout

(1) Juderías, J. La Leyenda Negra, p. 28 ff. Barcelona, Araluce, 1914.

It was extremely painful to Las Casas to see the Indians compelled to work on tasks which they had never performed before and under which they suffered extremely. In consequence Las Casas disposed of his holdings, entered the Order of St. Dominic, became a priest and, eventually, the defender of the Indians.

His work was, of course, that of an enthusiast and a crusader and lacked the critical approach. It, however, served its purpose. Spain, whose Indian policy has never been surpassed, or even equalled by any other colonial power, soon irradiated those isolated abuses, and went so far in her legislation as to absolve every Indian from any compulsory work whatever, a thing never done before or since by any other colonial empire.

In spite of this the exaggerated reports of Father Las Casas were little by little transformed into a gastly canto of Dante's Inferno. Jeronimo Benzoni in his Historia Nuova del Mundo, based on the testimony of Las Casas, goes much further in his accusations which, like a snow-ball, grow more and more with each new collaborator, until they formed a mountain of absurd proportions. Montaigne in his Essais, Voltaire in the Essai sur les Moeurs, Marmontel in Les Incas, Edward in his History of the British Colonies, all add new horrors to the picture made by Las Casas. Voltaire affirms that Phillip II ordered the extermination of the Indians; Michael Chevalier is sure that the Mexicans were free and versed in the sciences and arts; while Larouse's Dictionary accuses Spain of preventing the scholars from studying the documents relative to the occupation of America, so that they might not learn of her cruelties and crimes. Prescott, in spite of his readability, makes a large contribution to pseudo-history, while Draper is so tainted

with sectarian prejudice that he maintains that the sinister fate of Spain was to destroy two civilizations. Della Grasserie, on the other hand, assures us that "the American colonization by the Spaniards is an international crime." This specimen of venomous rancor and gross ignorance, appeared in the Revue Internationale de Sociologie for 1903. And since then such lies have multiplied, and will continue to be concocted in many ways and taught in school and forums as long as it is considered a patriotic duty to cover up our shortcomings by debasing and vilifying others, especially those whose history may reduce ours to utter insignificance.

"That we have not given justice to the Spanish Pioneers," says Charles F. Lummis, "is simply because we have been misled. They made a record unparalleled; but our text-books have not recognized that fact, though they no longer dare dispute it. Now, thanks to the New School of American History, we are coming to the truth,—a truth which every manly American will be glad to know. In this country of free and brave men, race-prejudice, the most ignorant of all human ignorances, must die out. We must respect manhood more than nationality, and admire it for its own sake wherever found...The deeds that hold the world up are not of any one blood. We may be born anywhere,—that is a mere accident; but to be heroes we must grow by means which are not accidents nor provincialisms, but the birthright and glory of the humanity... It was not possible for a Saxon boy to learn the truth in my boyhood; it is enormously difficult, if possible, now. The hopelessness of trying to get from any or all English textbooks a just picture of the Spanish hero in the New World made me resolve that no other young American lover of heroism and justice shall

need to grope so long in the dark as I had to." (2)

Lummis, always modest, because a true scholar, attributes the successes of his book Spanish Pioneers to A. F. Bandelier, the master of the New School and distinguished disciple of the great Von Humboldt. However, he has a right to rest on his own laurels, for, if Bandelier was his inspiration, it was to Lummis' own talent, to his love of truth and justice, and to his tireless industry that we owe a work that is in its turn an inspiration to all those who love truth above all other considerations.

However, it is to the patient and scholarly research conducted by Bandelier in the archives of Seville that we owe the materials by which the whole history of Spain in America is to be rewritten in our text-books. Julián Juderías' la Leyenda Negra, in its turn, is a masterpiece on the subject. Beltrán y Róspido, Segundo de Ispizua, Carlos Pereyre, Marius André, Hernán G. Peralta, Ricardo Palma, Félix Ortiz, Amunátegui, Bernardino Corral, Reinaldo Moñoz, and many others, all prove conclusively that the Spanish colonization of America was more enlightened and humanitarian than that of any other European nation in the past or at present.

4.

One of the charges made against Spain was to the effect that the Conquistadores of the New World were composed of the meanest elements of her population, including criminals of various sorts.

This accusation, like many others, ^{is} gratuitous and contradicted by the irrefutable documents of that heroic age. Besides, it

(2) Lummis, (Spanish Pioneers), p. 11 ff.

exaggerates Spanish prowess and gives to Spain a too high standard of efficiency and civilization. In fact, if the scum of the Spanish population was able to conquer, colonize, civilize and lift from barbarism to a high level of prosperity and culture a whole vast continent, and keep it developing in perfect peace for three centuries, what would not be reasonable to expect from the flower of Spanish manhood?

It is true that Columbus initiated his colonization schemes by bringing criminals to the newly discovered lands. They could probably be made to do the work cheaply that Columbus was planning to do in America for his financial gain, but his plan did not succeed for the Spanish Crown was soon made aware of the true situation and nipped it in the bud as a nefarious procedure. Never again was Spanish-America to become a penal colony for Spanish undesirables of any sort.

England, on the other hand, who adopted but few of the best features that characterized the Spanish-American colonization, was not slow in adopting this Columbian idea, when her opportunity arrived, and in making it one of her permanent colonial policies. As soon as the Pilgrim Fathers opened up a sufficiently large tract of the American wilderness, she began to send over ship-loads of her undesirables and criminals, thus ridding herself of her worst elements, building up reserves for future exploitation in the bargain. This procedure continued on the part of England throughout her American adventure, and when America severed her ties with the mother-country, England proceeded to colonize Australia with that same kind of her social refuse.

According to Charles M. Andrews, "colonization performed (for England) one of its most important functions in enabling the country

to get rid of undesirable members of its population...England in Elizabeth's day was distressed by a monstrous...breed of criminals, born in huge numbers in the wretched slums of the dirty, dilapidated towns, or created by the class distinctions, joyless child life, pitiless laws and filthy prisons..."

"Poor children, likely to become a charge upon the parishes, were sent over from many a provincial town, while London and Middlesex furnished a large number. Maids were shipped to become wives and mothers, and notorious offenders were ordered by Parliament to be banished to Virginia...The government lent its aid by giving legal sanction to a system of indenture...Bristol had its own system, and under this arrangement, thousands of indentured servants went to the American colonies..."

"In later years transportation became a frequent form of punishment in a great variety of minor offenses, and was even suggested as a penalty in cases of smuggling, resisting officers and importing 'alamodes' and 'lustrings' contrary to law..."

"Transportation of criminals was due also in part to the feeling that it was a waste to destroy so much good brawn and muscle which might 'yield a profitable service to the Commonwealth in parts abroad'...The practice dates from the beginning of the settlement and continued to the end of the colonial period..."(3)

"Severe laws were needed to restrain the habits and practices of the particular brand of settlers that had come to the Colony (Virginia) from the jails, bawdy-houses, and slums of London--

(3) Andrews, loc. cit., p. 61 ff.

and there were many such..."(4)

"Companies or associations were created for 'sending of 100 mayds to be made wives..."(5)

"On the whole there was no considerable number of 'scions of great English houses' and not many men of the better class in proportion to those of humble birth..."(6)

As for Spain it is enough to glance at the chronicles of her conquests in America, and other documents emanating from the Crown, to reach the unescapable conclusion that the opposite is true. Of course not all the Spanish colonists were gentlemen. The ships' crews, for example, were in general of the same breed employe in that kind of business the world over.

The colonizing expeditions, however, were composed in their majority by the best society of Castille, Andalusia, Estremadura and the Basque provinces. Among them were great numbers of aristocrats, noblemen, lawyers, high dignitaries of the church, artisans, geographers, and men of letters and sciences.

The colonists taken by Hurtado de Mendoza for the foundation and settlement of Buenos Aires were, according to the chronicle, gentlemen and brilliant captains. In his memorandum to Charles V Cortez, referring to Veraacruz, says: "Wishing to settle many caballeros (knights, gentlemen) and nobles..."

When a city was founded, or a new discovery was made in America an elaborate ritual and the most solemn ceremonies were always performed with prayers, the drawing of legal documents, and other

(4) Andrews, loc. cit., p. 116.

(5) Id., ibid., p. 137.

