New World Soundings
Morse, Richard M.

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

Morse, Richard M.
New World Soundings: Culture and Ideology in the Americas.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/71672

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=2451015
Introduction


Chapter 1: Language in America


cations of Saussure to languages in Latin America see J. M. Briceño Guerrero, “Pa­role versus langue,” in his América Latina en el mundo (Caracas, 1966), pp. 168-214; and Elena Malvina Rojas Mayer, Variaciones sobre lenguaje, lengua y habla (Tu­cumán, 1985).


5. Vossler quoted in [Vološinov?] Marxism, p. 79.


9. [Vološinov?] Marxism, p. 91.


12. Polemics over “national” languages in the new American countries seem like an anarchic rehearsal for the linguistic controversy of 1950 in the Soviet Union, when Soviet scholars were briefly allowed to debate whether a language inherited from a discredited regime was superstructure (like religion), and hence to be eliminated, or infrastructure (like railroads), and hence still serviceable (The Soviet Linguistic Controversy, trans. J. Murra, R. Hankin, and F. Holling [New York, 1951]).


16. Emir Rodríguez Monegal, El otro Andrés Bello (Caracas, 1969), pp. 239–319; Arturo Andrés Roig, Andrés Bello y los orígenes de la semiótica en América Latina (Quito, 1982). Years later another contemporary, Juan María Gutiérrez, crossed pens with the young Colombian poet and philosopher Miguel Antonio Caro. Gutiérrez, whose refusal of election to the Spanish Academy was a cause célèbre, challenged Caro’s traditionalism on neither the grounds of Alberdi’s nationalism nor those of Sarmiento’s populism but from a conviction that peninsular Spanish could not accommodate contemporary themes and sensibilities (Guillermo L. Guitarte, “Cartas desconocidas de Miguel Antonio Caro, Juan María Gutiérrez y Ezequiel Uriceoecha,” Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo 17, 2 [1962]: 237–312).


Notes to pages 17–20 255


27. Andrade, *Cartas a Manuel Bandeira,* pp. 87–93, 106. In Henry James’s “The Point of View” Miss Sturdy observes that her fellow Americans think fast but talk deliberately, while the English toss off sentences with easy familiarity yet misunderstand two thirds of what is said to them. “Perhaps after all it is only our thoughts they think slowly; they think their own to a lively enough tune.” The Dutch spoken in Curaçao, Dr. Harry Hoetink once informed me, “is definitely much slower than in the Netherlands.”


30. There were many terms for the pair: *sermo eruditus, perpolitus,* or *urbanus versus sermo cotidianus, inconditus, militaris, plebeius, proletarius, rusticus, usualis,* or *vulgaris.* To a degree they correspond to what are now called standard and sub-standard speechways in the Americas.


In the golden age of the Paraguayan missions the Jesuits tried, on the one hand, to exclude from the Indian language “any Hispanism not required for naming objects introduced by the new culture and, on the other, to create neologisms or ingenious periphrases from elements of Guarani itself to express the more
elusive and meticulous concepts of theology and morals” (Marcos A. Morínigo, *Hispanicismos en el Guaraní* [Buenos Aires, 1931], p. 27).


41. Menéndez Pidal, *Lengua de Cristóbal Colón*, p. 114. In his chapter “Goya y lo popular” Ortega distinguishes popularism from plebeianism: “In a language there often occur two forms of the same word or two words that mean the same thing, of which one is of genteel origin and the other has been shaped by popular pronunciation and use.” Preference for the latter is plebeianism. From its linguistic use Ortega extends the term to a general cultural trend in Bourbon Spain, where the aristocracy no longer performed its principal function of exemplification (ejemplaridad). This meant that people felt abandoned, without models, cues, or teachings from above. They turned in upon themselves to bring forth and stylize their own inherited resources. (José Ortega y Gasset, *Goya* [Madrid, 1938], pp. 25–50).


44. Herman, *Latin vulgaire*, pp. 57–82, 90; Tagliavini, *Orígenes*, pp. 320–23. Humboldt (*Linguistic Variability*, pp. 183–87) was early to conclude that in trans-
itions such as that from Latin to Vulgar Latin “genuine inflectional languages become poorer in forms, frequently substituting grammatical words for them.”


47. Herman, Latin vulgaire, p. 104.


49. Webster, Dissertations, p. 107; Mendonça, O português, pp. 216–29, 266; Humberto Toscano Mateus, El español en el Ecuador (Madrid, 1933), pp. 266, 284; Briceno Guerrero, América Latina, p. 185.

