

demned the evils of the government, he boldly recommended economic and political reforms. He wanted representative councils in the provinces and greater civilian participation in the government of the cities. He gave excellent arguments to support his request for direct trade with the upper gulf ports and freedom from the monopoly of Veracruz. The military, he thought, should be used only to restrain the Indians and to defend the borders against any threat from the United States. Somewhat like the appeal of the English colonials, the appeal by Ramos de Arizpe was partly against "taxation without representation."

The editor and translator has given us a seven-page introduction, containing a brief biography of the author and a history of the various editions of his *Report*. The *Report* itself is divided into thirty-one numbered topics with titles, each topic carefully developed and clearly presented. Most of the footnotes clarify or correct references to place names and geography. A map would have been a useful addition. A brief bibliography lists the items consulted in this study.

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*Paraguay independiente*. By EFRAIM CARDOZO. *Uruguay independiente*. By J. E. PIVEL DEVOTO. [*Historia de América y de los pueblos americanos*, edited by ANTONIO BALLESTEROS Y BERETTA, Vol. XXI.] (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, S. A., 1949. Pp. 637. Maps, illustrations.)

In this single volume, the histories of two Latin-American countries of the Plata lands bring a useful survey of events from two often differing national points of view. This is of especial importance, because Río de la Plata history has for too long been seen only through Argentine or Brazilian eyes. Yet, until the Paraguayan and Uruguayan interpretations have been considered, there can hardly be any fair evaluation or adequate understanding of the national thought patterns behind the international attitudes of the countries involved. Strongly bound in a volume of convenient size, well-printed, and proofread with more than ordinary care, and with its 412 fine illustrations, this volume will be a valuable addition to any historical library. Its two maps, unfortunately, are bad, especially that of Paraguay which is practically illegible.

The first history, *Paraguay independiente* (401 pp.), is of especial importance because so few works on Paraguayan national history have hitherto been made generally available and even more because it is based upon precisely those Paraguayan documents which have not been available to other writers on the general history of the Plata lands. Written by a former minister of public instruction who has himself also played a

leading role in many of the recent events of his country's history, it may well make possible a much better future understanding of the Paraguayan people.

Unfortunately, however, this history is written from so nationalist a point of view that it is at times of dubious historical accuracy. Obviously planned for use in the schools, it emphasizes the wrongs that Paraguay has suffered in the past and aims at the continued development of an intense national patriotism. The book is written with all the warmth and emotion of a sincere patriot. It leaves one with an ever greater admiration for the Paraguayan people, but with an uneasy feeling that such history may well be harmful to the very nation it tries to serve. Dr. Cardozo has synthesized his work in the statement: "El sentimiento nacional hundía sus raíces en una larga historia de infortunios sufridos en común." His history then becomes a record of the stubborn and heroic defense of Paraguayan soil under almost constant attack by enemies from without, a record of usual tyranny or governmental ineptitude at home, and a constantly reiterated expression of suspicion of the designs of neighboring lands. That such suspicion has often been historically justified adds to the tragedy of the story, but will a history that constantly arouses resentment through an emotionally told summary of past injuries promise successful international relations for the future?

There are many illustrations which one could select to direct attention to the nationalist sense of this historical writing, which swings from an exaggerated praise of things Paraguayan, to an even more exaggerated account of foreign attitudes toward the country, and ends with an emotional recall of the past heroism of the Paraguayan people. When Dr. Cardozo writes that "La instrucción de las primeras letras era muy extendida desde los tiempos de la colonia; casi no había analfabetos en el país" and claims that this same attention was paid to primary education under the dictatorship, he is hardly writing history that will inspire confidence abroad. As for the portrayal of foreign attitudes toward Paraguay, one statement will serve in illustration: "Rosas . . . que no había temido desafiar las iras de Francia e Inglaterra, no se atrevía sin embargo a lanzar el guante al pequeño país que emergía desde sus selvas, libre de los males de la anarquía, pujante y disciplinado." In regard to the patriotism of the Paraguayan people, Dr. Cardozo is on firmer ground, for no one could know the history of that heroic country without feeling the most profound respect for the way the Paraguayan people have died in the defense of their native soil. When Carlos Antonio López reportedly told the Argentine dictator Rosas that "El Paraguay conoce lo que puede y vale . . . Sus hijos aman su tierra, que para ellos

es sagrada. El pueblo paraguayo es inconquistable; puede ser destruído por alguna grande potencia, mas no será esclavizado por ninguna," his words were of solemnly prophetic truth. But when Dr. Cardozo portrays the Argentines as having themselves accused Mitre's government of making war not upon a dictatorship but upon the Paraguayan people "que se ha dejado exterminar . . . como se dejan exterminar los pueblos varoniles que defienden su independenciam y sus hogares" or when he writes that "Cada gota que cae en la tierra paraguaya es una nueva obligacion para los que sobreviven," there seems a certain desperate emphasis upon a *need* for death which, because of the long memory of war in Paraguay, is, to say the least, unfortunate. On the other hand, throughout the book there is a healthy continued emphasis upon Paraguay's past unwillingness to send aggressive armies abroad.

And this brings me to my second point—the author's almost pathological reference to the emotions of hate and fear. Historically, Paraguay has had good reason to fear her neighbors, but a continued recall of past betrayals and attacks would seem only to keep alive a distrust that can promise no future good.