(6) Id., ibid., p. 208.

adminicoula, which would not be in tune with a mob composed of the dregs of society.

Every expedition of discovery or conquest was accompanied by at least a priest and a lawyer, so that every act might be recorded and every business transacted according to law and custom.

The first expedition to Yucatán was undertaken by about one hundred soldiers so poor and destitute that all their property was scarcely enough to arm a few ships. This was not an official expedition and its purpose was only to look for gold. However, these adventurers did not forget to take with them a priest and a lawyer so that their acts might receive the sanction of religion and of the law of the fatherland. Such men are not lawless or moral derelicts.

When Veraacruz was founded, the chief of the expedition, Cortez, convoked his officers and soldiers and appointed, from among them, the mayor and the councillors needed for the government of the new city. The following day these officers called Cortez in the name of the Crown, and inquired into the legality of the authority that had been entrusted to him as leader of the expedition. After this legality was duly examined it was decided that his power had come to an end, and had automatically passed into the hands of the new magistrates on whom the civil power resided thenceforward. Then, as the army needed a chief, the magistrates proceeded to name one, and as was natural, Cortez was appointed to the supreme command of the army.

All these proceedings, that may seem ridiculous and even childish to us, prove that law and order had a deep meaning for the Spanish conquistadores, even for those who were in a position to act in the most arbitrary and tyrannical fashion. Is it conceivable

that criminals, scoundrels, lawless men, should act in this manner?

Pizarro, of illegitimate birth and a grineherd by profession, was perhaps the humblest of all Spanish conquistadores; He could not even read or write. And yet, he has the distinction of being one of the most vilified conquerors in all American history, the most hateful and abhorrent man to all the Anthony Constocks of international morality, just because he was not only a great military genius and a hero of gigantic proportions, but also a highly humane civilizer, prudent, chivalrous, and a true Christian, whose honor was at no time ever tarnished. This is not an exaggerated and sentimental picture of one of the most venomously and cowardly slandered men in the history of American conquest, but the unanimous and impartial verdict of all modern critics. And the humble origin, not only of Pizarro, but of many other Spanish explorers, conquerors, and colonizers, far from diminishing their gigantic stature, adds to it, and shows the mettle of a race whose humblest classes could rise to such exalted heights. (Lummis)

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8.

In order to minimize the greatness and heroism of the Spanish conquistadores it has been customary to contrast the arms of the natives with those of the Spaniards. The former are described as primitive and inefficient, while the latter are supposed to have been far superior and capable of inflicting the deadliest havoc on the practically defenseless natives. This judgement would certainly be true if applied to scores of our own wars with the North American Indians, but it does not apply to the great Spanish American conquests.

In the first place the number of combatants on either side was immensely disproportionate in favor of the natives. Cortez never had more than about a thousand Spanish soldiers, while the hosts of Montezuma and Guatimozin numbered many thousands, maybe twenty, or forty or fifty thousand. Pizarro had less than 200 Spanish soldiers when he took Cuzco, a formidable fortress garrisoned by many thousands of formidable Indian warriors. Zaldivar took Acoma, a fortress as impregnable as Cuzco, with only 70 soldiers, most of them armed only with lances and swords. This disproportion existed in relation to all the other conquistadores of Spanish-America.

In second place it is pointed out that the horses alone gave a tremendous advantage to the Spaniards, because the natives had never seen one, and thought that both horse and rider formed one inseparable being of supernatural origin. The Spaniards themselves were gods, and therefore it was impossible to resist them. But neither the actions of Montezuma, nor the behavior of Atahualpa in relation to the Spaniards seem to bear witness to this belief. At least that belief must have been of the shortest duration. It certainly did not exist when the real struggle started for the conquest of both Mexico and Peru. The 12 horses of Cortez and the 60 of Pizarro could not be of great service on a terrain where they had no freedom of movement. Then their number became more and more reduced as time went on, and at times they were a real obstacle to the progress of the conquerors.

The fire-arms and artillery of the Spaniards have been considered one of the main factors in the conquest of Spanish America, but a little reflection will convince anyone that they do not de-

serve such credit. The artillery they used consisted of small falconets to be carried by the horses. These falconets were very few in number, rusty, worn out, incapable of doing anything else than inspire terror when heard or seen in operation for the first time. They did not or could not win any battle for Cortez, Pizarro, or any other Spanish conquistador. The other fire-arms were even worse. They had little relationship with our guns of today. They were nothing more than dilapidated flint-locks, whose range was not superior to the Indians' arrows, much slower of operation, and more cumbersome.

It was the lance and the sword that constituted the real arms of the Spaniards, very effective in a hand to hand combat but without the advantage of the agate tipped arrows of the Indians, which caused death and destruction at a distance where neither lance nor sword could reach.

It was the valor, daring and determination, as well as the strategy, of the Spaniards that really overcame the countless thousands of their opponents, armed with weapons in general as deadly and effective as their own. Thus were Mexico and Peru, Chile and New Granada, and all the other sections of America conquered by Cortez and Pizarro, Valdivia and Quesada, and a host of other heroes whom Spain took so much for granted that no praises were sung for the great deeds of most of them; the only records were those of the explorers, who simply registered those deeds in their chronicles and diaries as part of their daily tasks.

The charges against the work of Spain in America intended to be the most devastating, to arouse the hatred of the whole world

against her, and knit together in unholy alliance the most rapacious of the European Nations in a concerted action to loot her, with at least an appearance of justification, were those of greed and cruelty, so great, so unprecedented, that there was no memory of similar horrors in the annals of aggression and conquest.

Let us examine the first charge, that of greed, Spanish greed, which, being persistently taught to young and old, generation after generation, without attenuating circumstances, became a kind of distinctive characteristic by which a Spaniard could never be mistaken for anybody else. Automatically we were washed clean of such detestable stain. Greed is, in other words, a close Spanish monopoly.

Except for a few expeditions, like those of Columbus and Magellan, all such Spanish adventures proceeded from, and were defrayed by, private initiative. None of them, however, left Spain without a capitulación given by the Crown—a kind of charter in which the rights and duties of the two contracting parties, and of both in relation to the Indians, were set forth and defined to the very last detail. The form of government of the new city or territory to be discovered or conquered, a government always similar to that of any Spanish city or province, the number and kind of magistrates (governor, councillors, judges, priests, deputies of the King, etc.), their respective functions and salaries, and such matters, were some of the subjects regulated in these capitulaciones. Others, of no less importance, dealt with the treatment to be accorded the native population, with their freedom

and absolute equality with the Spaniards themselves, their conversion, the schools to be erected for their benefit, and such details pertaining to their welfare. Don't these capitulaciones show rather convincingly that the main purpose of the Spanish expeditions was first and foremost to colonize and civilize, rather than obtain wealth at the expense of the aborigines? Would such capitulaciones be in order in the case of a Drake or of a Hawkins?

These expeditions far from being a source of wealth to their promoters were, in the majority of cases, the cause of their financial ruin. The instances of such failures occur too often in the chronicles of the time but were never a check to new similar adventures. In the same chronicles any one can find how many Spaniards became rich not by the exploitation of gold mines and Indian flesh, but by agriculture and stock raising, a thing inconceivable to the English adventurers until English intolerance compelled a few wretched dissenters to look for a place of refuge on the shores of North America, among savages, whose rights to their homes were, however, to be respected only until the day they could be exterminated without impunity.

A concern that pervades every document emanating from the Spanish Crown, and having relation with American affairs, is that of welfare of the Indians and especially of their conversion to the Christian religion and their instruction in the letters and sciences of the time. This part of the Spanish civilizing work in America was naturally entrusted to the ecclesiastic and monastic orders. Priests accompanied every expedition, but the American missions were definitely organized in 1524, in the territories of Mexico, Tezcuco, Tlaxcala and Huejotzingo.

Among the first missionaries were Juan de Gaona, who had studied in the University of Paris; Francisco de Bustamante, one of the greatest orators of his time; Alonso de la Veracruz, a famous theologian. Three of them were of royal blood and all of them distinguished in their own profession. It was not necessity that took them to the hardships of America, but devotion to a cause that was very near to the heart of every Spaniard of that time—the conversion and the highest interests, spiritual and material, of the American Indians. Pedro de Gante, a relative of Charles V, founded the first schools for the Indians, and the Bishop Zumárraga and Father Alonso established colleges of sciences and libraries for them.