50. Bertil Malmberg, New Trends in Linguistics (Stockholm, 1964), p. 18. For Latin substrates see Tagliavini, Orígenes, pp. 145–228. Celtic was the most assertive one, leaving its mark on phonetics as well as lexicon. The encounter of Latin with hybrid language areas might produce “sub-substrates.”

51. Quoted in Zamora Vicente, Dialectología, p. 389.

52. See Briceno Guerrero, América Latina, pp. 110–13; Fernando Hugo Casullo, Voces indígenas en el idioma español (Buenos Aires, 1964); Fontanella de Weinberg, Español bonaerense, pp. 42–43; and Mencken, American Language, pp. 104ff. In Léxico indígena en el español de México, 2d ed. (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 9–21, Juan M. Lope Blanch tallies thousands of indigenisms in Spanish American vocabularies but calls most of them a dead weight perpetuated by lexicographers. He denies, however, that lexicon has no influence on substrate, for Indian vocables may inject new phonemes into Spanish. “Thus a lexical phenomenon may, in a certain extrasystemic sense, have deep repercussions on the linguistic system itself.”

53. Lenz, “Ensayos,” and his papers in El español de Chile, Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana, 6 (Buenos Aires, 1940).

54. Amado Alonso delivered the coup de grâce to Lenz’s analysis in “Examen de la teoría indigenista de Rodolfo Lenz,” in Estudios lingüísticos, temas hispanoamericanos (Madrid, 1953), pp. 332–98.


56. Bertil Malmberg, “Tradición hispánica e influencia indígena en la fonética hispanoamericana,” in Primer Congreso de Instituciones Hispánicas, Presente y


Some claim that the rural caipira dialect of São Paulo retains features of the língua geral. The influence, however, is questionable. Such dialects seem more explicable as evolving from archaic Portuguese in isolation from metropolitan norms (Amadeu Amaral, O dialeto caipira, 2d ed. [São Paulo, 1955]; Ada Natal Rodrigues, O dialeto caipira na região de Piracicaba [São Paulo, 1974]).


59. An analogy may sharpen the point. Once on a country walk I met a child and exchanged greetings. On the return we passed once more. “We meet again,” I said, while she observed, “First you were going this way and I was going that way and now I’m going this way and you’re going that way.” One of us categorized the incident; the other could only describe it experientially.


63. Bryan Edwards, The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies

Orkin, Speaking Canadian French, p. 12; Daviault, "La langue française," p. 29.


Clara Wolf and Elena Jimenez, "El yeismo porteño," in Lope Blanch, Estudios sobre el español hablado, pp. 299–612; Fontanella de Weinberg, Español bonaerense, pp. 110–20, 156–57; María Isabel de Gregorio de Mac, El voseo en la literatura argentina (Santa Fe, 1967). In "Las formas verbales diptongales del voseo hispano-americano" (Estudios lingüísticos, pp. 80–94) Granda enriches the story of second-person usage by distinguishing between (a) pronominal and verbal forms; (b) an urbana, diphthongal form of the verbal voseo and a popular, monophthongal one; and (c) the tuteo diffused from courtly centers (tierras de la administración) and that from maritime zones (tierras de la flota). For second-person forms in Portugal and Brazil see Luís F. L. Cintra, Sobre “formas de tratamiento” na língua portuguesa (Lisbon, 1972).


37 are found in the Americas. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, 1:xvi–xix, offers an alternative repertory.


85. Dillard, All-American English, pp. 1–44.


87. By the same token European languages may yield a superstrate for Indian host languages; thus Spanish influence on Guarani goes beyond lexicon to invade morphology and syntax (Morinigo, Hispanismos, p. 51).


91. Tomás Navarro Tomás, El español de Puerto Rico (Río Piedras, 1948); Manuel Alvarez Nazario, El influjo indígena en el español de Puerto Rico (Río Piedras, 1977); idem, El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico (Mayagüez, 1977); idem, El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico, 2d ed. (San Juan, 1974); idem, La herencia lingüística de Canarias en Puerto Rico (San Juan, 1972); Luis Muñiz Souffront, El problema del idioma en Puerto Rico (San Juan, 1950); David L. Lawton, “The Question of Creolization in Puerto Rican Spanish,” in Hymes, Pidginization and Creolization; Paulino Pérez Sala, Interferencia lingüística del inglés en el español hablado en Puerto Rico (Hato Rey, 1973).


