Disciplinary Conquest
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Introduction

1. A strong defense of Latin American studies as an area-study program is made in Harvey L. Johnson 1961. On the strength acquired by Latin American studies in the 1960s, see Hanke 1967. For a Latin American perspective on Latin American studies, see Osorio Tejeda 2007. For a critical appraisal of Latin American literary studies, see de la Campa 1999.

2. On the history and significance of the Pan-Americanist movement, see Fagg 1982; Gilderhus 1986; Crapol 2000; and Sheinin 2000a.

3. In 1881, Blaine called the states of the hemisphere to attend a Pan-American conference. His ideas about U.S. hemispheric hegemony through peace and commercial reciprocity started to develop after the French occupation of Mexico in 1864 (Crapol 2000, 10–21, 73).


5. In the area of history, a more in-depth study of Brazil developed only in the 1950s and 1960s. See Shepherd 1933; and John J. Johnson 1985. Duke University had started collecting Brazilian materials early. See Manchester 1933.

6. John Barrett was the director of the International Bureau of the American Republics from 1907 to 1910, then the director of the Pan-American Union until 1920. He promoted U.S. economic expansionism in South America, and strove to transform the Monroe Doctrine into a multilateral policy. See Prisco 1973.

7. Vision is an element constitutive of “evidence” in Enlightenment and modern notions of science and legal processes. Enhanced visibility is the capacity “to see” beyond our own limited horizon of sight, by means of other instruments: telescopes, maps, treatises, inquiries, dictionaries, and catalogs. In actuality, I am not talking of the eye’s capacity, but of the human intellect’s ability to imagine larger regions and
worlds. Human sight has been constructed, says Foucault, as a mirror (inner reflection) and as a lamp (external extension) that illuminates certain areas. It is in this latter dimension that I evoke the figure of human sight, and often more metaphorically, as it could help us to understand the scope and problematic of a scientific discipline.

8 Though I do not present an extended argument about this topic, there is an indication that this particular form of power knowledge generated a “subalternity through knowledge,” which needs to be investigated further.

9 Scholars agree that prior to 1918 there was little that could be considered professional discourse about Latin America and that, though the Second World War gave an unprecedented boost to the field, Latin American studies consolidated in relation to the emergence of Cold War politics. A commonsense view of the matter was that to specialize in Latin America before Fidel Castro was “a passport to obscurity.” Ratliff 1989–1990, 61.

10 In practice, intellectual history often overlaps with the history of knowledge and the history of intellectual culture. See Collini 1985; Brett 2002; and Cowan 2006. See also Palti 2010.


13 There were, however, inquiries into the social and political “thought” of Latin Americans. See Martz 1966; and Davis 1963.

14 For the rise and diffusion of “progressive” ideals, see McGerr 2003; Wiebe 1967; Kloppenberg 1986; Dorothy Ross 1992, chaps. 5–8; Rogers 1982. About the professionalization of the social disciplines and the emergence of expert knowledge, see Kuklick 1976; Haskell 1977; Sarfatti Larson 1977; Dorothy Ross 1978; Creutz 1979.

15 On the impact on culture of U.S. overseas expansion, see Cheyfitz 1991; Kaplan and Pease 2000; Wexler 2000; and Kaplan 2002. For studies of cultural history relating to U.S.-Latin America relations, see, among others, Streeby 2002; Murphy 2005; Salvatore 2006a; and Pérez 2008. On connections between economic, cultural, and intellectual developments, see Livingston 1994.

16 Walter Mignolo and other representatives of the “coloniality school” have argued along these lines. See Mignolo 2000; Mignolo 2001; Mignolo 2005; and Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui 2008.


18 On the notion of Occidentalism, see Coronil 1996.


22 See Messer-Davidow, Shumway, and Sylvan 1993.

23 Though Bourdieu has coined the term cultural capital, other authors have actually extensively studied cultural accumulation in colonial and neocolonial conditions.
Useful works in this regard are Bennett and Silva 2011; Dubois 2011; and Prieur and Savage 2011, among others. Of the many works by Bourdieu, few represent this point of view as clearly as La distinción (1979), Capital cultural, escuela y espacio social (2003), and Homo Academicus (2008).

24 I do not deal in detail here with the forms of cultural accumulation that constituted the bases of Latin American studies. See, in this regard, Salvatore 2005b.


26 William Louis George’s many works contain a critical view of British imperial history, emphasizing the influence of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher to disarm the previous consensus about the discipline. See also Hyam and Martin 1975. For a critique of “old imperial history,” see Hopkins 1999; Ballantyne 2005; and Gosh 2012.

27 On the changing notion of Americanism, see Kazin and McCartin 2006. In a quite limited fashion, I have dealt elsewhere with the question of “Americanization.” Salvatore 2005d.


29 Bibliographies, guides, and other reference works produced between 1900 and 1945 contain thousands of entries each. Only a laborious and time-consuming quantitative study of U.S. publications about the region would be able to produce an accurate figure.

30 The Germans “were ready to furnish South America with scientists for their universities, with teachers for their schools, with specialists in administrative, technical, and sanitary problems.” Leo S. Rowe 1909, 592.


32 See Guy 1998; Ehrick 1998; and Sheinin 2000b. For literary figures, see Faber 2003. For art production, see Fox 2013.

33 On anthropology’s complicity with colonialism, see Asad 1979; Stocking 1991; Thomas 1994; and Cooper 2005.

34 The literature is ample with regard to the British empire. See, for instance, Edney 1990; Baber 1996; and Cohn 1996. Similar studies are available for France. See Paul 1985.

35 See Christopher Simpson 1998, in particular, the contributions by A. Needel on Project Troy and by E. Herman on Project Camelot. The latter project is examined in Horowitz 1967 and Solovey 2001. For a critical examination of the Rockefeller Foundation’s activities with regard to public health in the region, see Zulawski 2007. A recent debate shows that the politics of academic knowledge is an important concern. See “Commentaries on ‘Knowledge and Empire’” 2010.

36 See, in particular, Drake 1989; Cueto 1994; Anderson 2006; and Rosenberg 2003.

37 See, for instance, de la Campa 1999; and Moreiras 2001. On the current debates on area studies, see Mirsepassi, Basu, and Weaver 2003.
1. South America as a Field of Inquiry

1 Iván Jaksic (2007) has suggested that these early Hispanists sought in old Spain the basis for constructing their own “American culture.” In the history of the Spanish colonial empire, they saw interesting lessons for understanding the fragilities of the U.S. republic. See also Kagan 2002.


4 This argument is developed in Kagan 2002.

5 Mark T. Berger (2005) locates the origins of professional study of Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century. The first historians to teach Spanish-American history were Bernard Moses at Berkeley (1895) and William Shepherd at Columbia (1904). All other pioneers of the field, except Hiram Bingham, started to teach after 1910. See Delpar 2008, 33–39.

6 See Berger 1995; de la Campa 1999; and Delpar 2008.

7 Charles A. Thompson to Haring, 11 January 1941, Harvard University Archives, Clarence Haring Papers (CHP), HUG 4447.512, Special Files.


9 Recent commercial development in the Oriente region made it feasible to study Amazonian tribes hitherto unknown: the Zaparo, the Napo, the Murato, and the Iquito, among others.

10 Páramos are mountain ecosystems proper of the Andean region. They are flatlands located at high altitude. Subjected to a tropical climate and dramatic variations in temperature from day to night, they tend to generate a scarce vegetation comprising primarily grass and shrub.

11 “A whole social structure has been growing wild on the coast of Ecuador since the days of the Conquest, which in our time has reached a state of highest interest for students of semi-primitive society.” Long 1941, 17.

12 The leaders of the research-university movement promoted not only specialized research, but also interdisciplinary connections between different departments of knowledge. See Douglas 2007, chap. 1.