The missionaries not only introduced the printing press for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives, but learned their own language in order better to communicate with them. They published in the native languages a great number of books dealing not only with religion but with purely cultural matters, like grammars, dictionaries, histories, and other instruments of knowledge. And their work was well rewarded, for the Indians not only learned the Spanish language, religion, customs and traditions, but produced in their turn men of letters and sciences, and competed with the Spaniards for both civil and ecclesiastical offices which, by the equalitarian policy of Spain in America, were open to both Spaniards and Indians on the basis of accomplishment and merit.

This procedure on the part of the Spanish government, and the tireless work and devotion of the Spanish missionaries and magistrates in general, concerning the welfare and civilization of the Indians, are diametrically opposed to the spirit of greed so

lightly, but so venomously, attributed to Spain and the Spaniards. The acts of both Cortez and Pizarro, supposedly the greatest of all conquistadores, have already been touched upon. The only manifestation of greed on the part of Cortez had to do with the conquest of an empire, and not with a handful of gold. As for Pizarro he did not set any price on the freedom of Atahualpa. It was the Inca chieftain who suggested and defined the amount of his own ransom, which Pizarro accepted in good faith. Nevertheless he declared himself completely satisfied long before Atahualpa had fulfilled his spontaneous promise. Under similar circumstances how many other conquerors of ancient or modern times would have acted with as much detachment and lack of greed as these and other Spanish conquistadores? Contrast this with our own attitude toward our allies in relation to their war debts. Although we know that all our debtors have scarcely one fourth of the gold represented by that debt; although we did not lend any gold to Europe, but goods; and in spite of the fact that we, through tariffs, have made it impossible for them to pay us what they really owe us, in the only valuables they can spare by tightening their belts, that is, goods; in spite of all this we insist that they must pay us to the last cent and in gold which simply does not exist. In other words we insist that they must pay us 20 billion dollars in gold out of 8 or 10 billions they actually possess.

Atahualpa promised less than one tenth of the gold actually in existence in the temples of the Incas at that time, and before he fulfilled his promise Pizarro gave him a receipt which relieved him of further obligation. What would an American, English, or German general of Pizarro's stature and authority do under similar

circumstances? What have we done with the huge sums of money owed to dozens of Indian tribes for millions of acres of rich lands we bought from them by solemn treaty? How many of those sacred obligations did we repudiate or refuse to pay? A Century of Dishonor, by Helen Hunt Jackson, makes instructive reading in this connection.

Referring to French maritime enterprise, Charles M. Andrews says; "Like others of that and a later day, they sought a mysterious kingdom of gold,...and where mines were rich in gold, copper and diamonds." (7)

England, whose inheritors we are, in more senses than one, comes in for closer scrutiny. He goes on to say; "Here (in the Amazon and Orinoco valleys) in the year 1595 Raleigh entered upon the 'discoverie of large rich and bewtiful empyre of Guiana', of which he was to write so glowing an account, and implanted in his mind those memories of the golden harvest... that drove him 22 years later to enter upon his second and tragic attempt to find the mine, of which his lieutenant, Keym's, had told him... This famous expedition... brought him no gold... but only death on the scaffold in England." (8) It was King James who ordered Raleigh's death for his failure to bring gold to him as he had promised to do..."

"Guilbert and Raleigh were... lords of manors which furnished meagre revenues from tenancies and leases. Even when, as in Raleigh's case, these resources were supplemented by the returns

(7) Andrews, loc. cit., p. 18.

(8) Id. ibid., p. 24.

from lucrative and secret privateering ventures, from a systematic robbery of England's enemies at sea, and from other money making methods in which 'rapacity was matched by a consummate skill in lying' (Harlow, Intro. to Raleigh's discoveries), they proved altogether insufficient to meet the expenses of promoting settlement overseas..."

"This financial middle class begun its influential career when it acquired the lands of the church under HenryVIII..."(9)

"Privateering and trade enlisted the energies of only a small part of the population of England...and engaged the attention of those only who were...willing to risk their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of wealth. Most of those who up to this time (before 1602) had crossed the ocean were prospectors for the gold which was always luring them on to penetrate the unknown, or... who preferred to amass their riches rather by deeds of valor against the Spaniards than by the more prosaic and peaceful activities of every day life..."(10)

"Many, aroused by the reports of gold and silver obtained by Spain after the discovery of the mines of Potosi, in 1545, dreamed of similar mines in the northern continent and for a century their descendants sought to find them..."(11)

"Venturesome men(in the service of English capitalists) were sailing north, south, and west across the ocean, seeking opportunities for the employment of the wealth of the day...From the straits of Gibraltar and the Wine islands along the African

(9) Andrews, loc. cit., p. 26.

(10) Id., ibid., p. 53.

(11) Id., ibid., p. 73.

coast to the Gulf of Guinea, and from Hudson Bay to the Caribbean isles and the Orinoco and Amazon rivers they were...searching vainly for gold..."(12)

"Despite the many pious phrases that the charter (given to the first Company for the settlement in the New World) contains regarding the preaching of Christianity to the savages, the new undertaking was strictly a commercial enterprise...The companies were authorized to invite and carry over adventurers, search for mines, and coin money..."(13)

"The contemporary idea of colonization had advanced no further than to conceive of settlement in terms of ships, reasonably equipped and captained, of hardy men sufficient in number but of any class or quality, drawn together in part by the prospect of gold or plunder and in part by the need of employment..."

"The first Virginia settlers had hardly progressed beyond this point. They were not above gold and plunder..."(14)

What a contrast with the work of Spain in America! While our forefathers (at least the boldest of them) raced the seven seas, thirsty for gold, lusting for plunder, intent on murder for the sake of robbery, the Spaniards had discovered, conquered, explored, colonized and civilized the vast regions of America, with the exception of about half of the present United States and Canada.

(12) Andrews, loc. cit., p. 78 ff.

(13) Id., ibid., p. 87.

(14) Id., ibid., p. 99.

7.

The charge of cruelty, oppression, mistreatment and neglect on the part of Spain towards the Indians, is based on the same prejudices that dictated all other accusations against Spain. As Lummis observes, no Indian nation was ever exterminated by the Spaniards. On the contrary, there are more Indians today in Spanish-America than at the time of the conquest. England, on the other hand, exterminated the whole population of some of her colonies and dominions, while the United States has practically wiped out the North American Indians. Why are these simple facts not taught to our youth?

The executions ordered by Cortez, Alvarado, Pizarro and others, were entirely justified in the light of true history. When Zaldivar laid siege to Acoma, and Pizarro to Cuzco, they did not attack those impregnable fortresses until they had asked the garrisons to surrender, as was prescribed by International Law. In many instances in which the Indians, to cheat the Spaniards of the spoils of war, set fire to their own villages, it was the Spaniards themselves who, in danger of losing their own life, did all they could to rescue the Indian women and children. Zaldivar, whose brother and the men under his command had been murdered treacherously by the People of Acoma, not only endangered his life to save those of the Indian women and children, but pardoned all the Indians as soon as they surrendered.

Of course there were many acts of cruelty during a whole century of titanic struggle to subdue all the wilds of America. Pedro Arias Dávila committed great cruelties against both Indians

and Spaniards, and Cortez, always considered by the Indians as their true friend, became towards the end tyrannical and unjust towards his own countrymen. None of these or similar acts were ever approved by Spain, and whenever known they were investigated and punished with severity. Jiménez de Quesada, the conqueror of New Granada, was deprived of the governorship of this immense territory and banished, because during his journey of exploration and conquest he had tortured the chief Bogotá in order to have him disclose the hiding place of his treasures. In 1521 Gordillo reached Georgetown Entrance, South Carolina. "Here Gordillo yielded to the opportunity, and, contrary to his instructions, joined his colleague (Matienzo) in loading up with Indians. Ayllon (Justice of the Supreme Court of Santo Domingo) condemned Gordillo's course, and the Court at Santo Domingo liberated the Indians." (15) Columbus himself was put in irons for having enslaved several hundred Indians and attempting to enslave others, and the governorship of Cortez was taken away from him for his injustices towards the Spaniards. Abuses were also committed by many private and unscrupulous exploiters, but the investigators whom the Crown had in the field, others who were sent from time to time to see that the Spanish laws on this subject were observed, and the vigilance of the numerous missionaries who from the very beginning took to heart the rights of the aborigines, reduced such abuses to a minimum and punished the offenders with all the rigor of the law whenever found.