95. Mencken, American Language, p. 148; Rosenblat, “Generaciones argen-

101. Partridge and Clark, *British and American English*, p. 207; James, *Question of Our Speech*, p. 32; D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York, 1923), pp. ix, 8. Referring to Argentines, Ortega wrote that he “marveled at the disparity one finds between the often brilliant intelligence of the American and that other faculty for *mise au point* that provides judgment” (quoted in Guillermo de Torre, *Las metamorfosis de Proteo* [Buenos Aires, 1936], p. 60).
110. Alleyne, "Linguistic Continuity," p. 4. Holloway uses a similar "expres-
sive" criterion in analyzing the language of the U.S. black writer Zora Neale Hurston (Character of the Word, p. 78): “Better understanding of dialects will come with study that concerns not only spoken surface-levels of language, but study of the areas of reference and meaning—the deeper levels of speech that determine surface variations.”

Houston A. Baker, Jr., tortuously demonstrates the tergiversation needed to insert Afro-American “blues” vernacular into the hegemonic nation language of the United States while simultaneously “rescuing” it in Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory (Chicago, 1984).


112. In his seven-hundred-page treatise El huracán: su mitología y sus símbolos (Mexico City, 1947), Fernando Ortiz draws on sigmoidal Indian representations, Afro-Caribbean myths, and European chroniclers—enriched by legends from throughout the world—to place the hurricane at the symbolic axis of the Caribbean. His quotations from the Cuban writers José María Heredia and Lino Novás Calvo (pp. 46-54) show the fit of a roughly dactylic meter to hurricane description.

Braithwaite’s avowal of the hurricane’s power was acutely personalized when Hurricane Gilbert nearly demolished his home at Irish Town and his precious Caribbean archive in September 1988. His eloquent response to the calamity, Shahr–Hurricane Poem, was distributed by the Department of History, University of the West Indies (Mona, Jamaica, 1989).

113. Braithwaite’s characterization of Eliot as a linguistic, anti-iambic revolutionary stands as richly ironic alongside William Carlos Williams’s assertion that “the danger of Eliot’s success is the danger of the domination of the ‘English’ iambic line, a cultural form unrelated to ‘actual experience’ in America.” The next chapter juxtaposes these two American poets (Stephen Tapscott, American Beauty: William Carlos Williams and the Modernist Whitman [New York, 1984], p. 37).


118. Bakhtin, Dialogic Imagination, p. 428.

Chapter 2: Four American Poets: A Cat’s Cradle


E. H. Gombrich helps us understand the fascination of Williams and Oswald with cubism, which he calls a “radical attempt to stamp out ambiguity and to enforce one reading of the picture—that of a man-made construction, a colored canvas.” Its aim is not to enhance our awareness of space or tactility but to counter the effects of an illusionist reading. We are tempted to see the guitar or jug as three-dimensional, yet each hypothesis is knocked out by a contradiction or ambiguity. Representational clues are scrambled. Their function is not to inform us about guitars but to narrow the range of interpretations until we accept the flat pattern as it is, with all its tensions (Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representations, 2d rev. ed. [Princeton, 1984], pp. 281–87).


11. Oswald de Andrade, Poesias, p. 5. Decades later the incurably impious Cuban writer Cabrera Infante rebaptized this “navel” as the Place Cliché.


14. Williams, American Grain, p. 177.

15. Oswald de Andrade, Do Pau-Brasil, pp. 3–19.


17. Affonso Romano de Sant’Anna, Música popular e moderna poesia brasileira (Petrópolis, 1978).


23. I wonder whether the yellow fog came from Sherlock Holmes's reflections on his cocaine habit at the end of chapter 1 of “The Sign of the Four.” The passage is worth quoting: “Hence the cocaine. I cannot live without brain-work. What else is there to live for? Stand at the window here. Was ever such a dreary, dismal, unprofitable world? See how the yellow fog swirls down the street and drifts across dun-colored houses. What could be more hopelessly prosaic and material? What is the use of having powers, doctor, when one has no field upon which to exert them? Crime is commonplace, and existence is commonplace, and no qualities save those which are commonplace have any function upon earth.” This deft Holmesian reduction synthesizes Eliot's world *avant la lettre*. Trevor H. Hall certifies other Holmesian borrowings by Eliot in “Thomas Stearns Eliot and Sherlock Holmes,” *Sherlock Holmes and His Creator* (New York, 1977), pp. 45–54.