13 Among them were Hiram Bingham, Alexander Hamilton, Aleš Hrdlička, Isaiah Bowman, Mark Jefferson, and others.

14 See Cramer and Prutsch 2012. See also Reich 1996.

15 In 1911–1912 a group of U.S. bankers took control of the new Banco Nacional de Nicaragua and of the Ferrocarril del Pacífico, and loans were granted to the Nicaraguan government on the security of a customs receivership, making it clear that Nicaragua had become tied to the empire through “dollar diplomacy.” Schoultz 1998, 216–19.

16 See Rosenberg 1975, 144–45; and Sloan 1978, 291–94.

17 Boaz Long was a privileged observer of labor resistance in the formative years of labor organization in Cuba. O’Brien 1993.

18 Over time, Ambassador Long learned to appreciate the doctrine of intellectual cooperation developed by the political scientist Leo S. Rowe.
According to M. P. Friedman, ambassador Long had to negotiate with the presidents of Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala the detention and deportation of Germans suspected of Nazi sympathies. Friedman 2003a, 115, 148, 154.

Galo Plaza was a U.S.-born president of Ecuador (1948–1952) who later served as secretary general of the Organization of American States (1968–1975). He had studied economics at the University of California, Berkeley, and diplomacy at Georgetown University. At the time of his friendship with Ambassador Long, Galo Plaza was Ecuador’s minister of war. Later on, in 1944, he was appointed Ecuador’s ambassador to the United States. The American College of Quito opened its doors in 1940, headed by the Radcliffe graduate Hazel Tucker.

The Good Neighbor Policy was predicated on economic cooperation, the respect of Latin American territorial sovereignty, and multilateral consultation in matters of hemispheric concern. For the importance of culture in American diplomacy, see Espinosa 1976; Ninkovich 1977; Ninkovich 1981; Fein 1994; Tota 2009; Sadlier 2012; and Fox 2013.

See Salvatore 2002.

See, for instance, “Commerce with South America” (1911).

The problem of Portuguese emerged later in the 1930s, as Brazil came to be recognized as the future economic giant of the region.

James W. Van Cleave, for instance, wrote, “But we need something more than a merchant marine to enable us to win new markets, or to hold those which we now have. We must learn the world’s needs and tastes in merchandise, and set to work intelligently to supply them. This is particularly true of South America.” Van Cleave 1907, 31.

Van Cleave wrote, “They go to the importing countries with a linguistic and technical knowledge incommensurably beyond that of the average American promoter, and they pursue their work with a skill, an energy, and a persistence which our representatives do not approach.” Ibid., 32.

In addition to advertising and other marketing techniques, U.S. colleges and universities were teaching mostly technical subjects. Lord wrote, “There are courses in ocean transport, methods of shipping goods, in foreign tariffs, and foreign markets. All things are, of course, necessary. Some opportunity is given to the study of foreign languages, although here the courses are glaringly superficial.” Lord 1921, 16.

Boston University was planning a second venture into China. There was also a plan to set up an International School at Panama for training North and South Americans in Pan-American trade. James E. Downey wrote, “One series [of lectures] given to the Seniors is made up of ten lectures on transportation in New England, six on salesmanship, and about twenty on commercial possibilities in South America.” Downey 1913, 226.

Charles D. Warner was a well-known northeastern man of letters, a friend of Mark Twain, with whom he coauthored “The Gilded Age” (1873). He worked on the editorial staff of Harper’s Magazine. He was president of important professional and academic institutions (such as the National Institute of Arts and
Letters and the American Social Science Association), as well as an active social reformer.

30 The biggest obstacle, however, was the lack of cheap and reliable sea transportation to South America. Warner (1896) reviewed the situation of ports in Peru, Uruguay, northeast Brazil, and Venezuela to conclude that these “splendid fields” for American enterprise were wasted by the lack of adequate transportation facilities.

31 See Werking 1981.

32 The institutions of higher education that offered training for the foreign service in 1915 were Harvard, Yale, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, George Washington, Northwestern, University of California, University of Colorado, University of Illinois, University of Iowa, University of Miami, University of Minnesota, University of Nebraska, University of Missouri, Dartmouth, and Pennsylvania State. Duniway 1915, 157.

33 As Root recapitulated later, “It was a business trip, but the business was not only the promotion of American trade and commerce, but the promotion of intellectual ties and personal relationships, for all these are of the business of statesmanship.” Jessup 1938, 477.

34 “The material resources of South America are in some important respects complementary to our own; that continent is weakest where North America is strongest as a field for manufacturers. . . . In many respects, the people of the two continents are complementary to each other; the South American is polite, refined, cultivated, fond of literature and of expression and of the graces and charms of life, while the North American is strenuous, intense, utilitarian. Where we accumulate, they spend.” Ibid., 489.

35 See Berger 1995; de la Campa 1999; and Delpar 2008.

36 This proposition could be extended to the natural sciences. It is not by chance that Louis Agassiz chose Brazil to look for evidence to disprove Darwin’s theory of natural selection. See Menand 2001, chap. 6.

37 Though there were several U.S. scientific exploring expeditions to South America during the nineteenth century, these findings failed to constitute new fields of study, nor did they give birth to new institutions for the study of the subcontinent. See Goodman 1972.

38 See Berger 1995; de la Campa 1999; and Delpar 2008.

39 Bingham did not brand this new field of knowledge Latin American history or Hispanic American history—he named it “South American History and Politics.” This was the subject matter that Bernard Moses had introduced to him at Berkeley.

40 Over time, Bingham discovered, the “political” part of the course in actuality contained a discussion of U.S.-South American relations.

41 In fact, after his return from Peru, Bingham attempted to convince Yale to create a course that would combine the teaching of history, geography, and business in South America.

42 The series editor, Richard Elwood Dodge, assured readers that this textbook contained “a standard treatment of the world by regions, from the modern
standpoint that geography is a study of the earth in its relation to man and life.” Bowman 1915, viii.

A few years later, I. Eric Thompson (1936) published another summary on the area’s archaeological knowledge, focusing on the countries of the west coast.

Later, Alfred L. Kroeber’s work on Peruvian textiles, Wendell C. Bennett’s work on the Lambayeque Valley, Samuel K. Lothrop’s work on Chavin ornaments, and John H. Rowe’s chronology of Andean cultures brought about a more comprehensive panorama of the field.


In 1937 Haring, attempting to explain to his colleague historians from South America why Harvard University had to cover all areas of world history, attributed the expansion of Harvard’s history department to the development of historical studies in general. He said, “We have also entered into the history of Europe and of nations of the Orient,” considering it “natural” that Harvard’s teaching and research efforts were in part devoted to “the Hispanic nations of the world.” “II Congreso de Historia de América,” 1937, CHP, HUG 4447:508.

Luther Bernard, acknowledged as an expert in South American sociology, never recognized this as a field of study, speaking instead of South America’s “social, economic, and political problems.” His approach in this regard was similar to that of Frank Tannenbaum’s, as evidenced in Tannenbaum’s Whither Latin America? (1934).

In the 1930s, Carl Sauer tried to create an Institute of Latin American studies at the University of California, Berkeley. See Parsons 1996.
Much work since the 1970s has dealt with the question of professionalization and the social sciences. See, among others, Furner 1975; Kuklick 1976; Dorothy Ross 1978; Creutz 1979; and Jarausch 1983.

Though other associations and institutes related to the work of our five scholars—such as the American Geographic Society (1851) and the Archaeological Institute of America (1879)—were founded earlier, they also became interested in South America in the early 1900s.

There is an abundant bibliography on U.S. investments and trade with South America during this period. See, among others, Rippy 1931; Phelps 1939; Wilkins 1970; Seidel 1973; O’Brien 1993; and Pletcher 1998.

The tension between universality and locality in the making of Western knowledge is addressed in different ways. For Mary Poovey (1998), the tension is between systematic and practical knowledge. Others have presented the tension as one between “indigenous” and “scientific” knowledge. See, for instance, Agrawal 2008; and Mato 2008. Other scholars, have criticized the universal pretensions of Western knowledge while affirming local specificities. See, among others, Chakrabarty 2000; and Buck-Morss 2009. Historians of science have claimed that all knowledge is local. See Turnbull 1993–1994.