The worst treatment accorded to the Indians in these sporadic

(15) Bourne, E. G., Spain in America, p. 137.
New York, Harper and Brothers, 1904.

cases was mild indeed when compared to the treatment given today by England to the natives of South Africa in her service in the Rand and Kimberley mines, or to that which we accorded to every one of our Indian tribes in all our history, until very recently, when they ceased to be in our way. It was only the other day that England freed her native slaves in Sierra Leona.

The best refutation to the charge of cruelty and greed that has been so persistently hurled at Spain, through malice or ignorance, is the peculiar character of the whole Spanish colonization which was based on the principles of faith, justice, and culture, the two last being subordinated to, though inseparable from, the first. This does not mean, of course, that material interest was disregarded. Far from it. But material interest was always secondary in the colonial policy of Spain. It follows from this that the Spanish system of colonization was unique. It was never practiced before, it was never repeated or imitated afterwards.

Between Spain and Spanish America there was a perfect union not only in regard to language and religion, but also in respect to the political and social organization. The Indians were never considered other than vassals of the Spanish Crown, that is, on a par with the Spaniards themselves. Among the instructions given by King Ferdinand to Diego Colón in 1512 we find words to this effect: "In my understanding the things concerning these parts, that is, the territories of the Crown, are the same as those concerning Castille." Charles V ordered that no other laws or regulations should be applied to the Indies or their natives that were not applied to Spain and her inhabitants. A

similar declaration was reiterated by Philip II, who, on the matter of academic matters—degrees, privileges, courtesies, etc.—prescribed that the graduates of the Spanish-American Universities, both Spaniards and Indians, were to be on a par with those graduated in the University of Salamanca.

Even the names by which the Spaniards designated the territories conquered show how much respect the Spaniards had for the susceptibilities which they supposed the Indians might have in this regard. There were no Spanish colonies in America, but New Spain, New Castille, New Biscay, New Granada, New Cordoba, the New Andalusian government, etc., and all together with Spain constituted la Monarquía de las Españas, the Monarchy of the Spains. Even the word conquest was suppressed from the capitulaciones and substituted by those of pacification and settlement, so that all should be done in the spirit of 'peace and charity', avoiding every thing that might give offense to the Indians.

Just how human and fair was the Spanish rule in America is proved also by three centuries of peace and quiet that reigned in the Spanish possessions following the first few years of conquest. The only exception to this rule was provided by the Araucanians, whose bellicose spirit, indomitable courage, and fierceness in combat made them the most troublesome and difficult of all natives to deal with.

Knowing the prowess of such tribes as those of the Aztecs, Incas, Caribs, and many others, who inhabited Mexico, Peru, Chile, Central America, Venezuela, Colombia, etc., and remembering that the Spaniards were only a handful in the midst of perhaps fifteen or twenty million natives, many with glorious military traditions,

and all proud of their history and traditions, is it not to be wondered at that ~~this~~ handful of Spaniards—for the most part peaceful missionaries, farmers, stock raisers, etc.—succeeded in living in peace among the natives for nearly three centuries?

Contrast these achievements with what happened in the English colonies and in the United States. The same Indians who in the west and southwest of the present United States lived peacefully with the Spaniards, were for over a century at war with our government, until they were almost completely wiped out. Was it due to our humane treatment that they revolted, and to the Spanish cruelty that they pursued their avocations and lived their own lives in peace?

How did Spain succeed in quelling the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers in Peru, which threatened the very existence of the Spanish colony in the newly conquered empire of the Incas? She sent Father Lagasca, without any other arms or army than his wisdom and prudence, his modesty and virtue. By evoking the old Spanish traditions of loyalty to God and king, by persuasion and counsel, he won the good will of everybody, so that, when the two enemy camps faced each other, it was to give public testimony of their spirit of reconciliation and to pledge a new loyalty to the ideals which Spain had undertaken to implant in America from the beginning of its discovery and conquest.

The Spanish Inquisition, which was established in America in 1569, has served in its turn as an excellent pretext for the worst charges of cruelty against Spain. But here also the malice and hatred of the enemies of Spain have been dashed against the stone-wall of the Modern School of History. In the first place the native Americans were positively excluded from its jurisdiction

and had nothing to fear from it. Only the colonists could be investigated, tried and condemned by this tribunal. Up to 1715, in the whole of Mexico, where it was most active, there were only 39 cases of capital punishment, and no more than two thirds of those punished were burned at the stake. Meanwhile in Salem alone, after 1692, numerous persons were tortured of whom 19 were hanged for the offense of witchcraft. How many more were burned or otherwise tormented in various ways, and in other parts of the colonies subject to England, is difficult to estimate. Judging from the barbarities committed in England by both Catholics and Protestants between the reigns of Henry VIII and James III, barbarities that in many cases far surpassed anything that the Spanish Inquisition ever devised and accomplished, it is doubtful whether in 277 years of Inquisition in the vast Spanish American territories were produced more victims than were produced in the insignificant English colonies for the same causes and by the same means, though under different names. (see Bourne).

In regard to the exaggerated reputation of cruelty, on the part of Spain, on one hand, and of her great achievements, on the other, Hale says: "Between the reign of Ferdinand and the end of that of Phillip, Spain had won, through most of the world, the reputation of the blackest cruelty...The people of our own race—such men, for instance, as Drake and Cavendish, and afterwards such men as Essex and Hawkins and Raleigh and Sydney—regarded 'Spaniards as only another word for 'child of hell', and the living Spaniard himself as the visible ally of the Devil...But after granting this cruelty, yet making allowance for it, in memory of its sources, none the less is it true, that in discovery, in adventure,

in colonization, in all that part of her work which fell outside of Europe, Spain showed the noblest courage, patience, and foresight. She illustrated some of the grandest qualities of men. It is not by cruelty and treachery that the people of a poor peninsula, just emerging from a long war of races, obtain possession of half the world. It is rather by such faith as led Columbus, by such manhood as gave Magellan his supremacy over discontented rivals. It is by that proud hospitality, in which Spain welcomed such leaders, and gave places of command to these two men, and to Cabot and Vespuccius, who were only not their peers. It was by such prompt decision or heroic audacity as once and again saved Cortez,—it was by the wisdom of Ximenes, by the humanity of Las Casas, by the chivalric courage of thousands of unnamed soldiers, and the Christian constancy of thousands of unnamed confessors, that Spanish names were placed on half the headlands of the world."(16)

8.

Those for whom such apostles of prejudice and bigotry, as Prescott and Draper are true and fair exponents of the history of Spain in America, will easily dismiss the Spanish civilizing influence towards the natives as negligible if not wicked and deleterious. It is pertinent, therefore, to add a few remarks to a subject that has been touched incidentally in various places.

What was the condition of most Indian tribes, especially in Mexico, Peru, Central America, and in the vast regions of the

(16) Hale, E. E. Spain, p. 339 ff.
New York, G. P. Putman and Sons, 1901.

Caribs and Araucanians?

The least civilized, like the Caribs, the Panches, the Pijacs and others, were man-eaters, and lived in the most barbarous, even savage, condition. For ferocity the Araucanians had no parallel in any American tribe. The inhabitants of some of the Antilles were fast being annihilated by stronger and bolder savages of other islands, and were looked upon by the Caribs as a kind of game preserve. Unlike the Pueblo Indians, whose religion was a reflection of their peaceful disposition, the Mexicans and Peruvians were warlike and had the best military organization of any Indian tribes, and used their power to oppress all those whom they could subdue. In fact the unbearable tyranny of their military rulers was heavily felt by their own respective peoples.

In Peru most of its periodical war raids were made for plunder and destruction, while in Mexico one of the very important functions of war was to get prisoners to use as victims in their horrible human sacrifices. Hecatombs of such victims were every year sacrificed on the altars of their bloodthirsty gods, and in default of war prisoners thousands of their own people were thus sacrificed in order to appease the wrath of their angry deities.