25. Ackroyd, T. S. Eliot, pp. 16–18. W. H. Auden called Eliot a household with three permanent residents: an archdeacon devoted to discipline and good manners; a peasant grandmother who has witnessed pogrom, famine, flood, and fire and looked into the abyss; and the boy who plays malicious jokes. All of them, R. P. Blackmur observed, display the inner violence connected with the formidable assertion of order (*The Lion and the Honeycomb* [New York, 1955), p. 166).


43. Gray, Intellectual Development, pp. 110, 131-34. See n. 50 below for a caveat regarding the extent of anthropological influence on Eliot.


45. Mário’s travel notes on his trips to the Amazon (1927) and to northeast Brazil (1928-29) are published as O turista aprendiz, 2d ed. (São Paulo, 1983).

46. Mello e Souza criticizes de Campos for his dismissive treatment of the artist’s parole and for having inserted a complex, ambiguous work into a univocal, Proppian model from which “fatally it would have to extravasate” (de Campos, Morfologia, pp. 72, 78-81; Gilda de Mello e Souza, O Tapi e o aláude [São Paulo, 1979], pp. 46-53). Boris Schnaiderman defends de Campos’s position in his preface to Vladimir I. Propp, Morfologia do canto maravilhoso (Rio de Janeiro, 1984), p. 8.

47. Reprinted in Rossetti Batista et al., Brasil: 1º tempo modernista, pp. 181-83.


50. Spender, T. S. Eliot, p. 121. A persuasive case can be made that the grail legend had little influence on the plan and symbolism of parts 1-4 of the original draft of “The Waste Land.” The manuscript shows that “most of the Frazer and Weston imagery got into the poem only at the very end and that Eliot superimposed this material piecemeal onto sections that had been written earlier.” The notes and belated title may suggest more of the myth than the poem itself. This corrective, while essential for reading “The Waste Land,” also illuminates Eliot’s scrupulous tactics of intellectual legitimation (Ronald Bush, T. S. Eliot: A Study in Character and Style [New York and Oxford, 1983], p. 72).


54. Mello e Souza, O Tupi, pp. 73–79.


57. For Mário’s gloss on the ending of Macunaíma see his 1943 article reprinted in Ancona Lopez, Macunaíma: a margem, pp. 101–2. Leyla Perrone-Moisés supports de Campos’s more relativized or “ambiguityzed” version of the Vei episode, which lifts it from the national-universal antinomy in “Tupi or Not Tupi,” O Estado de São Paulo, cultural supplement, 27 January 1980, p. 3.


61. De Campos, Morfologia, pp. 7, 16.


63. R. P. Blackmur defined esemplastic as forming or shaping at a rhetorical level, taking rhetoric as a creative agent; coadjunative as uniting dissimilar substances at a dialectical level, taking dialectic as an esthetic agent; and synergical as cooperative action whose outcome exceeds the sum of the component effects. These transformations occur at a level of poetics that applies to all modes of the mind, including the most intellectual (Lion and the Honeycomb, p. 186).

64. Quoted in Richards, Coleridge, p. 75.

65. Tàpscott, American Beauty, pp. 126–45; Breslin, William Carlos Williams, chap. 2.


68. Blackmur, Form and Value, pp. 320, 322.

70. Breslin, William Carlos Williams, p. 38.
73. De Campos, Morfologia, p. 7.
75. The inclusion of cummings among the concretist heroes is a mystery if we take seriously R. P. Blackmur’s devastating “Notes on E. E. Cummings’ Language” (1930): None of his words taken alone “are very concrete words; and observe that many of them are the rather abstract, which is to say typical, names for precise qualities, but are not, and cannot be, as originally important words in a poem, very precise or very concrete or very abstract: they are middling words, not in themselves very much one thing or the other, and should be useful only with respect to something concrete in itself” (Form and Value, p. 292).
76. Riddle observes that Williams’s refusal “of the ego- or subject-center and of the transcendental origin, generates in his poetry what Michel Foucault has called the ‘refus du commencement’ of Nietzsche, the refusal to believe that one can trace a present thing or occurrence back to some remote, distant origin. This ‘refusal’ rejects any nostalgia for an ultimate ground that is itself undetermined or not an interpretation of some previous metaphor” (Inverted Bell, p. 12).