See Delpar 2008, 49.

See Salvatore 2008a.

See Hanke 1947.

Clarence H. Haring, “Conocimiento y desconocimiento de la America Latina en los Estados Unidos,” Round Table Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 23–28 April 1956, CHP, HUG 4447.520 (Lectures and Addresses).

Of 2,000 colleges and universities, 821 were offering courses in Latin American studies, and 44 of them had specialized programs that granted degrees for graduate work.

See Harvey L. Johnson 1961.

See Salvatore 2006b.

As Ella Shohat (1991) has shown, the idea of “terra incognita” is a close relative to that of “dark continent” as applied to Africa.

2. Five Traveling Scholars

Abundant biographical information is provided in Alfred M. Bingham 1989 and Patterson 1957. See also Heaney 2010. Popular biographies, such as Cohen 1984, are also useful.

William Scheller (1994) places Bingham in the company of those “amazing archaeologists” who discovered the legends of Assyria, the walls of Troy, the temples of Angkor and Chichén Itzá, the tombs of Tutankhamen and Knosos, and the city of Jericho.

It was the cuzqueño José Gabriel Cosio who in 1912 called Bingham the descubridor científico, as opposed to the various persons—among them, local indigenous peasants—who had visited the place before, but were not scientists.
Later, other archaeologists discredited some of Bingham’s interpretations. Phillip Ainsworth Means (1931) did not find it credible that Machu Picchu was, as Bingham insisted, the old “cradle” of the Incas, arguing that the citadel was simply one of the various fortifications built by Inca Pachacutec to protect his people. Alfred Kroeber showed the same skepticism. George Kubler thought that Machu Picchu was one of various frontier towns or settlements from where the Incas observed and controlled lowland jungle tribes. Kroeber reviewed Bingham’s *Machu Picchu: A Citadel of the Incas* (1930) in *American Anthropologist* 34:1 (1932), 152–53; see also Kubler, “Machu Picchu,” *Perspecta* (1960), 48–55.

Bingham was a curator of South American history and literature at Harvard Library between 1903 and 1915, and he held a similar position at Yale between 1908 and 1930. Patterson 1957.


The first rendition of Bingham’s 1907 adventure appeared in a geography journal. Bingham 1908a.

Secretary of State Elihu Root had asked Bingham to attend the First Pan-American Scientific Congress at Santiago as a U.S. delegate.

Bingham’s biographer wrote, “Only then [after a visit to the ruins of Choquequirau] did he begin to take interest in the Incas.” Alfred M. Bingham 1989, 189.

When Bingham found Old Vilcabamba, he was already in the southern jungle near River Pampaconas, in a place Indians called “Espíritu Pampa.” Ibid., 194–96.

The most authoritative biography of Bowman is Martin 1980. Neil Smith discusses in *American Empire* (2003) the intersection between geographic knowledge and the transition toward globalization in U.S. foreign policy, building his argument on Bowman’s work.

The society’s Special Publications series made available important geographical monographs on Hispanic America. These publications included, besides Bowman’s monographs, the works of Mark Jefferson (Argentina), George M. McBride (Mexico), and Robert S. Platt (Hispanic American maps).


See Martin 1980, chap. 7.

Among his students were Howard Cline, Lewis Hanke, and Arthur Whitaker.

On Bolton’s influence, see Bannon 1978; and Hanke 1964.

Authors such as Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, Stanley Engerman, Kenneth Sokoloff, Stephen Haber, and Francis Fukuyama have reopened the question of when and why Latin America “fell behind” vis-à-vis the United States.

Some scholars trace the origins of U.S.-Latin American scholarly exchanges to the 1908–1910 correspondence between Secretary Root and the philanthropist Andrew Carnegie.
3. Research Designs of Transnational Scope

In some territorial empires, the military participated in crucial scientific or humanistic inquiries. Peers 2005. In other cases, religious missionaries pioneered scientific inquiries. Maxwell 2008. On the formation of British knowledge about colonial India, see Edney 1990; Baber 1996; Cohn 1996; and Cooper 2005, chap. 2. On the census as a form of U.S. imperial, racial knowledge, see Rafael 2000; and Scarano 2009.

James C. Scott considers these “simplifications” crucial for statecraft. They are part of a project of “state legibility.” Scott 1998, 76–77, 80–83.

Archaeology, for instance, demands the transportation of antiquities and artifacts from the ruins to the museum cabinet. See Podgorny 2008; and Latour 1990.

See de Certeau 1986; Ahearne 1995; and Barbieri 2002.

The civilian governments that followed entered into a more ambivalent legal terrain. Their acts, controlled by the laws that guided the transition, were no longer under the supervision of the U.S. Congress. Leo S. Rowe 1902c; and Leo S. Rowe 1905.

See Leo S. Rowe 1912.

Foote collected mostly insects and nonflowering plants. He collected three thousand specimens in this first stage. Other members of the expedition had no research work.

See Hiram Bingham 1912c.

With the ruins detected near the Urubamba basin (Machu Picchu, Choquequirau, and Palcay), Bingham was confident U.S. archaeologists would begin “to solve the mystery connected with Ancient Peoples of South America.” Bingham to Grosvenor, 19 January 1914, Yale University Library, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers (YPEP) no. 664.

In a report published that year, Bingham wrote, “It is our plan to make a geographical reconnaissance of a portion of Southern Peru, including the Cordillera Vilcabamba and portions of the Apurimac and Urubamba watersheds.” Hiram Bingham 1914d, 677.

“Assuredly, the value of the source material will increase in time, and the Society will become, accordingly, a unique Western Hemisphere center for cartographic research.” Bowman 1946, 320.

Bowman was one of the first U.S. intellectuals to criticize the idea of Lebensraum, from the geographic point of view.

Proposal found in Harvard University Archives, Clarence Haring Papers (CHP), HUG 4447:512, Special Files.


Notes
In 1931 the bureau published Frank Normano’s *The Struggle for South America*, a study about the competition for South American markets between the United States and Europe. Haring wrote the foreword.

This was precisely the topic Haring addressed in his book *South America Looks at the United States* (1928).

See Rippy 1934; and Ferrell 1965. See also Langley 2005, 89–81; and Coerver and Hall 1999, 56–58.

See Schoultz 1998, chap. 10. For a typical assessment of Latin America as lands of revolution, see Crichfield 1908.

The exception was the U.S. South, which Ross probably considered a backward area wholly dependent on the industrialized Northeast and Midwest.

On the Hispanic American history group’s interest in revising the history of the Spanish empire, see Salvatore 2013.

See Hanke 1964. For a discussion of the debate, see Barrenechea 2009.

“II Congreso de Historia de America, Buenos Aires, 1937,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.508.

“II Congreso de Historia de America, Buenos Aires, 1937,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.508.

Helen Delpar calls these historians of the 1930s the “second generation of pioneers.” Delpar 2008, 45–48.

“Memorandum on the work of the Research Committee on Latin America,” by Parker T. Moon, 2 January 1933, Special Files, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.512.


4. Yale at Machu Picchu

Max Uhle, the so-called father of Peruvian archaeology, had made important findings before Bingham’s 1911 expedition. See Kaulicke 1998.

In Peru, the most salient representatives of this current of thought were Luis E. Valcárcel, José C. Mariátegui, José Uriel García, José G. Cosio, and Luis F. Aguilar. See Earle 2007, 185–92; de la Cadena 2000, 22–25, 63–68; and Miller 1999, 152–63.

Bingham to Hadley, New Haven, 10 March 1914, Yale University Library, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers (YPEP), series 2, box 10.

Bingham to Morkill, Cuzco, 14 July 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.

Hrdlička to Bingham, Smithsonian Institution, 14 May 1913, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 9. Emphasis added.