During the three months siege of Mexico city by Cortez, forty Spanish prisoners, captured during the battle of la Noche Triste, were sacrificed in the Mexican highplaces. Bound hand and foot to the stony altar, the chest of the victim was ripped open by the priests, and his palpitating heart pulled out of the quivering body with all the fiendish cruelty of their satanic ritual. No wonder that, in the heat of battle and victory, the conquerors smashed the altars and idols of the bloody gods. For many a day

the horrible shrieks of their forty compatriots must have haunted them in the small hours of the night.

And yet, as soon as the battle was over and the tribe or tribes in question were subdued, a civil government would be set up, magistrates appointed or elected, law and order established, and everything would start to function as normally as it would in any of the Spanish communities where a new administration had been inaugurated.

The Indians were never treated as helots by Spain, never considered inferior to themselves by the Spaniards, never thought of as fit material for traffic in human flesh. As soon as they were subdued they became part and parcel of the Spanish Monarchy, and the equality of their rights with those of the Spaniards was never doubted or questioned, but taken for granted, even if the conquistadores had never heard a word about the preamble of the American Declaration of Independence.

When Queen Isabel was notified of the kind of merchandise Columbus brought on his first return voyage her indignation was very great indeed, and she exclaimed: "Who gave permission to Columbus thus to dispose of my vassals?" And forthwith she issued a proclamation to the effect that, under pain of death, they should be freed without a moment's delay. On another occasion (1502) she declared very emphatically that the Indians were as free as the Spaniards and that nobody had the right to compel them to work against their will, and still less without pay. In 1517, Charles V enjoined Cortes to allow no one to encroach upon the liberties of the Indians, but in every thing to let them "live freely as do our vassals in our kingdoms of Castille."

Although slavery was still recognized and practiced in Europe, Spain never recognized this institution as applying to the Indians and thus in a conference assembled in Mexico at the call of Tello Sandoval, for the express purpose of protecting the natives, it was agreed that "all infidels (that is, non-Catholic Indians), no matter what their beliefs or transgressions may be, are by natural, divine and human right, the sole masters of whatever they have acquired lawfully, including their dominions, states, kingdoms, jurisdictions, privileges, etc." (17) Their communities were organized on the model of the Spanish communities with caciques of their own choosing, supervised, of course, by the Spanish authorities. Their Christianization was prosecuted in all earnestness by numerous and capable missionaries, who built for them churches, schools, colleges and universities.

Whatever abuses may have developed later on under this rigid ecclesiastical influence, abuses that were inevitable, the truth is that the intentions of Spain and of these first missionaries, wholly devoted to the best interests of the Indians, were of a high quality not to be found elsewhere, and improved their conditions of life one hundred-fold. Their agriculture was transformed completely not only with the introduction of new methods of cultivation and a great variety of new plants, but with that of domestic animals—oxen, horses, donkeys, pigs, sheep, chickens, etc. Their right to ownership of the soil, of mines, of their domestic animals, implements of work and any other source of wealth, on a par with the Spaniards, was productive of a remarkable improvement in their

(17) Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana
Vol. 21, Espada-Calpe, p. 701.
Barcelona, 1923.

economic and social status. Pregnant women and children of less than 14 years of age were not allowed to work, and all women were forbidden to work in the mines. Can we boast of such beneficent legislation in favor of women and children even at this late date?

In regard to the benefits which Spain brought to the American Indians it would be very instructive to read the Historia de la Conquista de Nueva España by Gómez and Conquista de la Nueva España by Bernal Díaz del Castillo. The list of such benefits—material, intellectual, and spiritual—is so large, so varied and so complete that Juderías exclaims: "A backward nation is unable to teach those industries; neither does a cruel and exterminating race take pleasure in creating such institutions, nor is it possible that a people who is not gifted with extraordinary qualities for so difficult a work as that of colonizing and civilizing a new world may accomplish in such a short time results so extraordinary and wonderful." (18)

Spanish idealism went as far as it was possible to go by proclaiming absolute racial equality between Spaniards and Indians. A law promulgated in 1514 gives absolute freedom to both Indians and Spaniards to intermarry, and commands that no order of any kind may prevent such unions. We have already seen how the Indians had access not only to any school, college and university, many of which were expressly built for them, but to any academic title or honor, to any position and office whatever, both ecclesiastic and civil.

(18) Juderías, loc. cit., p. 173.

Related to the treatment accorded to the Indians is the introduction in America of slaves from Africa. Permission for this traffic was given in 1501 and 1504, but restricted to those born in slavery. In 1510 the importation of negroes from Guinea was tolerated, but 6 years later the importation of negro slaves to the Indies was forbidden by Cardinal Cisneros. This traffic passed from Spain to Holland by concession of Charles V, who, as King of Spain, made free use of the Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth in the quarrels of his own German Empire and in his wars in France, Italy, Netherlands, and so forth. England, France and Portugal followed the example of Holland and it was they who exploited this nefarious traffic. (On this subject see Bourne).

Spain is accused of introducing the slave trade in the New World. It is true that she carried on this traffic for six years, or fifteen, if we include those born in slavery. This is, of course to her discredit. Why did not England, Holland and France, which were led astray by her bad example, follow her lead, too, in stopping that traffic once their consciences are so sensitive to its horrors and inhumanity? Besides, Virginia alone had more negro slaves than all Spanish America at the time of her separation from Spain. And these could scarcely be called slaves in the North American sense, for they never experienced the hardships or disabilities to which our Negro population was, and still is, subject. No war of liberation was waged, no blood was shed to uphold the freedom of the Negro in Spanish America. A simple proclamation solved the theoretical problem, for in practice it is difficult to say just when slavery had been abolished in Spanish America. "We are accustomed to think", says Bourne, "of the

Pennsylvania Quakers and Judge Sewall as uttering the first public protest in America against negro slavery; but the Jesuit Alphonso Sandoval, born in Seville, but educated in Peru, where his father was the king's treasurer, in his work on the history and customs of the negroes, lifts his voice clearly against slavery and the slave trade, and brings out the point that the constant market for slaves on the coast is a prolific cause of wars in the interior of Africa."(19)

Even Brazil, a much harder task-master than Spain ever was, did not suffer any agonies on account of the liberation of her slaves. A simple decree, called Lei Aurea (Golden Law), signed by Princess D. Izabel, then regent of Brazil in the absence of her father, the Emperor Pedro II, was not only the signal for the liberation of the slaves, but the occasion for enthusiastic public rejoicing all over Brazil, instead of a call to arms in a fratricidal war of four years as was the case in the United States. In spite of Portuguese greed, which is as great as Spanish greed, instead of the boom of the cannon and hecatombs of mutilated bodies, the event was celebrated with fire-works, the harmony of musical instruments, display of the best finery, parades, laughter and rejoicing. (20)

"A comparative study of the status and treatment of slaves in the Spanish, French, and English colonies reveals the fact, surprising today, so wide-spread is the view that the Spanish colonial system was pre-eminently oppressive, that the Spanish slave code was far more human than either the French or the English

(19) Bourne, loc. cit., p. 280.

(20) Guimaraes, A. G. d'Araujo A Corte no Brazil, p. 148. Barcellos, Baptista and Cia. Porto Alegre, Brazil, 1936.

slave laws. In law the Spanish slave had a right, if ill treated, to choose a master less severe if he could induce him to buy him, to marry a wife of his own choice, to buy his liberty at the lowest market rate, and to buy his wife and children. If he was cruelly treated he could appeal to the courts and might be declared free. In fact, the Spanish laws and the ^{Spanish} administration favored emancipation at every turn. If negroes questioned the legality of their enslavement the courts were to hear their cause. Sandoval mentions such a case in which the audiencia of Mexico liberated a claimant on rather slight evidence. Charles III laid down the principle in 1789 that fugitive slaves who by just means obtained their liberty were not to be restored."(21)

Taking into consideration the lack of race prejudice on the part of the Spaniards, as contrasted with our very decided race prejudice, especially towards our colored fellow citizens, it is our conviction that the Spanish slaves were much better off than the free American negroes of today in regard to any kind of human rights and opportunities. And if the negroes who had been imported, to alleviate and protect the Indians, were treated so humanely, even as slaves, what must have been the treatment accorded to the Indians themselves, the pampered children of the Spanish Crown?