Chapter 3: Claims of Political Tradition

2. Spanish historians still avoid the term “colonial period,” and even Ricardo Levene, an Argentine, proposed that his country’s preindependence era be called the “period of Spanish domination and civilization” (Las Indias no eran colonias [Buenos Aires, 1951], pp. 161–65).
5. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, España: Un enigma histórico, 2 vols. (Buenos...


9. Interestingly, the word conquest or conquista derives from the Latin conquae­rere, which means “to seek out” or “bring together,” without the intimation of aggrandizement.


15. Arbitrary exercise of free will at the expense of limiting traditions gives rise to what Weber called “sultanism.”


23. Francisco Eduardo Trusso, El derecho de la revolución en la emancipación americana (Buenos Aires, 1964). The Laws of the Indies of 1680 codified the “pact” as the first law of book 3, título 1: “That the Western Indies shall be forever joined to the Crown of Castile and may not be alienated.” This law can be traced to decrees of Carlos V of 1519 and 1520.


30. José María Luis Mora, Ensayos, ideas y retratos (Mexico City, 1941), pp. xx, 184.
33. Esteban Echeverría, Dogma socialista; edición crítica y documentada (La Plata, 1940), pp. 206-12.
36. Julio César Jobet, Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile (Santiago, 1955), p. 34.
39. This may explain why Machiavelli’s writings stirred less interest in Portugal than in Spain in the sixteenth century (Martim de Albuquerque, A sombra de Maquiavel e a ética tradicional portuguesa [Lisbon, 1974]).
42. The interests of the state and of freelance frontiersmen in the Brazilian west were to a degree mutually reinforcing (David M. Davidson, “How the Brazilian West Was Won: Freelance and State on the Mato Grosso Frontier, 1737-1752,” in Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil, ed. Dauril Alden [Berkeley, 1973], pp. 61-106).
44. José Murilo de Carvalho, A construção da ordem: a elite política imperial (Rio de Janeiro, 1980), chap. 3.
46. Silva Dias, “A interiorização.”


55. In his critique of influential arguments Ernesto Laclau warns us to distinguish between capitalistic modes of domestic production and participation in the world capitalist system (“Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America,” in *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory* [London, 1979], pp. 15–50).


57. Steve J. Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest* (Madison, 1982).


63. Fernando Díaz Díaz, *Caudillos y caciques* (Mexico City, 1972). These definitions of caudillos and caciques differ from Gilmore’s for Venezuela, who considers the former as relatively autonomous charismatic leaders and the latter as bosses whose sphere of personal control is framed within an oligarchically managed bureaucratic order (Robert L. Gilmore, *Caudillism and Militarism in Venezuela 1810–1910* [Athens, Ohio, 1964]).

64. On this point Sérgio Buarque de Holanda made a pioneer adaptation of Weberian analysis to Brazil in 1936 (see below, chap. 5, “The Brazilianist as Desk Officer”).


67. Roberto Da Matta, “Cidadania: a questão da cidadania num universo rela-


**Chapter 4: Notes toward Fresh Ideology**


6. Before reading Dumont’s “aequalis” studies I had hit upon the same strategy in *El espejo de Próspero*.


8. The compartmentalization of knowledge in the interest of pedagogical “clarity” some trace to the logician Peter Ramus (1515–72). “This separation of disciplines tended to hinder the mind from noticing the faulty presuppositions of any particular discipline and to prevent it from advert the lack of any coherent intellectual synthesis of the philosophical and theological disciplines” (E. B. F. Midgley, *The Ideology of Max Weber: A Thomist Critique* [Totowa, N.J., 1983], p. 26).


10. See Diego Meseguer Illán, *José Carlos Mariátegui y su pensamiento revolucionario* (Lima, 1974).


**Notes to Pages 126–38**
15. Ibid., pp. 507-18.
19. Luis Villoro, El concepto de ideología y otros ensayos (Mexico City, 1985).
23. On this point see Villoro’s chapter on “Authenticity in Culture” in El concepto de ideología.
30. The rest of this section draws on a chapter in preparation for the Cambridge History of Latin America.
31. See chapter 2.


35. Miró Quesada, *Despertar y proyecto*; also his *Proyecto y realización del filoso­far latinoamericano* (Mexico City, 1981).


37. Save those who accept Foucault’s reminder that “anything can be deduced from the general phenomenon of the domination of the bourgeois class. What needs to be done is something quite different” (Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 100).

38. Irlémar Chiampi, *O realismo maravilhoso* (São Paulo, 1980); Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, *Lo barroco y lo real-maravilloso en la obra de Alejo Carpen­tier* (Mexico City, 1982).


