III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AMERICA

"All men seek gain and, more or less, love money; but the way in which gain is sought will have a marked effect upon the commercial fortunes and the history of the people inhabiting a country."
—MAHAN, "Sea Power on History," 50.

Extermination of Natives—Influence of the Jesuits in Paraguay

PIZARRO conquered Peru in 1532; in 1556 it contained 8,000 Spaniards, of whom 1,000 were officials and four hundred and eighty-nine great proprietors. The Governor, even at that early day, felt that he had too many colonists to manage. So he made an inventory of his fellow-countrymen, forbade any more to come, ordered those already licensed to stay in one place and not move about; then he collected all those whom he did not fully credit with legitimate occupations and cut off their heads. Thus was peace and quiet restored, writes a philosophic chronicler.

In 1571, within forty years of Pizarro's conquest, the ruling Inca was seized by treachery and put to death, along with a large number of other natives suspected of disloyalty to the viceroy. All the symbols of native worship were destroyed. Whenever slaves were wanted, natives were accused of heresy, condemned by the Church and handed over to the planta-

tions or mines. The silence of helplessness brooded over the land of the Incas at the close of the sixteenth century.

For fifty years Spain sought to subdue Chili, but there she met with a resistance that indicated a stronger and more barbarous race of men. The Chilians have a climate and soil congenial to fighters, and there the Spaniards found no gentle Incas suing for mercy at the first sight of a white invader. They tortured their captives and impaled a chief now and then, but the Chilians fought the more vigorously. At last (1603) Spain renounced all claim upon that land and devoted her energies to the more complete exhaustion of Peru.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris (1572) is a convenient date by which to remember the appearance of Jesuits in America, and that date is important as marking the time when natives commenced to look upon the Catholic Church with other feelings than mere fear. The best testimony on this point is furnished, perhaps, by the fact that when after two centuries they were expelled from the Spanish colonies, their going was mourned as a national calamity—at least by the natives. In Mexico the edict led to riots, and in other colonies the Crown had to take military precautions against demonstrations in their behalf. In the Jesuit the native recognized not merely a priest like those of the other orders, but a superior man, who by his knowledge raised those whom he instructed to a higher level. It was a Jesuit missionary who, in 1636, made known to us the virtues of quinine. That priest was a physician and healed the Countess Chin-

chon, wife of the Governor, by means of this drug procured from natives, and named after her Cinchona. In missionary work the Jesuit of that day was the leader in his profession—the Society of Jesus was a species of *corps d'élite*—an Intelligence Department—a General Staff in the great army of the Roman Church. In the higher walks, in subtle negotiations, in dealing with problems requiring knowledge of science as well as of men, the Jesuits proved themselves capable of any task save only that of reforming the Government.

In 1573 there were procured for the Potosi mines 11,199 slaves, while a century later (in 1673), under the same laws, only 1,673 could be found.

This little item is eloquent on the subject of native extermination—and as it was in Peru, so was it pretty much everywhere else. Each year brought to these gentle creatures yet heavier burdens, until at length life seemed no longer worth living. Boys of eight were dragged off to the mines—in some villages not a man remained after the slave gangs had raided them. Not one-tenth of the native population which had originally welcomed the Christian rule of Spain, remained at the end of the eighteenth century. Estates which formerly had 1,000 laborers, maintained but one hundred. Villages were taxed without reference to what they could afford to pay, and every form of oppression was tolerated for the purpose of wringing money from impoverished communities.

It was the same old story—the treasury of Madrid clamored for more and more money—the protests of honest men were disregarded or else were humored by decrees which became dead letters. Such a decree

was made for Peru in 1664, but it did no more good than that of 1543, or the many others pretending to shield natives from violence. Indeed, the very Church whose mission it was to protect the helpless, levied its tithes by violence—according to the report of Juan de Padilla made in 1657 to the King of Spain.

The year of deliverance for the natives seemed to have arrived in 1780, when the last of the Incas, after having pleaded in vain the cause of his oppressed people, headed a rebellion. The Spanish Governor, who, by the way, was noted even among Spaniards for his cruelty, was publicly put to death after a formal trial at the hands of a native tribunal. But the rebellion was ultimately crushed, and some 80,000 natives were put to death. It was a massacre on the model of that in 1572. All the surviving members of the Inca family, some ninety in number, were put to death; the ruling Inca himself was captured by treachery and killed, and every vestige of native religion was eradicated. When it became desirable for a white man to plunder a rich native, it was no longer necessary to charge against him heathen *practice*, it was sufficient if heathen *thought* were laid at his door.