Speaking of the Portuguese slave trade, initiated in the lifetime of the Navigator, Beazley, who has only words of condemnation for the nefarious traffic, says this; "Henry's own motives were not those of the slave-driver; it seems true enough that the captives when brought home to Spain, were treated, under his orders, with all kindness; his own wish seems to have been to

(21) Bourne, loc. cit., p. 280.

use this manhunting traffic as a means to Christianize and civilize the native tribes, to win over the whole by the education of a few prisoners."(22) Of the treatment accorded to the slaves by the Portuguese even in those times not so refined or enlightened as ours, he says: "these slaves were treated with kindness, and no difference was made between them and other and free born servants. The younger captives were taught trades, and those who showed that they could manage property were set free and married. Widow ladies treated the girls they bought like their own daughters, and often left them dowries by will, that they might marry as entirely free. 'Never have I known one of these captives,' says Azurara, 'put in irons like other slaves, or one who did not become a Christian. Often have I been present at the baptisms or marriages of these slaves, when their masters made as much and as solemn a matter of it as if it had been a child or a parent of their own.'"(23)

The English, parading as gentle and kind to men and beast alike, have reproached the Portuguese bitterly for having taught them this horrible business of slavedriving, and both Portugal and Spain have been denounced in terms of the highest reprobation. The United States likewise has not been slow or lukewarm in her indignant and righteous denunciations. Meanwhile it was they who took up the lucrative slave-trade in all eagerness, and never thought for a moment that these wretched beasts of burden were also human beings. A bloody war was not enough to free them in our South, and England still had slaves in Sierra Leona half a

(22) Beazley, loc. cit., p. 207.

(23) Id. *ibid.*, p. 215.

dozen years ago.

9.

The work of culture in its widest sense performed by Spain in America is one of the most glorious and imperishable monuments she left in the New World, not only when compared to similar undertakings of other colonial nations, not excepting Rome, but also when considered in itself. And here the greatest credit and honors belong, naturally, to the numerous missionaries who devoted all their lives, their knowledge, their zeal and their deep comprehension of the finest points of their religion, not only to the salvation of the native souls, but to the greatest wellbeing of their bodies.

No important expedition ever started from home without one or more of those truly apostolic men who, in addition to their sincere piety, had a great love for their fellow men and some peculiar skill that might be of the greatest advantage to the natives or to humanity at large. The only notable exception was the first voyage of Columbus, because, of all Spanish expeditions, this was perhaps the most mercantile in spirit, and possibly because, as Marius André avers, Columbus was already thinking in a very businesslike manner of that great potential source of wealth which he knew no missionary would countenance--the trade on native slaves.

Many hundreds of missionaries went to the conquest of the Indians in the first two or three decades and their influx continued unabated for over two centuries. Many of the monastic orders participated in this great crusade of evangelization and

civilization of the American natives but it was the Franciscans who had the greatest share in the crusade of redemption. It was they who spread the first seed of the gospel, as well as the first elements of a better life on earth, among the various tribes of Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, Brazil and Canada. It was they also who fought resolutely and effectively the incipient African slave trade, and watched vigilantly the strict observance by all concerned of the Spanish laws regarding the absolute liberty and equality that were to be accorded to the natives. The universities of Lima, Quito, Mexico, Bogotá and Havana were founded by the Dominicans, while the Franciscans made the first studies of the history and culture of the aborigines, Father Toribio de Benavente excelling all others in this particular.

The introduction and development of the moral and intellectual education of the natives followed alongside the political and administrative organization of Spanish America. Schools for the Indians, as well as for the children of the Spaniards, were formed in every village, and these were followed by colleges and universities. These higher institutions of learning were established as early as 1535 in Mexico, Peru, New Granada and other places. In Bogotá each parish priest was ordered to choose twenty sons of Indian chiefs and other notables, and instruct them in the arts of reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.; and these, in turn, after they had acquired a certain proficiency, were entrusted with ten new pupils each. This coöperative system of learning, which attained such wonderful results among the Indians of the first Spanish colonial days, is supposed, however, to be a modern invention!

In San Francisco college, established in Mexico in 1524 by Pedro de Gante, there were as many as 1000 pupils, for the most part sons of distinguished natives. Primary school, school of fine arts, manual training school, besides classes of catechism for all, were the main feature of their curriculum.

In the seminary founded by Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico, in Santiago de Tlateloco, sixty selected natives were taught Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, music and medicine, for the purpose of becoming, in their turn, teachers of those destined to become priests and missionaries, so that the latter might learn from them the native language, history, customs, religious ceremonies, etc., and in this way become more proficient in the duties of their calling. Among other institutions of learning founded by the Spaniards for the use of both Indians and Spaniards, with their curricula, place and date of foundation, are the following:

1524. College of San Francisco, founded by Pedro de Gante in Mexico. It had 1000 students distributed in the elementary school, school of Fine Arts, Manual Training and Catechism.

The College of San Juan de Latrán was founded in the same year by the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza only for mestizos.

At various periods of the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Jesuits established colleges for the higher classes, especially colegios, in Mexico, Puebla, Valladolid, Pasero, Guadalajara, and two in Yucatán.

1538. University of Santo Domingo in La Española.
1543. Chairs of literature, philosophy and theology were established by the Dominicans in New Granada. These were incorporated in 1627, as the University of Santo Tomás. There were also by this time the Universidad Xaveriana directed by the Jesuits, and the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario founded by the archbishop Torres.
1551. University of Mexico, in which Theology, law and medicine were taught.
1555. University of San Marcos in Lima, with the faculties of theology, law, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, Latin and Quechua language.
1575. College of San Pablo founded by Alonso de la Veracruz for a more complete education of criollos and mestizos. It had globes, maps, and a good variety of scientific equipment.
1586. University of San Fulgencio in Quito, which was reorganized in 1620 under the name of San Gregorio Magno.
1589. Chuquisaca College, in Peru.
1594. San Luis de Quito Seminary, and
1598. Santiago College in Chile, were all founded by the Jesuits.

In this year were also founded the universities of Cuzco and Huamanga.

1610. The Dominicans asked permission from the Pope to found the University of Santo Tomás in the capital of Chile, but it was granted them only seven years later.

At that time there were in Santiago three Jesuit Colleges.

1622. The chairs of theology, liberal arts, and others, which had already been in operation in Córdoba de Tucumán, were elevated to the rank of university.

1721. The University of Havana was founded.

The Seminario Tridentino of Caracas was elevated to the rank of university by Phillip V.

The University of Charcas (Bolivia), also founded at this time, was one of the most famous in America in the eighteenth century.

1738. La Real Universidad de San Felipe of Santiago, Chile, was founded by the king, and had chairs of theology, law, canon law, anatomy, mathematics, cosmography and native languages.

If we now compare some dates relative to the establishment of institutions of learning by both the Spanish and English colonists in America, we find that the obscurantism of Spain was not as dark as we have been told. The first college established in the English colonies (Harvard which, "at its best had only the training of the clergy in view", Andrews) dates from 1636, that is, 32 years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. The first Spanish colleges, on the other hand, were established in Mexico in 1534, that is 5 years after the landing of Cortes, and only 26 years after the first voyage of Columbus. However, as not only colleges, but also colonization and discovery, were all part of the same forces that led Spain to her colonial adventures—the spread of her religion and culture—the real difference in time

between Spanish obscurantism and Anglo-Saxon enlightenment is one of 112 years.

The introduction of the printing press in Mexico City by the Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga, is another proof of the enlightened policy of Spain toward the Indies and the Indians. It started in 1538, and its first book was, according to tradition, a book of Christian Doctrine both in Spanish and in the native language. Others were established in 1543, 1575 and 1577. This last one was taken to Lima towards the end of the sixteenth century and published its first book of Christian Doctrine and catechism for the natives in 1583. Venezuela saw its first printing press in 1764, Cuba in 1698 (others say 1707), New Granada in 1732, Guatemala in 1660. Paraguay had its own in 1705 with the type made by the Indians. That of Cordoba de Tucumán appeared at the same time but was transferred to Buenos Aires in 1780.

The Nahuatl language was studied by the Franciscans; grammars and vocabularies of the Mexican, Huastec, Totanec, Tarascan, Mixtec, Maya, Zapotec, etc., appeared in rapid succession, and very soon after the conquest the missionaries and teachers used the native language, and dialects to instruct the natives not only in religion but in all matters that might promote their spiritual, intellectual and material wellbeing.