46. The “periquillo sarmiento” was the picaresque protagonist of Mexico’s first novel (1816), by J. J. Fernández de Lizardi. Katherine Anne Porter published her abridged translation as *The Itching Parrot* (Garden City, 1942).


49. The small Mexican town described by Díaz exemplifies this Rousseauian condition rather than the family and community solidarity often imputed to Latin American village life. “Any unit has existence only in reference to a given ego. For every ego in the community the set of people with whom he maintains patterned interaction is different. Consequently, there is no basis for the formation of corporate groups founded in either kinship, compadrazgo, or friendship. Allegiances and alliances are crosscutting. . . . The total society, like the family, is arranged into a series of separate, divided social roles hierarchically arranged.” Yet this is not “capitalist” individualism, for the innovator or social climber is a laugh-
able rather than a respected figure. In Catholic societies, as Weber observed, the virtuoso is under suspicion (May N. Díaz, Tonalá: Conservatism, Responsibility, and Authority in a Mexican Town [Berkeley, 1966], pp. 134–35, 213).


Chapter 5: On Grooming Latin Americanists

1. The Latin Americanist’s fascination with symptomatology often blinds him to pathology, as exemplified by Philip W. Powell’s Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World (New York, 1971).


4. Under the title “Calibán” a Spanish translation of my reflections appeared in Rodó’s homeland in the leftist review Marcha (9 October 1964). An editorial note guardedly called them ironical, at times irritating, but still “a rather interesting viewpoint on inter-American relations.” Since then Caliban has become as appealing a symbol for Latin American intellectuals as Ariel was for their predecessors. In a rambunctious Cuban-style treatment of Latin America—as-Caliban, Fernández Retamar informs us that in 1969 three Antillean writers (Aimé Césaire, Edward Brathwaite, and himself) each independently elaborated the metaphor. Such contemporaries, however, resist Mannoni’s psychoanalytic implication that Caliban no less than Prospero is pathological (Roberto Fernández Retamar, Calibán [Mexico City, 1971], pp. 7–36; idem, “Calibán revisitado,” Casa de las Américas 27, 157 [1986]: 152–59). Emir Rodríguez Monegal provided a serene and judicious assessment of the whole question in “The Metamorphoses of Caliban,” Diacritics (September 1977): 78–83.

5. In The Spanish Background of American Literature, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1955), Stanley T. Williams concluded that “there is a point beyond which most American writers do not go” in trying to penetrate Hispanic mysteries. “Instead, falling back on the cliché that in the end the Spanish mind must remain incomprehensible, they embrace beautiful fragments. . . . There is a chasm.”

6. Some years later John D. Martz scolded me for this “shot-gun attack” and for my patronizing attitude in a review article that, as its title suggests, only bore out my mournful prediction: “Political Science and Latin American Studies: A

7. Arguments of the many who scold me for derogating my colleagues’ efforts in literary studies either defend current scholarship or explain why stimulating contributions in the field are not yet possible. One critic, motivated by what I can only call an academic Antigone complex, upholds his fraternity by explaining that one of its principal functions is to give the literary remains of second-rate Latin American authors decent burial with full scholarly apparatus, a courtesy generally denied in the countries of origin.

8. Our correctives, like the “problem,” are culturally conditioned and instrumentally administered. Just as our answer to school segregation is cross-urban bussing rather than a change in heart, so the answer to rarefied academicism is a massive “program” of intercontinental bussing. The other day a distinguished Latin American visitor confided, “You know, it’s really a waste of money for you to import me to teach two seminars.”

9. The term “cultural focus” is used, I believe, by anthropologists, whom I think of as spiritual cousins of historians even though they are self-professed social scientists. A masterful statement of the cause I defend is Johan Huizinga’s essay “The Task of Cultural History,” in *Men and Ideas* (New York, 1959), pp. 17–76.


11. On his visit to the United States in the 1920s Huizinga was startled and intrigued to find that the word *behavior* epitomized the credo of intellectual America (see his essay “Thought: Transposition and Re-creation,” in *America*, trans. Herbert M. Rowen [New York, 1972], pp. 266–326).


13. Some scholars no longer interpret the manifest content of discourse but resort to word counts and content analysis.


15. Fernando Guillén Martínez, “Los Estados Unidos y América Latina,” *Aportes* 7 (1968): 4–28. Baldly stated, his key proposition is that in the Iberian tradition enjoyment of wealth depends on prior acquisition of social power, while in ours access to economic opportunity is the precondition for political participation. This contrast has important implications for development, and it orients Latin Americans toward their own historical precedents.