Need we be surprised to learn that after two hundred years of Spanish dominion in Peru the number of natives had sunk from 8,000,000 to less than 1,000,000, which number included all races? Spaniards represented 136,000, African negroes 80,000, mixed blood 244,000. In this census only 609,000 Indians were enumerated. This record puts to the blush all previous exterminations undertaken by mere heathen nations.

At the time of this census (1794), Peru enjoyed the Christian ministration of 5,496 monks and nuns—a number amounting to almost one priest for every one hundred Indians. Even to the mind of a Spanish king there appeared such a thing as overdoing the outward manifestations of piety, for, in the same year that the first Pilgrim Fathers landed in Massachusetts, Philip III. wrote to his viceroy in Peru complaining that in Lima the property of the Church covered " more space than all the rest of the city."

We speak of the Church in general, at the risk of leaving the impression that one priest was the same as every other, or that even religious orders resembled one another closely. In many essential respects the Roman Catholic Church presents, in the doctrines which it preaches, and in the ceremonial of its outward worship, a unity which is in marked contrast to the divergencies among Protestants. The great Reformation of 1519 found the Roman Church, from the palace of the Pope to the hut of the parish priest, enfeebled by absence of discipline—not to say voluptuous living. Rome was resting on past triumphs, forgetting that the task of maintaining the fruits of conquest is sometimes more arduous than the conquest itself. The forces behind Luther fought with the enthusiasm of moral conviction, led by the most accomplished intellectual soldiers of the day. Rome was staggered by the blow, and for the moment seemed about to fall—never to rise again.

But within a few years the whole military situation was changed. The Protestants, having learned the art of war in victories over Rome, continued to exercise

the profession of arms—not in consolidating their empire and arming it against the common enemy, but in war within itself. Then Rome lifted herself; her momentary mortification caused her to rise with a mind purified by adversity; her forces were reorganized, and she moved forward to the reconquest of Europe with that essential factor in successful warfare—unity of command.

Colonial Spain had been nearly a generation in existence before Rome received the severe lesson of Martin Luther. Cuba, San Domingo, Hayti, Porto Rico, Jamaica, all these had been parcelled out and administered by monks brought up in the school of self-indulgence and illiteracy. Mexico and Peru were conquered and Christianized by priests whose Christianity had not yet received a higher stamp than that of Havana. In 1525 Mexico had monasteries, but nearly half a century passed before Jesuits came to the New World. The early Spanish priests came not as missionaries, in our sense, but as conquerors. They knew not how to persuade men of another creed and race. A heathen to them was merely a heretic, and in those days to give a heretic an opportunity of recanting was in itself regarded as an act of clemency. The priest virtually offered the American Indians no choice but slavish submission to Church authority or death. Those who hesitated were first tortured; otherwise the process was the same.

The thousands of priests who since 1492 had been accustomed to baptize natives at the point of the blunderbuss or under the influence of thumb-screws, were scandalized when they learned that disciples of

Loyola were coming to the New World with different ideas regarding missionary methods.

The Jesuit, feared and hated throughout Protestant Europe for the slipperiness so liberally mingled with his erudition, has proved himself in other parts of the world a civilizing element without a peer in the history of missionary enterprise. If he has done nothing more than rebuke the brutal methods of his fellow-priests in South America, history can afford to give him generous recognition.

Let us cross the Andes and mark the work inaugurated by two Jesuits who reached the head-waters of the Parana in 1610. The Spanish Governor of that territory (now divided between Argentine and Paraguay) had been for years endeavoring to "pacify"—that is to say, enslave or exterminate—the natives in the lands adjoining the River Plate.

The two Jesuits lost no time in plunging into the wilderness and organizing mission stations on the basis of a semi-religious, semi-communistic agricultural and trading society. The Governor gave his aid in the enforcement of laws against slave-raiding, and this was all the Jesuits asked for the success of their work. Natives streamed to them from all quarters, attracted by the intelligence and humanity of Jesuit government, contrasted with that which they had hitherto associated with Spanish domination. One station after another was planted, each station a model of profitable farming enterprise, based upon the consent of those whose labor made it successful. Each community embraced at least 2,500 Indians, at the head of which was a Jesuit father presiding over the parish church. Each

family had a tract of land and these several tracts encircled the village, so that each family had an equal distance to travel for the purpose of tilling the fields. Beyond the circle of cultivation lay a wide zone of common or pasture land, on which the flocks and herds were kept.

Life was conducted on strict but intelligent rules—at least they were adapted to those directly concerned. There was no private property among them, save the ornaments of the women. The right of the individual was the right to use the land during his lifetime, to enjoy the fruit of his labor in security—but nothing more. Inheritance was not permitted. The Church offered to all who labored a good living and a state of happiness considerably higher than any known to exist at that time between Cape Horn and the Golden Gate—at least for the native Indian.