Motolinia (Father Toribio de Benavente) wrote the first Historia de los Indios de Nueva España; Father Tovar compiled and interpreted the pictographs of Mexico; Father Durán (Mexican mestizo) wrote Historia de las Indias de Nueva España; Father Acosta wrote his famous Historia Natural y Moral de los Indios; Father Sahagún produced the Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España,

a work that marks him as the chief of the Mexican ethnographers; and others did similar pioneering work in every branch of knowledge. Monardes, Francisco Hernández, Father Francisco Jiménez, Celestino Mutis, Luis Pavón, and many others studied the natural history of the whole continent and published works of immense value, even today. Del Rio's Manual de Orictognosia is the best mineralogical treatise of his time and proceeds from Mexico's School of Mines. Lavoisier's Elements of Chemistry were translated for the first time into Spanish in Mexico City.

All this culture freely given, and at all times accessible to the native Indians, could not but have the most far reaching results in their favor, and goes to prove not only that the Indians are as able as anybody else to fully comprehend and rightly interpret the intricacies of our civilization, or my civilization, but also how much more humane and beneficent was the Indian policy of Spain when compared with that of any other colonial power. Thus from among the natives there arose a multitude of men of sciences and letters. From their pens came many books whose merit does not diminish in the least by the fact that they have not come to our notice. Tezozomok, Camargo, Pomar, Juan de Santa Cruz, and Pachacuti are just a few of the distinguished Indians who learned from the Spanish scholars and taught in universities established in America by Spain for both Spaniards and Indians alike.

In the Cincinnati Times Star for June 4, 1936, I find an interesting article from which I quote the following paragraphs:

"A photographic copy of what is believed to be the first medical treatise written in the New World has been obtained by the Smithsonian Institution from the Vatican library.....

"This treatise—an herbal describing the various plants and other materials used in Aztec medical prescriptions—was the work of two Aztecs who were educated at the College of Santa Cruz, founded by the Spanish in 1535. Composed originally in Aztec, it was immediately translated into Latin. The chief author appears to have been a certain Martin de la Cruz. The other was Juannes Badinanus, the translator. The date was 1552.

"A description of the manuscript with a brief resume of the material it contains, by Dr. Emily Walcott Emmart of Johns Hopkins University, has just been issued by the Smithsonian Institution...

"The first chapter deals with head ailments, such as colds, abscesses, falling hair and fractured head. The second describes treatments for sore eyes, fever, blood-shot eyes, cataract, insomnia and drowsiness. The third chapter is devoted to ear infections. The authors describe in detail treatments for headache and for nose bleeding....

"Remedies are described for such varied ailments as dysentery, skin diseases, gout, pains in the joints, burns, wounds, cracks in the soles of the feet, etc."

The date of the foundation of the college, that of the composition of the book, its nature and importance, the race of the authors, and the fact that it was composed in the Maya language, though the authors undoubtedly knew also Spanish and Latin, are irrefutable proofs of the great idealism of the Spaniards, of their sincere devotion to culture, and love for the Indian, of their tolerance, lack of race prejudice, and humanitarian spirit.

Speaking of the civilizing work of the Spaniards and of the number and diversity of establishments they instituted for the

benefit of the Amerindians, Bourne says: "Spanish America from California and Texas to Paraguay and Chile was fringed with such establishments, the outposts of civilization, where many thousands of Indians went through a schooling which ended only with their lives. In the process of time a mission was slowly transformed into a 'Pueblo de Indios', with its doctrina, and the mission frontier was pushed out a little farther. Then the white planters began to push in. 'The whites, and the casts of mixed blood favored by the corregidores (provincial administrators of the tribute) establish themselves among the Indians. The missions become Spanish villages, and the natives lose even the remembrance of their natural idiom. Such is the progress of civilization from the coast towards the interior—a slow progress shackled by the passions of man, but sure and uniform' (Humboldt).

"Far different was the advancing frontier in English America with its clean sweep, its clash of elemental human forces. Our own method prepared a home for a more advanced civilization and a less variously mixed population, and its present fruits seem to justify it as the ruthless processes of nature are justified; but a comparison of the two systems does not warrant self-righteousness on the part of the English in America." (24)

10.

A frantic and desperate quest for gold,—one that disregarded all consequences to the native inhabitants of America, complete neglect of the useful arts, of agriculture, of stock raising, of all

(24) Bourne, loc. cit., p. 306 ff.

activities that distinguish a civilized and civilizing people from a people who, like hords of Vandals, are intent only on destruction was supposed to have been the first and last quest of the Spaniards in their American adventure, according to Spain's detractors.

But the record of her work in America, wide open to any student of Spanish enterprise in the New World, tells an entirely different story. It was already observed that the greatest number of Spaniards who acquired wealth in America did so through agriculture stock raising, and other forms of exploitation of the soil as such, and it was precisely in the regions where mining was most intense that agriculture flourished as in no other. Von Humboldt recognized this fact when he said: "It is not seen that agriculture is more neglected in Peru than in the province of Guaná or in Guiana where no mines are under exploitation. In Mexico the best cultivated lands, those that bring to mind the choicest fields of France, are the plains that extend from Salamanca and Silao, Guanajuato and León, which surround the richest mines in the world...A journey along the ridge of the Andes, or over the mountainous regions of Mexico, offers the clearest examples of beneficent influence the mines have exerted upon agriculture."(25)

It is related in many contemporary documents that mining was often relinquished for the sake of agriculture and commerce, so that Pefalosa, in his report to the Council of the Indies, states that in Peru "When any prospector of mines has dug up enough silver to buy a good vineyard (generally worth fifty to one hundred

(25) Encicl. Univ. Ilust. Eur.-Am., loc. cit., p. 708.

thousand pesos) he abandons the mine to take up the peaceful work of his vineyard."(26)

It has already been remarked that in the very first year of the conquest of Chile by Valdivia, the colonists cultivated various kinds of crops, the seeds of which they had brought from Spain. They also started in the same year to raise several kinds of domestic animals. This sort of thing happened likewise with regard to the other territories they conquered, for, even if there existed several native products of great significance as articles of diet, such as maize, potatoes, certain kinds of beans, sweet potatoes, cacao, and others, they did not become the sources of food they are today until they were tamed and developed in Europe by the more scientific methods of culture, and then reintroduced in America. The Spaniards did not rely, therefore, on the products of the native agriculture, which would be insufficient for large populations, but introduced immediately everywhere such plants as wheat and rice, a great variety of green vegetables, many fruit trees, as the orange and olive trees, sugar cane, and innumerable others. Of the domestic animals, entirely unknown in America (except the llama in certain southern sections of the Andes), horses and donkeys, oxen, sheep, pigs, chickens, and others were introduced everywhere in every expedition, and soon became not only an important factor in the general diet, but a very civilizing element among the natives, and an enormous source of wealth for a great many enterprising Americans both of Spanish and Indian origin.

(26) Encicl. Univ. Just. Rep.-Am., loc. cit., p. 708.

Herds of horses, donkeys and oxen in both South and North America, as numerous as the bisons which roamed the prairies of North America before Buffalo Bill and other enterprising Anglo-Saxons reduced them to zero, had been introduced by the Spaniards all over South America, and the west and central part of the present United States, and had a tremendous influence in the civilization and economic development of the New World. The Cowboy of our West and Southwest, as well as the Vagüero and the Gaucho of the Spanish American republics to the south are of purely Spanish origin. Their mode of life, the paraphernalia they made use of, including lasso, reata and bolero (but not the revolver), were old Spanish institutions when the Anglo-Saxons came into the scene. Centauro's miles and miles of cattle in the pampas of Argentina, as described by Blasco Ibañez in the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, were no mere fantasies, nor were they an event exclusively contemporary with the gold rush of our forty-niners. They were a logical development of what had been going on for several centuries in the Americas under the Spanish rule. The same is true of Argentina's wheat, of Brazil's coffee and sugar cane, of Chile's nitrates, of Cuba's tobacco and sugar cane, of Peru's guano, of Argentina and Paraguay's mate, and of many other manifestations of Spanish-American enterprise in the field of agriculture and allied activities.