Bowman to Bingham, 23 January 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 10.
7 Bingham to Pickering, 14 January 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 10.
8 Bingham to Means, New Haven, 6 October 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
9 Braden to Bingham, 18 December 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
10 Cerro de Pasco Mining Co. to Bingham, Lima, 14 December 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
12 See Bowman 1916a.
13 Bingham to Eastman, 15 April 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 14.
14 The agreement Bingham reached with Kodak in 1911 consisted of a simple exchange of images and experimentation for sponsorship. Bingham to Eastman, 16 May 1911, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 14.
15 Bingham to Eastman, 15 April 1913, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 14.
16 Griffin to Bingham, 11 July 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 14.
17 A set of the pictures went to the National Geographic Society. Another set went to Bingham, who arranged the pictures in albums, ordered by theme and date. Later, a group of these photographs appeared in scientific journals, illustrating articles published by Bingham and other members of the expedition. The public at large only saw a small fraction of the photographic collection.
18 Contract between the National Geographic and Yale University, 25 February 1914, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15. Emphasis added.
19 I am extending Benedict Anderson’s notion of “print-capitalism” to the age of photography.
20 Bingham to Grosvenor, 8 March 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
21 Grosvenor to Bingham, 12 May 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15. Emphasis added.
22 Grosvenor to Bingham, 5 May 1913, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
23 See Lutz and Collins 1993, chap. 3.
24 “De la Universidad de Yale: Exploración científica,” El Comercio (Cuzco), 22 June 1911.
25 Two days later, the newspaper remarked on the altruism of the Yale men. “La Comisión Científica de la Universidad de Yale: Su arribo al Callao . . . ,” El Comercio (Cuzco), 24 June 1911.
26 In July 1911 a group of cuzqueños grouped under the Sociedad Protectora de Monumentos Público questioned the minister of justice and education about the authorization granted to the ype. El Comercio (Cuzco), 1 July 1911.
27 “La conferencia de anoche en la Sociedad Geográfica,” La Prensa (Lima), 5 December 1911.
28 Valdivia to Bingham, Lima, 12 June 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7;
Bingham to Hadley, Cuzco, July 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
29 Bingham to Hadley, July 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
30 See Alfred M. Bingham 1989, 275–89.
31 Reported by El Sol (Cuzco), 7 May 1912.
32 Curiously, the cuzqueñistas and indigenistas did not react to Bingham’s ironic view of Inca culture. Hiram Bingham 1911a, 262–63.
33 Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 4 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
34 The Instituto Histórico de Cuzco’s director, Larrabure, told Bingham he was opposed to any exportation of archaeological remains. Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 7 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
35 Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 14 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
36 José Gabriel Cosio was president of the University Association in 1909, and later the assistant and secretary of Albert Giesecke at the Revista Universitaria. Gabriel Cosio is the author of El Cuzco prehispánico y colonial (1918) and Cuzco: The Historical and Monumental City of Peru (1924).
37 During August, Bingham took about seven hundred photographs of Machu Picchu and the Apurinac Valley, while the rest of his team made topographical survey and excavated various archaeological sites.
38 Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 14 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7, General Correspondence.
39 Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 21 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
40 Bingham to Hadley, Lima, 26 October 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7. Emphasis added.
41 The agent from W. R. Grace, Mr. Ballent, convinced the new president of Peru that Bingham was a scientist and that his motivations were not commercial. Ballent to Bingham, Lima, 4 November 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
42 Bingham to Noel, 12 February 1913, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 8.
43 W. R. Grace and Company to Bingham, 8 January 1913, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 8.
44 Another nine cases had been shipped in July 1912, before the political turnaround, apparently without government permission.
45 It was in 1913 that Bingham published his articles criticizing the Monroe Doctrine in the Atlantic Monthly.
46 Bingham to Grosvenor, 21 September 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
47 Bingham to Grosvenor, Ollantaitambo, 19 May 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
48 “Only recently,” commented Bingham in June 1915, “our enemies here in Cuzco have been trying to make life miserable for us by diligently circulating exaggerated rumors and malicious lies.” Bingham to Grosvenor, Ollantaitambo, 19 May 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
49 Valcárcel was a collaborator of José Carlos Mariátegui in the journal Amauta. Mariátegui promoted the cultural elevation of the Indian and pioneered studies in
Inca culture and history. His book *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927) is considered a manifesto of the movement. Among other works, he authored *Del Ayllu al Imperio* (1925), *De la vida incaica* (1925), and *Mirador indio* (1937).

50 Bingham to Grosvenor, Cuzco, 29 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 15.
51 Bingham to Morkill, Cuzco, 19 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
52 Bingham to McMillan, Cuzco, 19 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
54 Bingham to Instituto Histórico de Cuzco, Cuzco, 18 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
55 Costa Laurent to Bingham, Cuzco, 26 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
56 They had continued excavating the ruins of Patallacta at Quente, as well as minor sites at Pampacahuana and Vilcabamba. Bingham to Harkness, 10 November 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 12.
57 “Whatever exploration I do in South America in the near future will, I am afraid, have to be done in other countries, and probably not in southern Perú.” Bingham to Harkness, 10 November 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 12.
58 The resolution granting E. C. Erdis permission to export the seventy-four boxes was issued on 27 January 1916.
59 In January 1916 the government granted permission to export the boxes, but customs officials delayed the process for another five months. Grace to Bingham, Lima, 13 April 1916, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 13.
60 Peberdy to Bingham, New Haven, 17 August 1916, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 13.
61 See Alfred M. Bingham 1989, 310; and Heaney 2010.
62 Bingham to Director of *El Sol* (Cuzco), 25 June 1915, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 11.
63 Abraham Campana, a local foreman in charge of getting peons for the YPE, found staunch resistance from landowners in Ollantaitambo. Campana to Bingham, Ollantaitambo, 3 August 1912, Yale University Library, YPEP, series 2, box 7.
64 “La criminal excavación de Machupiccho,” *El Sol* (Cuzco), 16 June 1915.
65 “La exportación de antigüedades peruanas,” *El Comercio* (Cuzco), 14 August 1915.
67 “Let wise men come to the monuments and not the other way round,” concluded the paper (ibid.).
68 “Por la Historia Nacional,” *El Sol* (Cuzco), 14 August 1916.
69 In the Cuzco Rebellion of 1814 the Angulo brothers and the cacique Mateo Pumacahua organized a peasant army that besieged and then entered the city of La Paz.
70 “Investigaciones arqueológicas inconvenientes,” *El Comercio* (Cuzco), 9 June 1915.
71 The year in which the Instituto Histórico inspected the YPE camp and Valcárcel presented his cultural preservation bill (1915), the Centro de Arte Incaico and the
Asociación Universitaria were presenting the first Inca drama in Cuzco: Ollantay. The flyer advertising the play is dated 28 July 1915.

Valcárcel published Tempestad en los Andes in 1927, Maríategui published Siete ensayos sobre la realidad peruana in 1928, and Haya de la Torre founded the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), a party dedicated to creating an alliance of all “Indo-América” against U.S. imperialism, in 1924.

La Crónica said it explicitly: “[La comisión] explota escandalosamente las minas que descubre en excavaciones que no están permitidas exportando vía Bolivia cantidades de objetos.” “La Comisión Bingham in Machu Picchu,” La Crónica, 15 July 1915.

What was the content of this cargo? Chiefly, “trepanned and diseased skulls, one or two mummies, and various bones taken from large burial caves at Patallacta, Paucarcancha and Ollantaytambo, in the vicinity of Machu Picchu.” Bingham to Walcott, New Haven, 28 July 1916, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 13.

Domingo Canepa, the owner of a tienda de abarrotes at Pisco, offered Bingham a collection of Inca artifacts. Domingo Canepa to Bingham, Pisco, 5 November 1912, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 7, General Correspondence. In 1915 P. Dieguez, a merchant from Guadalupe, offered Bingham one thousand huacos in sale. Dieguez y Co. to Bingham, Guadalupe, Peru, 7 June 1915, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 11.

See Riviale 2000; and Mould de Pease 2002. See also Mould de Pease 2008.