Quite understandably, hatred primarily is turned against Brazil. From an early statement to the effect that "Desde los tiempos trágicos de las bandeiras, el Paraguay odiaba a Portugal," the expression of dislike of the Portuguese-speaking neighbors is repeated over and over again. It occurs in a most interesting account of Dona Carlota's intervention in Paraguay in the era of independence and in the accounts of Brazil's many attempts deliberately to involve Paraguay in war with Argentina. Even the bitterness of the account of the Paraguayan war is heightened by the angry portrayal of the selfish role of Dom Pedro II in contrast with the self-sacrifice of Francisco Solano López; by emphasis upon the exceptional brutality of the Brazilian soldiers and an implied cowardice on the part of their fleet; by scorn for the Brazilian betrayal of her late ally, Argentina, when the time came for the division of the spoils of their common war for the murder of a nation; by note of the "fiasco" of Rio Branco's diplomacy in so far as Brazilian relations with Paraguay were concerned.

A similar distrust is often expressed for Argentina, with recall of that nation's recurrent designs upon Paraguayan independence, economic survival, and territory. England, Uruguay, Chile, and the United States are also portrayed as far from blameless. Among the accounts of several happy and unhappy incidents in Paraguayan relations with the United States, the version given of the Hopkinson affair would seem to indicate that it is time for a soberly documented monograph on this topic. In this particular history, Hopkinson is portrayed

as an illustration of the attempted invasion of foreign capitalist monopoly; Lieut. Page's rescuing "Water Wich" (*sic*), when fired upon, "retrocedió con serios destrozos"; part of the United States press called for a repetition of the expedition of Admiral Piercy (*sic*) to Japan "para abrir también a cañonazos el Paraguay al comercio internacional"; and, finally, in support of those claims, there was organized a squadron of 19 warships, with 200 cannon, 257 officers, and 2,400 soldiers, which appeared in the waters of the Río de la Plata, where this North American expedition "suscitó alarma y expectativa continental."

As for Bolivia, the charges are relatively temperate, and especially so, in view of the recent occurrence of the Chaco war. As usual, yes, Paraguayans are portrayed dying in defense of their native land—and indeed they did—but they die in an almost impersonal fashion, with attendant sympathy for the desperate thirst of the Bolivian foe, pity for his wounded, and satisfaction when the Bolivian Peñaranda outpoints the hired foreigner as the military leader of the enemy. Here, too, is constant emphasis upon a willingness to make every reasonable concession and an even greater preoccupation with the formulation of a peace which Bolivia may honorably accept, one which will leave no vindictive desire for future revenge. Generosity must come freely after victory; in fact there is to be no acknowledged victory or defeat.

Among many individual items of interest are the accounts of Paraguayan forces sent to Upper Peru in 1781 and also down the Plata in the English invasion days of 1806; the proud role of mediator played by Francisco López when, in 1859, after Cepeda, he arranged to have the peace covenant signed, and so "definitely reestablished Argentine unity"; and Melgarejo's offer of aid to López, with the Bolivian-Paraguayan trade which subsequently developed between the two countries. Of especial value are the Paraguayan interpretations of the character and deeds of Francia and López, the history of the Chaco war, and the evaluation of the Morínigo regime with its shifting policies in World War II. The history ends with the inauguration of President Natalicio González in 1948.

In contrast to the history of Paraguay, *Uruguay independiente*, with its story brought down only to 1934 (pp. 405-637), illustrates a different kind of historical technique. Lacking the warm emotional qualities in writing that make historical personalities "come alive," it nevertheless arouses greater confidence in its historical accuracy. Written by the distinguished director of the National Historical Museum of Montevideo, this history is so highly factual that at times the details tend to obscure the main sweep of events. The narrative is rigidly objective, although, like Paraguay, Uruguay has had many a reason to feel ag-

grieved at her neighbors. This history, however, seems to be triumphantly slanted toward the future, while that of Paraguay still remains tied to the past. Both works can do much to make their respective countries better known, and respected, abroad.

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*Notes on Argentina's Bilateral, Compensatory Trade Agreements.* By HUGH BYRON CARNES. [Tulane University, College of Commerce and Business Administration, Division of Economic and Business Research. Publication Number 7.] (New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1949. Pp. 76. Appendix. Paper.)

This pamphlet is a useful case study of a venture in foreign trade practices and policies which has as yet received little scholarly attention. Professor Carnes undertakes to describe in some detail the numerous bilateral trade and compensation agreements into which Argentina had entered up to November, 1948, and in an appendix he summarizes six additional agreements which were concluded up to the middle of 1949. The chief value of this study, however, is not so much in the descriptive material, which becomes outdated in a short time, as in the analysis and appraisal of the trade agreements from the viewpoint of their effects on the Argentine economy and their relation to the foreign trade policy of the United States and other nations.

A reading of this entire study provides a well-balanced economic analysis and critique of Argentine's trade and payments policies, although at a few points there are unqualified statements expressing an extreme view, uncritical reporting of arguments made by others, and offhand judgments which depart from the general standards of careful analysis.

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*Archivo del general Porfirio Díaz: Memorias y documentos.* Vol. VI. Preface and notes by ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, Colección de obras históricas mexicanas, 3.] (Mexico City: 1950. Pp. 380. Paper.)

This sixth volume of the papers of Porfirio Díaz covers a brief but important period in the life of Mexico's future dictator-president. Covering only the first six months of the year 1868, the unfolding narrative of Díaz' life as revealed by the letters he sent and received demonstrates the completeness of his break with the Juárez regime. On January 25, Díaz took the definite step of asking for an extended leave of absence