Naturally enough, some of these agricultural enterprises reached their present phenomenal development with the improvement of the general means of communication and the concomitant greater demand for their products, but their beginnings date from the time

of every first Spanish expedition into the different sections of the American continent. Says Von Humboldt: "On studying the history of the conquest (of America) we wonder at the extraordinary activity with which the Spaniards of the sixteenth century spread the cultivation of the European useful plants in the plains of the Cordilleras from one end to the other of the continent. The ecclesiastic orders, and especially the missionaries, contributed to the rapid progress of the agricultural industry. The gardens of monasteries and parishes were the store-houses of the useful vegetables recently acclimatized. Even the Conquistadores dedicated their old age to the country life cultivating with preference those plants which reminded them of their native soil; and Garcilaso tells us how his father, the valorous Andrés de la Vega, assembled all his old companions in arms to share with them the first asparagus crop which grew in the plains of Cuzco. Cortés ordered seeds and trees from Spain at the very beginning of his career, and of Pizarro it is related by Agustín de Zárate in his Historia del Peru that he delighted in improving that land, plowing and cultivating it with his own hands!" (27)

Many documents dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century refer to the development of agriculture in all parts of Spanish America and ponder on the great abundance of wheat, wine and the fruit of the olive tree, which were so abundant that the prices declined considerably, and in many cases some of the colonies were compelled to curtail the unlimited production of certain crops.

In the distribution of cultivable lands to the Spanish colonists

(27). Id., ibid.

the Spanish legislation was very careful not to inflict injustice on the natives. The lands which had been set aside in ancient times as the property of the national gods, and those which were not held by the natives themselves, were the only ones that could be divided by the proper Spanish authority among the new settlers. The lands that belonged to the natives were not to be touched by the Spaniards, and to those natives who had no lands of their own "the best and better situated lands were assigned" according to the historian Groot, referring especially to the kingdom of New Granada. (28)

Again, the natives were forbidden to sell their lands. An act of oppression? No. According to the same historian this was a providential measure. The Indians were improvident, little inclined to hard work, and could be easily deceived. Only by such measures were the rights of their descendants safeguarded. Without this legislation the natives would soon fall into the hands of unscrupulous speculators. In this way the Indians themselves improved considerably their economic status and were able in many cases to compete favorably with their Spanish brothers.

The animal industry was equally greatly developed very early. Oviedo speaks of herds of horses and cows numbering as many as 10,000 head, so that a horse or cow which formerly cost 4 to 5 thousand pesos could be had for 4 to 5 pesos. Von Humboldt says that many Mexican families had herds of 30 and 40 thousand head of horses or cattle. The traffic between Mexico and Veraacruz alone required over 70 thousand mules yearly, and these were all supplied

(28) Id. *ibid.*, p. 709.

in the home market. In this, as well as in everything else, the Indians were on a footing of perfect equality with the European colonists. (See also Bourne).

Naturally the exploitation of the precious metals was not neglected. On the contrary, it deserved all the care that the most talented experts of the Spanish colonies could give to it. It was Bartholomew de Medina, arrived in Mexico in 1564, who invented the process of amalgamation for the extraction of silver. This process was revealed to Germany by another Spaniard, Juan de Cordoba, in 1588. Several other important inventions were later on adopted in Europe. The classic work Arte de los Metales prepared by the priest Alvaro Alfonso Barba, was translated into German and published in various cities of Germany and Austria as early as 1676.

However, this exploitation of the mines was by no means a curse to the natives. In the first place it was absolutely forbidden to compel any Indian to work in the mines as has already been stated. In the second place the native population did not decrease but increased steadily with the development of this industry and, according to Von Humboldt, it was precisely where mining was more intense, that is, between Guanajuato and Zacatecas, that the increase of the native population was greatest. The Zulus do no fare so well under the benevolent English miners.

It is customary to accuse Spain of having adopted a system of drastic restrictions in regard to commerce, so that other nations were excluded from the benefits that such commerce might bring to all. Montesquieu (not especially friendly towards Spain) among others, does not share this opinion, for he states that the other nations traded with America in a large scale. These nations

—France, England and Holland—while complaining bitterly of Spain on this account, without reason, were the first to establish such restrictions and monopolies, as soon as they acquired colonies themselves. (29)

In the erection of public works Spain was no less active and, at the same time, no less oblivious of that thirst for gold which has been so lightly attributed to her. Long before England had built a few huts on the east coast of the north continent Spain had strewn the whole length and breadth of America with innumerable monuments to her faith and her culture, in the service both of her colonists and of the Indians.

The foundation of large and well planned cities adorned with magnificent cathedrals, churches, monasteries, palaces, universities, colleges, and hospitals, was started as soon as they arrived at the different settlements, and all of them were already hoary and venerable monuments of piety, culture, and progress, when the New Englanders had their first glimpse of the "wilds" of America. Many of these monumental structures bear comparison with the best of their kind that can be found in the New World. The treasures of art in all its manifestations, most of them produced by Spanish-Americans, and even by Indians trained by Spanish men of science, art and letters, scattered all over the old Spanish colonies, in all their cities, churches, museums, libraries and other national monuments, are superior to anything we can show with the exception of some of the recent importations from Europe, including Spain.

(29) Id., *ibid.*, p. 711.

One of the most stupendous pieces of engineering ever attempted by men was the work of drainage undertaken in the vicinity of Mexico City to protect it from the inundations caused by the Huehuetoca. The effort and ingenuity put into this monumental work would be sufficient, according to Von Humboldt, to cut the isthmuses of Nicaragua and Guazacoalco, and perhaps even that of Panama. It started in 1607, that is, in the same year of the abortive adventure of Jamestown. The magnitude of this work, and the great engineering skill it represents, are sufficiently indicative of the scope and quality of a great number of similar enterprises undertaken by the Spanish colonists, on behalf of agriculture in general, of irrigation, of fluvial and inland navigation, of the improvement and conservation of the soil, of better and more intensive methods of mining, of enriching their religious, cultural and social life by the erection of monuments of every kind, which had few rivals in their time and in our own, may bear comparison with the best.

It is evident, from the foregoing, that the Spanish colonists were not the rif-raf of the Spanish society, never belonged to that brand of frontiersmen whose legislative power proceeded from his own capricious will, or from his greed, and whose executive power resided in his gun. Instead of being cruel and bloodthirsty, as he has been unjustly and unfairly painted, the Spanish settler was the only one of the modern colonists who gave a square deal to the aborigines; so square, in fact, that the latter were positively excluded from many of the hardships the former were subjected to, enjoying, on the other hand, every privilege that the Spaniards enjoyed. Their equality with the conquerors

was absolute; they had the same educational facilities; could aspire, and in fact reached in countless instances, every office, dignity or social position.

Although not indifferent to the lure of gold, the Spaniard never went through the agonies of ^a real gold rush, as the one which in '49 transformed a whole nation into a piratical pandemonium. Even as near that fantastic date as 1820 and 1833, the Spaniards had discovered gold placers in New Mexico and near Los Angeles respectively, antedating the discovery of gold at Fort Sutter by 16 and 29 years respectively. But they were not stampeded by these finds and never displayed anything comparable to the hideous spectacle of greed, corruption, lawlessness and crime that Marshal's find caused in the American people. Gold they sought, for gold was scarce and a powerful means to obtain many things that made life more pleasant and more beautiful. But it was in agriculture and animal husbandry that they looked for that stable and quiet happiness that gold, as such, can never confer on its devotees. It was in the arts, in culture, in good manners, in the refinements of social intercourse, in one thousand amenities of life, that they sought and found whatever happiness it is given to human beings to enjoy. This attitude, which was not forced upon them, but proceeded from the depths of their own nature, more inclined towards the ideal than towards the material, explains in part the unheard of humane treatment they accorded the American Indians. These children of nature were human beings just as they were, capable of enjoying the good things of life and able in their own way to contribute to the sum total of human happiness. The only thing they needed was a chance to show their

worth. Spain gave them that chance and they responded beyond all expectation and will continue to respond to the same original impulse.

(The complete and truthful history of the work of Spain in America is not to be found in any one book, and much less in those treatises which were dictated by rivalries, racial prejudice and hatred. It can be found better than anywhere else in the Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias (Compilation of the Laws for the Indies) printed in 1681, and reprinted in 1841 by Ignacio Boix with a chronological index of many subjects legislated upon between 1588 and 1819).