“All the graves we dug into had been previously disturbed, except that beneath the South Wall of the highest building.” Eaton to Bingham, Cuzco, 24 October 1912, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 7.

Rosas to Bingham, Cerro de Pasco, 11 September 1912, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 7.

In 1915 Rosas wrote back to Bingham, offering his services as a practical archaeologist. Now he tried to interest Bingham in the stories of fabulous secret ruins. Rosas to Bingham, Lima, 27 April 1915, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 11.

Book collection was an integral part of the expedition’s efforts. Bingham had been the curator of Latin American history during his appointment at Harvard (1906–1907). Alfred M. Bingham 1989, 60.


Pérez de Velazco to Bingham, Lima, 22 January 1913, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 8.

Bingham to Pérez de Velazco, New Haven, 13 February 1913, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 8.

Ulloa described himself as a failed historian and a poor old man. In his own view, he suffered the inferiority of the location. Peru could not afford professional historians, so he had to devote his time to politics, a risky game that reduced him to poverty. Ulloa to Bingham, Lima, 5 January 1914, Yale University Library, ypep, series 2, box 10.
5. Hispanic American History at Harvard

1 I use the terms “Hispanic American history” and “Latin American history” as interchangeable because the practitioners of this period did so.

2 Wood Bliss had traveled widely in Latin America and, at the time of the First World War, had worked in the U.S. embassy of Paris delivering food provisions to the needy.


4 See Haring 1927a; and Haring 1927b.

5 See, among others, Haring 1931a; Haring 1931b; Haring 1932; and Haring 1936.

6 "Lecture Notes for Harvard Classes,” Harvard University Archives, Clarence Haring Papers (CHP), HUG 447.616.

7 "Records of Courses Taught,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 447.512.

8 Argentina, his class notes said, “should be especially interesting to us, because in geography, location, topography, products, climate, she presents many analogies with the United States. Since 1860 [she] has pursued somewhat parallel social and economic development; land of immigrants; has [a similar] political constitution; her popular culture now entirely European; has less of indigenous elements than that of any other Latin American country except Uruguay.” History 176, “Lecture Notes for Harvard Classes,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 447.616.

9 “The political conditions described are accounted for in these countries in part by their colonial inheritance; but in part they were due to circumstances of geography and race.” Haring 1934, 17.

10 “Lecture Notes of Courses Given at Bryn Mawr and Yale,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.515.

12 Haring’s comparative perspective anticipated the comparative transnational histories now in fashion. See Elliott 2006; and Burbank and Cooper 2010.

13 The sociologist Edward Ross articulated the same type of criticism about the introduction of “feudality” in the Andes, a process that he attributed to Spanish colonialism. See chapter 8 in this volume.

14 Keeping a system of fixed ports, annual fleets, and a list of prohibited goods only to sustain the flow of American silver to the royal exchequer was a “stupendous blunder” based on an erroneous reading of the international system. Haring 1918, 153.


16 History 174, Course Notes, Spring 1934, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.516.

17 “Pan Americanism,” address by Prof. Haring, delivered at the lecture hall of the Boston Public Library, 31 January 1928, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.520.


19 See Sheinin 2000a.

20 Recent studies on “anti-Americanism” have tended to overlook this early concern with mapping anti-American reactions in South America. See McPherson 2003.

21 “Latin American Round Table,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.508.

22 “Latin American Round Table,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.508.

23 Turlington, author of Mexico and Its Foreign Creditors (1930), was an expert in claims made by U.S. creditors to Latin America. Alfaro was also a historian and an expert in international law, noted for his interventions in favor of Pan-Americanism.


25 These workshops were comparable to those Leo S. Rowe put together at Williamstown, Mass.

26 Frank’s embrace of an idealized version of the “Hispanic mindset” could only bring confusion to discussions about the “real” economic, political, and foreign-policy issues. Haring to Charles Maphis, Cambridge, 5 March 1932, CHP, HUG 447.508.

27 Haring was the key advisor and the organizer of these round tables. The director of the institute, Charles Maphis, had the program checked by state institutions.

28 “Confidently,” Haring answered Rivera, then the executive director of the review, “I may say that I believe the Academy to be the project of a small group of third-rate scholars who would use this way of assuring to themselves a position of importance in the fraternity and election to the board of the Review. . . . I feel confident that the proposal will be turned down in Philadelphia. Should it be accepted it will destroy the unity of the Latin American group.” Haring to Rivera,
Cambridge, 13 December 1937, CHP, HUG 4447.508, Correspondence and Papers to 1940.

29 The CFR received other reports from Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Scroggs to Haring, New York, 2 March 1932, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

30 Haring to Van Deusen, Cambridge, 9 January 1933, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

31 Van Deusen to Haring, 14 February 1933, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

32 Van Deusen to Haring, Grace Liner “Santa Bárbara,” 14 February 1933, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

33 Van Deusen to Haring, Santiago, 7 May 1932, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

34 Chirgwin to Haring, Valparaíso, 6 May 1933, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

35 Haring to Van Deusen, Cambridge, 29 April 1932, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.509.

36 The book condenses the Lowell lectures Haring delivered at Boston the year before.

37 Notice the similarity with Bowman’s characterization of Peru’s fragmented political community.

38 Haring considered Roca’s defeat and removal of southern Indian tribes (1879) as a precondition for the settlement of the Argentine prairies. Haring 1934, 47.

39 Haring mentioned the revolts of Rio de Janeiro in 1922 and São Paulo in 1924.

40 Haring talked of six years of dictatorships and recurrent revolutions. The 1932 elections seemed to mark a “return to normal political procedure.” Haring 1933.

41 “Our Relations with Countries of South America,” Loomis School Lecture, 25 February 1944, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.520, box L-W.

42 Curiously, this was the verdict passed by the sociologist Edward Ross.

43 See Stein and Stein 1970.

44 “So in actual practice of government, these new nations were soon torn apart by internal dissension, private ambition, intolerance, mutual jealousies.” “Our Relations with Countries of South America,” Loomis School Lecture, 25 February 1944, Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.520, box L-W.

45 Haring 1934, 220–21. See also Haring 1944.

6. Intellectual Cooperation

1 There is no extensive biography of Leo S. Rowe. Eulogies by Sumner Welles (1947), E. M. Patterson (1947), and Roscoe Hill (1947) provide useful information about his career. For insights about his contributions to Pan-Americanism, see Castle 2000. Axel A. Schäfer (2000) places Rowe among progressives because of his early association with German social reform and for being a disciple of economist Simon N. Patten.

Notes
Having earned a doctorate at the University of Halle, Rowe returned to the United States as a lecturer at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania (1894). He received a law degree and entered the bar in 1896.

The lectures were later translated and published in Spanish as Problemas Americanos (1915).

For the meaning of “Constructive Pan-Americanism,” see Leo S. Rowe, “The Essentials of Pan Americanism,” lecture ca. 1924, University of Pennsylvania, Leo S. Rowe Papers, box 1.

See chap. 2 in this volume.

Courtney Johnson (2009) refers to these studies as “imperial understanding.”

See Leo S. Rowe 1902b; and Leo S. Rowe 1902c.

For the U.S. construction of a “legal imperialism,” see Gardner 1980. See also Scarfi 2014.

Two questions appeared as most relevant in this regard. One was the fact that the modus operandi of empire preserved certain individual and civil rights. The other was the divergence of opinion within the Supreme Court, which put in doubt some basic constitutional principles “at home.” Leo S. Rowe 1901.

The judges offered quite distinct interpretations of the conditions for incorporation into the union, of the difference between a state and a territory, and of the situations under which colonial authorities were bound by the U.S. Constitution.

Amy Kaplan has argued that this case constituted a pivotal moment in U.S. culture, for the “insular cases” forced the legal community to debate the very nature and limits of the nation. Kaplan 2002, 1–12. See also Burnett and Marshall 2001.

Judge Taft, chairman of the commission, fostered a rapid transition to civil rule and self-government.