18. “I return again and again, in retrospection, to this early untutored interest in books, for how could it have developed in such isolation and such neglect, but for the presence of some inborn disposition. And faith in such a disposition becomes, with the growth of the personality, a controlling factor. At least, we are only happy so long as our life expands in ever widening circles from the upward gush of our early impulses” (Herbert Read, *The Innocent Eye* [New York, 1947], pp. 49–50).

19. Duberman’s experimental seminar, inspired by the writings of A. S. Neill and Paul Goodman and having the air of group therapy, is described in “An Experiment in Education,” *Daedalus*, Winter 1968, 318–41. The thought that the
modern professor must become a psychotherapist if his students are not to die of boredom or forever be exploding symptoms does, I admit, depress me.


21. I do not wish to imply that a historian need only cultivate “empathy.” His goal is morphology. Again, Huizinga makes the point: “The true problems of cultural history are always problems of the form, structure, and function of social phenomena. This is not to say that cultural history should be subservient to sociology. Cultural history considers phenomena in their own striking significance, while for sociology they are nothing but paradigms. The cultural historian has abandoned the design of deducing generally valid rules for the knowledge of society from phenomena. He not only sketches the contours of the forms he designs, but colors them by means of intuition and illuminates them with visionary suggestion” (Men and Ideas, p. 59).

22. I don’t know what curricular suggestions all this adds up to. Anyone who interviews students for fellowships knows that they cannot discuss an author unless he has been dished out in “a course.” Yet I hesitate to prescribe seminars on Stendhal for all Latin American history students. I sometimes feel that classrooms are as expendable a university landmark as football stadiums.

23. Latin Americanists now compose articles with an eye to early anthologization, much as novelists write with the needs of the Hollywood scenarist in mind.

24. This essay is freely constructed from notes for a talk at the Brazilianists’ session during the meetings of the American Historical Association in Los Angeles in December 1981.

25. On November 24, 1971, the Brazilian news weekly Veja printed with bemusement and mild dismay a cover story headed, “The History of Brazil: The Country’s Past Is Being Written in English.” The cover pictured four Brazilian patriots uttering historic messages in English, including the martyred and unidiomatic hero Tiradentes, a rope around his neck (“Get over with this fast!”), and the first emperor, sword in hand (“Independence or Death!”). In “Cultura acadêmica nacional e brazilianismo” Paula Beiguelman imputes sinister motives to Brazilianists of the 1960s and 1970s as exemplified by the fearsome trio Skidmore, Roett, and Evans, whose “imperialist” intentions, she asserts, lack the “innocence” of nineteenth-century European travelers. Baby Brazilianists of the 1980s she finds attracted to innocuous themes such as popular culture, religiosity, and soccer, although they still churn out profuse computer printouts on politics to document what is common knowledge for Brazilians (Cultura brasileira: temas e situações, ed. Alfredo Bosi [São Paulo, 1987], pp. 199-207). José Murilo de Carvalho, like Beiguelman a political scientist, protests the training abroad of Brazilianists as “Brazilianists” and looks to a time “when we will cease being Tupiniquins in our choice of themes for study and being metropolitanized in our selection of ideas” (“Basta de brasilianista brasileiro,” Jornal do Brasil, 17 July 1988).

26. Or, to be equitable, should it be the other way around? Watson had military and medical experience and a smattering of general knowledge dosed with good common sense. Holmes, as Watson tells us in “The Science of Deduction,” chapter 2 of “A Study in Scarlet,” had never heard of Copernican theory or Thomas Carlyle; his knowledge of literature, philosophy, and astronomy was nil;
his knowledge of chemistry, violin playing, penny dreadfuls, and British law was splendid, while his observation and ratiocination were impeccable. American aca­
deme may have produced a mutant.

27. See John H. Randall, Jr., The Career of Philosophy, vol. 1 (New York, 1962), p. 597; and Theodor Adorno, Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life (London, 1974), pp. 196–97. David Slater distinguishes between empiricism, which sends theory to the sidelines and thus provides no explanations, and empirical analysis, which at its best is assimilated to a theoretical perspective (“Some Recent Developments of Urban and Regional Research on Latin America,” Bo­
letín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe 32 [1982]: 106).