In this communistic theocracy the Jesuit priest furnished agricultural implements, land, houses, and administration. In return for that he exacted three days' labor out of the week, which the native gave for the benefit of the community. In other words, the Jesuit took a raw savage and his family from a life precarious at best, protected him from fellow-savages on the one hand and slave-raiders on the other, guaranteed him and his children the life of a prosperous farmer, and all this without exacting any previous accumulation of capital, education, or even experience. In the first generation this was indeed a huge promotion, and possibly for the second; but as a permanent institution it was open to the general criticism that in the long run communities reared in such a manner are apt to

lack ambition and energy—do not develop into vigorous, self-governing bodies. We can notice this, even to-day, in the French-Canadian villages of the St. Lawrence Valley, and in the quality of the emigrants they send to our factories in Maine and Massachusetts.

The Paraguay colonies had been but ten years in operation when (1620) they received a severe blow, not from incursions of warlike Indians, but from their fellow-Christians—even the Governor of the Colony.

He had married a Portuguese lady who owned plantations in neighboring Brazil.

For the more profitable working of these estates he instituted slave-raids, not merely in his own colony, but among the mission stations of the Jesuits, where the unsuspecting Indians were easily captured by thousands. Those who had time escaped to the forests with the Jesuit priests.

It was many years before this governor was tried for his offence, and when the verdict was made public it was in the nature of encouragement to future slave-raiders. He was fined a few dollars and suspended from office for a few years—that was all.

This experience gave the Jesuits warning that in South America their enemies were of their own household. They at once commenced to fortify their stations against their fellow-Spaniards. Military exercises were instituted, and every community was placed on a war footing. Thus these mission-stations grew from year to year—centres of civilization in the wilderness of the Plate River.

But the very virtues of the Jesuits made them enemies. The Franciscan Bishop, in particular, hated the

Jesuits. He hated the schools that they organized among the natives, he hated to see the enormous influence acquired by a rival order; he carried to Rome all tales that could undermine Jesuit influence at headquarters, and even went so far as to instigate the mob to burn down the Jesuit buildings in Asuncion. It was some years before this Bishop was at length (1648) deposed for his action; then he had to be seized by violence, for he refused to yield his authority when summoned in the name of the Pope.

The Jesuits made enemies on all sides in proportion as they benefited the natives. The colonists demanded the slave-trade for their estates and were indignant because the Jesuits withdrew Indians from the slave-market and educated them in a manner that made them worthless as slaves. The Jesuits were, in fact, endangering the prosperity of the colony by advocating the abolition of slavery. They were a public enemy and should be exterminated—so thought the planter. Nor had the traders any love for the Jesuits, for they were competitors in their markets and could afford to undersell. They produced large quantities of cattle, cochineal, tea, and cotton, and shipped to Europe what they did not sell in Asuncion. It was in 1645 that the Jesuits secured authority to trade; not on their own account, but for the benefit of their Indians. But this vexed the colonial traders so much that they had a law passed forbidding the Jesuits' bringing to market more than a limited amount of produce.

Finally even the Crown officials disliked the Jesuits, because they did not bring money enough to the treasury. They spent it in building new schools and in

otherwise improving the condition of the natives. According to Spanish precedent elsewhere, all those Indians would have been more useful to the Spanish Crown had they been sold to forced labor and thus furnished a larger revenue. In theory, Madrid was pleased to have the natives contented, but practically, every viceroy knew that the favor with which he was regarded at Court depended upon the amount of money he was able to send to the treasury, with little reference to the manner in which it was secured.

Thus colonials of every profession—the Franciscans at the head—wished ill to the Jesuits in Paraguay. They were accused of founding a state within a state, of arming the natives against the authority of the King, of teaching the natives doctrines prejudicial to the prosperity of the slave-holding planters.

Finally (1767) the Jesuits were driven from Paraguay, and the mission-stations, which they had built up with so much labor and intelligence, were destroyed. These very missions were indeed the means of ruining them. The Governor demanded their immediate removal at an impossible time and to an impossible place, and because a slight hesitation was shown, troops were called, the stations attacked, the buildings plundered, and the natives scattered into the forest once more.

The Jesuit fathers were deported to Europe like malefactors, and the colonists rejoiced at the expulsion of the only obstacle that had hitherto stood between them and their prey—the Indian whom they desired as a slave.

The missionary stations, which in 1767 contained 144,000 workmen, at the end of the century had only 45,000.