Rowe also examined the racial following of each political party. While the Partido Federal appealed to the most conservative elements of the white elite, the Partido Republicano appealed to poor whites and blacks. See Meléndez 1993, 45.

As in the colonial cabildos, the mayor presided over the town meeting, his vote counting double in case of a tie.

“Mr. Rowe. sus impresiones,” La Nación, 19 October 1906; “El Doctor Rowe en Santa Fé,” Nuevo Día, 20 October 1906; and “La visita de Mr. Rowe,” La Tribuna, 18 October 1906.

“En la Universidad de La Plata: La recepción del Dr. Rowe,” La Prensa (Buenos Aires), 4 November 1906. Emphasis added.

“Rowe en Lima,” El Comercio (Lima), 5 September 1907.

The modern university was, after all, a leveling instrument. “El Profesor Leo S. Rowe: Altamente honrado por la Universidad Nacional de Chile,” La Prensa (Buenos Aires), 12 December 1907.

Rowe praised the improvements in education made by Argentina, but was disappointed to learn that the country’s educational system was based on French models. Leo S. Rowe 1910b.

“Rowe Peru’s Guest,” Press (Philadelphia), 1 September 1908.
During his return to the United States, Rowe stopped in Panama for a week, to ponder the wonders of the Panama Canal, still under construction. “Impressed by Canal Progress,” *North American*, 8 February 1909.


Theodore Roosevelt to Rowe, December 1907, Leo S. Rowe Papers, ms-1, box 8, press clippings.

A first text with these ideas, titled “An Educational Exchange between North and South America,” was published in the *Outlook* on 18 July 1908.

Two years earlier Rowe had presented a similar argument, criticizing both U.S. isolationism and the U.S. superiority complex. Leo S. Rowe 1907b.

On Barrett’s notion of Pan-Americanism, see Prisco 1973; and Salvatore 2002.

“With a broad and statesmanlike view, Germany has been ever ready to furnish South America with scientists for her universities, with teachers for her schools, with specialists in administrative, technical, and sanitary problems; and she is now reaping the benefit of his far-seeing plan. In a word, German culture has come into organic touch with the life of these nations.” Leo S. Rowe 1909, 592.

See Hirschman 1997 [1977].

Leo S. Rowe, “Nuevos rumbos de la democracia,” lectures delivered at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1914, Leo S. Rowe Papers, box 23. Later published as *Problemas Americanos* (1915).

Oscar Terán (2000) examines the climate of ideas of this period, focusing on the tensions between a “scientific” and a “humanistic-aesthetic” culture.

The elite exhibited pride in the accomplishments of progress and concern for the urban and social problems associated with modernization. A powerful anarchist movement had taken control of important labor unions and threatened to disturb the social peace. Solberg 1969.

An “ignorant democracy,” Rowe said, is a “falsified democracy.” Here the Argentine audience must have nodded, associating Rowe’s words with President Domingo F. Sarmiento’s program of elementary education for good citizenship.

Clearly, some of Rowe’s elite connections in Argentina—Rodolfo Rivarola, Estanislao Zeballos, Emilio Frers, and José N. Matienzo—were not ardent defenders of a democratic society; they defended instead an instrumental notion of republican government. See Salvatore 2007b.

Natalio Botana and Ezequiel Gallo (1997) call this conception, following Alberdi, “la República Posible.”

For a discussion of the progressive movement, see Filene 1970. The goals of this movement are discussed in De Witt 1968 [1915]. Historians have noted how the passage from populism to progressivism entailed a transition from farmers’ mobilization politics to a politics of reform informed by experts. See Goodwyn 1978.

Rowe was present when in 1896 Henry Carter Adams delivered his presidential speech to the American Economic Association challenging the notion of competitive capitalism. Livingston 1994, 173–74.
In 1914 Rowe did fundraising for the Tuskegee Institute, directed by Booker T. Washington.


The problem of a centralized government functioning under the mask of a federalist system had been already raised by Rodolfo Rivarola in *Del régimen federativo al unitario* (1908) and by José Nicolás Matienzo in *El gobierno representativo federal en la República Argentina* (1917 [1910]). Rivarola and Matienzo were Rowe's key “native informants.”

Rowe stayed six months in 1906–1907, four months in 1908, and five months in 1914.

As Rowe confided, he was a privileged witness to some of these interventions. Leo S. Rowe 1921b, 76.

The Argentine Constitution of 1853 was so similar to that of the United States that in the 1860 convention the delegates discussed whether a “perfect system” (the U.S. Constitution) could be improved.

For a good summary of Rivarola’s and Matienzo’s arguments about the nature of Argentine federalism, see Chiaramonte and Buchbinder 1992.

Rowe borrowed heavily from Ernesto Quesada’s *La época de Rosas* (1898). On the importance of “cabildos” and on the people’s preference for federalism, he relied on Francisco Ramos Mejía’s *El federalismo argentino* (1889), reedited in 1915.

For a recent history of the cultural division during the Second World War, see Sadlier 2012.

Due to his extensive travels in the region, his personal relationships with influential men, and his commitment to Pan-American conferences, Rowe was the U.S. American with the greatest number of personal friends in Latin America. Welles 1947.

Among his most important interventions in the foreign-policy debate are his essays: “The Danger of National Isolation” (1907); “Our Interest in a United America” (1909); “The Need for a Constructive American Foreign Policy” (1914); “The Development of Cultural Ties between the Republics of America through the Interchange of Professors and Students” (1917); “The Development of a Democracy on the American Continent” (1922); and “The Mission of the Americas in World Affairs” (1942).

The Tacna-Arica dispute involved a territorial conflict between Chile and Peru resulting from the War of the Pacific.

For Rowe's lifetime commitment to the cause of inter-American cooperation, the governing board of the PAU granted him in 1947 the title “Citizen of America.” Doyle 1945.

Most notable among them were the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Social Science Research Council, the PAU, and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

7. Geographic Conquest

In addition to Bowman, other noted geographers worked in the region during this period, including Mark Jefferson, Robert S. Platt, Clarence F. Jones, Carl Sauer, and Preston James.

As chairman of the American Geographical Society, Bowman promoted geography as a useful science devoted to the study of the interaction between the physical environment and human societies. Bowman’s ideas about the mission of geography were influenced by William Morris Davis, his teacher at Harvard.

Bowman’s successful career is narrated in Geoffrey Martin’s The Life and Thought of Isaiah Bowman (1980) and Neil Smith’s American Empire (2003). See also Ogilvie 1950; Wrigley 1951; and Martin 1986.

See discussion in chap. 2 in this volume.

This discourse was articulated by John Barrett and other business prospectors between 1900 and 1915. See Salvatore 2002.

Bowman’s first essay denouncing slavery in the Peruvian forests dates from 1912. A few years later, Edward A. Ross published similar conclusions in South of Panama (1915).

In Bowman’s view Brazil was the “United States of South America.” Bowman 1915, 200.

The Chileans were an “energetic race,” the “Yankees of South America,” but lacked crucial resources to become an industrial nation. The Argentines, though entrepreneurial, did not possess sufficient capital and cheap energy. And the Uruguayans had allocated most of their land to raising livestock.

Even the apparently barren lands of the Bolivian highlands were quite productive, contributing wool, textiles, potatoes, and forage to domestic markets.

Bowman extended this accomplishment to mestizo farmers and herdsmen working on the fringes of the Spanish empire. Bowman 1915, 3–4.

In Tierra del Fuego, white settlers displaced the Onas and hunted almost to extinction the guanaco, the Onas’ main source of food and clothing.

Bowman wrote of the shepherds that they “[led] a careless, free, out-of-door life with much privation from winter storms, snows, and cold, with plain fare, rough speech, a cheerful hospitality, and a certain frankness not always found in the manners of people who dwell in cities.” Bowman 1915, 20.

Bowman paid particular attention to the story of the settlement of Colonia 16 de Octubre, where a group of two hundred Welsh colonists had departed from Puerto Madryn, traveled west toward the Andes, and established a pioneer settlement where they raised cattle and sheep. Ibid., 34.