28. It is empirically demonstrable that Brazilianists follow the intellectual leads of their Brazilian colleagues with a lag of 9.4 years. Thus if Brazilians were to accelerate their frequency of intellectual renovation to a 4.7 year cycle, our Bra­
zilianists would stay miraculously in phase (see José Analftico de Casos-Concretos, “O fenômeno do ‘lag’ acadêmico: congelação cerebral no setentrião,” Revista Brasileira de Patologia Intelectual Comparada 1, 1 [1983]: 111).

29. For (Holmesian) evidence one can compare Lévi-Strauss’s patronizing account of his experience at the University of São Paulo in Tristes tropiques with the student memories of Florestan Fernandes in “Em busca de uma sociologia crítica e militante,” in A sociologia no Brasil (Petrópolis, 1977), pp. 140–212.

quias em Ciências Sociais, Resistências à mudança [Rio de Janeiro, 1960]). We would now look to “resistances” not as obstacles to progress but as inspiration for redesign, whether domestic or global.


32. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Political Regime and Social Change: Some Reflections concerning the Brazilian Case, Stanford-Berkeley Occasional Papers in Latin American Studies 3 (1981). I cannot pledge that my gloss of Fernando Henrique’s tantalizingly opaque commentary in its creative translation hews closely to his meaning. What can an innocent reader make of his plea that political arenas be transformed into awesome and poetic “resonant stadiums” when all he meant was “sounding-boards”? Teasingly, as is his wont, he let the translation stand.

33. See Charles Taylor, Hegel (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 153–57. One of our senior Brazilianists rightly accuses a junior colleague of missing the point by ardously
documenting the fact that Brazilian slaves rarely sat at table with their masters.


Chapter 6: Puerto Rico: Eternal Crossroads

1. Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, Biblioteca histórica de Puerto Rico (San Juan, 1945), p. 545.


4. Steward, People of Puerto Rico, p. 44.

5. Tapia y Rivera, Biblioteca histórica, p. 527.

6. Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, 3d ed. (San Juan, 1866), pp. 280–336 passim.

7. Steward, People of Puerto Rico, p. 51.

8. Salvador Brau, Disquisiciones sociológicas y otros ensayos (Rio Piedras, 1956), p. 159. Juan Angel Silén summarizes a century of the Puerto Rican “literature of docility” as expressing the elite’s acquiescence in geographic and historical determinism. “Our isolation from the world has made us try to idealize our real situation as a formula of escape” (We, the Puerto Rican People [New York, 1971], pp. 36–45). See also René Marqués, The Docile Puerto Rican, trans. Barbara Bockus Aponte (Philadelphia, 1976).


10. Wrote an illustrious Puerto Rican man of letters: “We who have always lived submerged in grammar have never been able to call things by their real name. Of necessity the creole had recourse to both commercial and verbal contraband” (Antonio S. Pedreira, Insularismo, 3d ed. [San Juan, 1946], p. 125).


12. In an article in El Mundo (21 April 1959) a former supervisor of English classes defends the low caliber of English teaching by asserting that it is acceptable for teachers to have an accent, because accented English is the norm for Puerto Ricans. A fine example of cultural hostility disguised as linguistic pedagogy!


17. C. F. Thwing, *The American and the German University—One Hundred Years of History* (New York, 1928), p. 3.

18. “Very few of the returning [American] students up to 1870 claimed perfection for German institutions and values. Virtually every one of them realized that American institutions had to grow out of American values. Thus, any historical account that explains the development of American universities purely in terms of German ‘influence’ must be highly suspect. The American universities were not constructed from blueprints shipped over on the Hamburg line. And American scholars were anything but imitations of their German teachers” (Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870* [New Haven, 1978], p. 50).


22. For one version of how this challenge was interpreted and met in the late 1960s see “Student Rebellion and the University” in Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* (New York, 1972), pp. 273-94.


24. In our reading of Dante one of my Puerto Rican students found the shock of recognition in the “futile” ones who inhabit the vestibule of hell, those who were neither for good nor for evil but only for themselves, and those fallen angels who took no sides in the Rebellion.

25. Renzo Sereno speaks of “the anxiety aroused by judgements on Puerto Rican life by strangers. These are seldom discussed and assessed from the standpoint of validity and relation to objective reality, but simply in terms of praise or damnation, that is, acceptance or rejection” (“Cryptomelanism: A Study of Color Relations and Personal Insecurity in Puerto Rico,” *Psychiatry* 10 [1947]: 268).