South American “pioneer fringes” were “stationary” rather than mobile.

South American “pioneer fringes” were “stationary” rather than mobile.

Like U.S. presidents, Inca rulers traveled to the different corners of their empire to show their governed populations interest in their welfare. Bowman 1915, 170–72.

Notes
Physiography, also known as physical geography, is the study of the natural environment.

See, for instance, Demas 1965. The idea that foreign railroads had contributed to the disintegration of the national economies was prevalent in dependency theory. See Frank et al. 1969.

Because of this, populations in the highlands and along the coast had to import flour from the United States.


Near Antabamba, walking along an Indian trail seventeen thousand feet high, Bowman found “rosy-cheeked and fat children” sharing their mountain refuge with sheep and alpacas. Bowman 1916a, 52.

Rubber was an indispensable material for making automobile tires, raincoats, shoes, conveyor belts, and sporting goods.

Yet Bowman’s article failed to make any reference to these massacres. See Jordan Goodman 2009.

For fifty cents a day, the companies were able to secure labor for road-building and rubber-picking for a period of eight to ten months. Bowman 1916a, 32.

Their nomadic life had made them a “self-reliant, proud, and independent” people. Ibid., 29–31.

“When a man obtains a rubber concession from the government he buys a kingdom.” Ibid., 25–26.

“The peonage system continues by reason of that extraordinary difficulty in the development of the tropical lowland of South America—the lack of a labor supply.” Ibid., 26.

Denounced by Roger Casement, the case of the Putumayo atrocities attained notoriety between 1910 and 1913. See Jordan Goodman 2009.

In 1911, a flood had affected the whole region, interrupting all communications between Tacna and Arica. Bowman 1924, 42–44.

Over time, the area supplying the nitrate region extended into central Chile and Argentina. Ibid., 76–78.

The port of Antofagasta, shipping copper and silver, came to replace Iquique as the center of export growth. Ibid., 80–81.

Bowman wrote, “The frontier communities are immeasurably isolated and provincial, in-growing, self-governing, substantial, rooted to the soil, permanently related to natural conditions—in short, established.” Ibid., 110.

U.S. corporations, Bowman predicted, would in time displace existing British and Chilean small mining companies. Ibid., 182.

See Bowman 1932a; and Bowman 1932b. Bowman presented this project on world “pioneer settlements” to the December 1931 meeting of the Association of American Geographers at Ypsilanti.
Though timber and hydroelectric resources existed, the dominance of wool production prevented the diversification of the economy.

Bowman wrote, “Here as in the Eastern valleys the long haul to market makes agricultural production unprofitable. Neither the railway nor the motor car has yet overcome the handicap of distance, nor does there appear to be real progress in this direction.” Bowman 1937, 325.

Bowman wrote, “In most of Hispanic America more than three centuries of agricultural history can be written around the exploitation of native labor through the hacienda system.” Ibid., 298.

“Railroads will never connect these towns except as they lie by chance upon the line of some future route between mine and seaport.” Bowman 1916a, 209.

“The policy of the whites,” he wrote, “has been to suppress and exploit the natives, to abuse them, and to break their spirit.” Ibid., 102.

8. Worldly Sociology

While Lester Ward is the acknowledged “father” of sociology in the United States, Albion Small and Edward A. Ross are often presented as runners-up to the title. See Page 1969; and Hertzler 1951. On the contribution of sociologists to the progressive movement, see Weinberg 1972; and Bannister 1987. Recent work revalorizes Ross’s contributions in relation to other great European sociologists. See, for instance, Gross 2003 on the connection between Ross and Simmel.


Ross’s best-known contributions to the field are Social Control (1901), Foundations of Sociology (1905), Social Psychology (1908), and The Principles of Sociology (1920).

Ross’s books containing “sociological portraits” of great regions include The Changing Chinese (1911), South of Panama (1915), Russia in Upheaval (1918), The Russian Bolshevik Revolution (1921), The Social Revolution in Mexico (1923), and Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa (1925).

“Industrial evolution places a rising premium on reflection, and self-control, the foundations of character. More and more it penalizes the childishness and frivolousness of the cheaply-gotten-up, mañana races.” Edward A. Ross 1901a, 83.

See Weinberg 1972, chap. 6; McMahon 1999, chap. 4; and Page 1969, chap. 7. To Howard Horwitz (1998a), Ross’s works appeared to be an example of progressives’ engagement with “moral engineering.” Benjamin Kline Hunnicut (1988) places Ross among authors who favored the reduction of work time and the emergence of a leisure economy.
Specifically, a corps of factory inspectors, sanitary agents, forest rangers, and health officers, assisted by an honest and professional press and by intellectuals committed to the public good, could curb the excesses of mass-production capitalism.

Corporate “managerial mentality” disregarded important social costs, such as the spread of infectious diseases, the exploitation of women and children, and the corruption of city government. Edward A. Ross 1914 [1912], chap. 6.

Ross’s discourse anticipated the rhetoric of leftists in the 1960s and 1970s who considered twentieth-century Latin America to be “feudal.” See Laclau 1972; and Frank 1971. For a critical appraisal, see van Bath 1974.

The subject of miscegenation has been a common feature in U.S. travel writing since the nineteenth century. See Salvatore 1995.

After the procession, Ross met the town’s Indian officials, all wearing their old-time dresses and holding their emblem of office—the vara—as if still living in the colonial past.


“All the productive land of the Ecuador Sierra . . . is owned by absentees, who live in Riobamba, Ambato, or Quito—when they do not live in Paris—and leave their estates—sometimes of vast extent—to be managed by a ‘mayordomo’ of mixed blood.” Ibid., 140.

“For all its stucco front of modernism and liberalism, Peru is feudal at the core. One the great ranches in the plain north of Lake Titicaca one gains a peep hole into the thirteenth century.” Ibid., 152; emphasis added.

“In Argentina agricultural labor is as free as it is with us. . . . This, indeed, is the one society in which I found a visible social capillarity, some laborers rising to be tenants and some tenants becoming land-owners.” Ibid., 161–62.

This thesis was later sustained by James Scobie in Revolution on the Pampas (1967).

To assert this finding, Ross gave voice to local informants: a Quito minister, a Lima sociologist, and a German merchant in Bolivia. Edward A. Ross 1915, 211.

Among them George Clemenceau, once the prime minister of France and now a journalist; Pierre Denis, a French geographer who wrote a well-known treatise on Argentine regions; Adolfo Posada, a Spanish historian, international relations expert, and socialist, in the country on an official mission of intellectual cooperation; and Rafael Altamira, a famous legal historian, also sent by Spain to foster Pan-American relations.

Though leading Argentine, Peruvian, and Chilean scholars agreed on the necessity of university reform, few saw the importance of minor reforms that could build the “collegiate spirit”: the students’ dining hall, competitive sports, and debating societies. Edward A. Ross 1915, 236.

Having personally witnessed the October Revolution, Ross was asked to give many lectures (forty-two in five months) when he returned to the United States. Edward A. Ross 1977 [1934], 168.
The interest of publishers made Ross concentrate on the “Russian problem.” After his successful *Russia in Upheaval* (1918), he wrote two additional books: *The Russian Bolshevik Revolution* (1921) and *The Russian Soviet Republic* (1923).

Ross replicated in Mexico the same pronouncement he had made about Peru eight years earlier: “There is no color line.”

As Ross explains in the preface, the “Outlines” contain the materials of *The Principles of Sociology* (1920), significantly reduced, rearranged, and prepared for class use. Edward A. Ross 1923a.

“From Panama to Magellan, free agricultural labor as we know it does not exist, for peonage binds the rural masses to the owners of the haciendas.” Ibid., 261.

Since the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church had enjoyed the protection of the state. Members of other faiths had to practice their religion in private, subject to the disdain of the Catholic masses. Ibid., 165.

“For example, although the governments of South America are republican, the needs of the common people receive from them but scant consideration.” Ibid., 100.

The Chilean Conservative Party controlled government through the purchase of votes. Ibid., 101.

“The ready resort to revolution in Latin America comes from the inability of the losers of a political contest to reconcile themselves to defeat.” Ibid., 285.

For instance, while the *gente decente* (the white elites) took care to safeguard the chastity of their daughters, no such vigilance was noticed among the cholos or the Indians. Ibid., 382–84.

We find a similar and earlier criticism in Bowman’s geographic panoramas of the southern Andes and the Amazon.

When the Steins published *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (1970), they referred to the failure of independence to transform the economic structures of dependency. For the multiple resonances of this view in Latin American historiography, see Adelman 1999.

Ross did comment on the Philippines, saying that the U.S. occupation had had a civilizing influence. Edward A. Ross 1923a, 279.

### 9. U.S. Scholars and the Question of Empire

1 Bingham mentioned in passing the recent Putumayo massacres to validate the view that in nations devoid of state controls, extreme human rights violations were possible. Hiram Bingham 1913c, 331.

2 When in 1866 Chile requested U.S. assistance in its conflict with Spain, the U.S. secretary of state refused to take a position. It was not until 1895 that an international conflict in Venezuela forced the United States to intervene.

3 Bingham’s anti-imperialist essay was written in response to an invitation from the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly* after they read his book *Across South America* (1911).

4 Not everywhere in Argentina. In Tucumán, in the Argentine northwest, Ross found low wages and oppressive living conditions. The peons of sugarcane fields
reminded him of the wretched condition of “the Louisiana Nigger.” Edward A. Ross 1915, 162.

5 As Diana Scifres argues, Ross’s concerns about foreign policy were simple extrapolations of domestic issues. Scifres 1964.

6 See, in particular, Edward A. Ross 1914 [1912], chaps. 6 and 7.

7 Leo S. Rowe, “Attitude of Latin American Peoples towards the U.S.,” lecture delivered 21 February 1911, University of Pennsylvania, Leo S. Rowe Papers, box 1.

8 Total U.S. investment in South America had increased from $170 million in 1912 to near $1,230 million in 1924. Haring 1928, 82.

9 As it emerges clearly from Drake 1989, the smaller countries were more responsive to the advice of the U.S. economist Edwin Kemmerer in matters of financial reform.

10 “With more than a dozen branches of American banks established in South America, American steamship lines to both coasts, and an efficient cable service, they are no longer at the mercy of their European rivals.” Haring 1928, 87.

11 Haring wrote, “For every ‘crisis’ in the diplomatic relations between the latter country [Mexico] and the United States there are socialist meetings, protests and broadsides in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Santiago.” Ibid., 91.

12 Haring wrote, “Likewise in South America there should be no extension of governmental responsibility to private or public lands, or the sort of semi-political, semi-financial engagements we have been drawn into in some of the Caribbean states.” Ibid., 98.

13 The guidelines had already been drafted by Arthur N. Young, a functionary of the State Department, in 1925.

14 Along with this new code for U.S. businesses in South America, some revisions of U.S. protectionist tariffs and a better effort to explain U.S. national interests in the Caribbean could begin to undo the widespread distrust and apprehension of South Americans.

15 For a discussion of Wilson’s global vision, see Levin 1968. Its repercussions in the colonial world are examined in Manela 2007. The Wilsonian view of the hemisphere is examined in Gilderhus 1986.

16 Bowman spelled out this new vision in The New World (1921).

17 Emily S. Rosenberg calls this ideology “liberal developmentalism.” Rosenberg 1982.

18 Even against demands for self-rule from its white settler minorities, Britain retained tutorship over its colonies in Africa and New Zealand. At the root of this stubborn tutorial role was a moral obligation to defend the rights and welfare of native Africans and Maoris from artful white settlers. Hyam 1999.

19 Here Bowman anticipated one of the key claims of dependency theory: “The pack mule, the trail, the simple exchange of goods at weekly, monthly or annual fairs, the dependence on foreign capital, foreign reduction-plants, and foreign demand and consumption of mineral and other raw materials, were the enduring marks of a primitive economy whose control lay outside Latin America.” Bowman 1948, 137.
“Lecture Notes of Courses Given at Bryn Mawr and Yale,” Harvard University Archives, Clarence Haring Papers (CHP), HUG 4447.575.

21 “British rule has also given India the material benefits that American rule has given to Porto Rico or Philippines: government roads, cheap postal services, well-planned railways, gigantic systems of irrigation to transform deserts into farmlands, beginning of a system of popular education . . . , etc.” “Lecture Notes of Courses Given at Bryn Mawr and Yale,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.515.

22 “Lecture Notes of Courses Given at Bryn Mawr and Yale,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.515.

23 “Lecture Notes of Courses Given at Bryn Mawr and Yale,” Harvard University Archives, CHP, HUG 4447.515.

24 This opinion was clearly part of the discussions on South American attitudes and the state of Pan-Americanism Haring included in South America Looks at the United States (1928), then in preparation.


28 For a complete definition of Rowe’s views on “constructive Pan-Americanism,” see Leo S. Rowe 1914b.

29 Rowe’s proposal for the mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile is more clearly stated in his article “The Scope and Limits of Our Obligations toward Mexico” (1914).

30 Rowe never recanted his prior positions about the right of the United States to intervene in the Circum-Caribbean. He only thought that, in the effort to court the South American republics, these military interventions in the Caribbean and in Central America had become too costly in terms of inter-American reputation and goodwill.

Conclusion

1 The account of Manco’s retreat is reproduced in Hiram Bingham 1922, chap. 9.

2 On the concept of “coloniality,” see Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui 2008. See also my criticism of this approach, in Salvatore 2010b.

3 Haring condensed these arguments in Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs (1918) and, much later, in The Spanish Empire in America (1947).


5 See, in particular, Bowman 1916a; and Bowman 1924.

6 Other contemporary scholars were quite critical of U.S. direct investment in Latin America. See Rippy 1931; and Inman 1942, chap. 9 and 13.

7 See Haring 1941.

8 Going against the grain of contemporary revisionist attacks against the Black Legend, Haring insisted that Spanish colonialism had destructive effects on the life and culture of indigenous peoples. See Haring 1947, chap. 3, esp. 60–67.
For a more extensive discussion, see chapter 8 of this volume.

Bowman quoted J. B. Ambrosetti and Gunardo Lange from Argentina, as well as a report by the Chilean physician Ricardo Dávila.

Among others, Bowman cited Eric Boman, Walther Penck, Clements R. Markham, G. M. Wrigley, Kirtley F. Mather, George E. Church, Johann J. von Tshudi, Wilfred B. Grubb, and Rodolfo A. Phillippi Banados. In addition, he read Barros Arana’s account of the War of the Pacific in its French version, as well as older travel narratives, including Allan R. Holmberg’s narrative of travel to the Andes and Alejandro Bertrand’s narrative of travel to the Atacama Desert.

Haring cited six major secondary works as important support to his research; four of them were published in Paris, two in New York.

Haring mentioned Diego Barros Arana’s Historia general de Chile, José Milla et al’s Historia de América Central, José Toribio Medina’s Historia de la Inquisición en Chile, and Eduardo Madero’s Historia del puerto de Buenos Aires. All were works of the mid- to late nineteenth century.

Haring also praised the work of the Argentine historians Ricardo Levene and Torre Revello.

Haring cited, among others, Silvio Zavala, Francisco Yanes, José Torre Revello, Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Ricardo Levene, Manuel Orozco y Berra, Gil Fortuol, Francisco Encina, and José Milla—that is, an assortment of the leading colonial historians of Peru, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, and Central America.

I am referring here to Alexander Gerschenkron’s theory of the advantage of economic backwardness, in Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective (1962).

Ross’s book South of Panama was used in book-reading clubs and cited by economic geographers, sociologists, historians, and commentators of the west coast nations, but did not win the acclaim of his other popular books on social trends.