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GLICKMAN

PERSPECTIVES

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ROBERT JAY GLICKMAN

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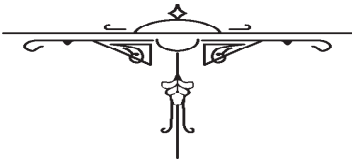
CANADIAN ACADEMY OF THE ARTS

Robert Jay Glickman

Perspectives



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To Ruth,

Flower of Womanhood

Foreword

The essays in this book deal with a variety of subjects in different fields and reflect my long-standing interest in transdisciplinary research. This interest began during my bachelor's studies at Brooklyn College, guided me in my coursework for the master's degree at Brown University, directed me throughout my doctoral research at UCLA, and persisted during my military service and academic career. As you will see in the pages that follow, it is still strong today, and has led me to explore such issues as the characteristics of contemporary society in North America, the ubiquity of fashion through the ages, the nature of the research commitment in our universities, the manner in which knowledge is transferred and terminology is modified despite efforts to effect standardization, and the existence of globalization in times past as well as in the present.

Although the subjects are varied, they all have one theme in common: to a greater or lesser extent, people and events are all governed by their environment. The environment to which I refer is at once intellectual, economic, social, and political.

On Life Today[1]

In 1924, Thomas Mann[2] published *The Magic Mountain*, one of the most influential books of the twentieth century. The following was among the many unforgettable assertions that bejewel that book: "A man lives not only his personal life, as an individual, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his epoch and his contemporaries."

With this in mind, I'm going to write about things and situations that characterize life here today. All of them are well-known to you. What you may not have thought about, however, is how they're connected and how they affect you.

Novelty

A ceaseless rush of novelty is a fact of life today. We're relentlessly besieged by new products, new concepts, new fashions, new turns of phrase—so much new all the time, that the effort to keep current with the world around us raises tension and takes our breath away. Just to learn the latest lingo; just to keep in touch with advances in science, business, and the arts; just to stay abreast of changes in style and satisfy the needs that marketers have created in us; just to keep up with the news—news that's always "breaking"—all of this is a daily marathon that we run. So much to see, so much to learn, so much to do. So much, so fast!

Speed

Today, we're all exposed to an extremely high degree of velocity. We try to make life easier in many ways. We do so, for example, by using the speed-dial feature on our phone instead of inputting each number separately, by signing up for hi-speed Internet service, by picking up some fast food at MacDonald's, by subscribing to Netflix to see a movie instantly.

Speed is constantly with us. Merchants incessantly machine-gun their ads to us on the telephone, radio, TV, and Internet. Family, friends, and spammers persistently ring us, text us, e-mail, and tweet us. The world is full of movement, an endless pulse of sight and sound—and it beckons us to absorb its penetrating rhythm and move in concert with it. As the commercial says, "Life doesn't wait. Why should you?" If you want twice as much of that product, "Call in the next two minutes." And if you want to play the game, you've got "A Minute to Win It." In his insightful book *Consumed*—a detailed discussion of marketing and its effects on society—Benjamin Barber states that "Speed [meaning velocity] is a drug like any other that must be taken in ever higher doses just to maintain its hold over the psyche."[3] Anything that slows the rhythm leads to frustration.

Frustration

As you know, one of the most frustrating things we face every day is waiting. Sometimes the waiting is relatively short. For example, seeing that six people are ahead of us in the checkout line at the supermarket. A little worse, of course is trying to connect by phone with the right person in the right department of a large corporation—especially when we have

to speak to those automated operator systems that treat anglophones as though they were native speakers of some unknown language. But waiting for Auntie Lily to happily tell us that the present we mailed for her birthday finally arrived, well, that's another story.

Other causes of frustration are the instructions provided by manufacturers of tech products and medicines in a font so small that, in order to read them, we have to search for a high-powered magnifying glass.

Miniaturization

Well, as far as small is concerned . . . get used to it! Miniaturization is a fact of life nowadays. We've observed a trend toward downsizing for several decades already. In the corporate world, not only have the organizational structure and the number of employees been reduced, but there has also been a contraction of corporate names into diminutive acronymic clusters: Kentucky Fried Chicken has morphed into KFC, Standard & Poor's into S&P, Dun and Bradstreet into D&B.

We've seen a similar trend in communications. In the realm of computer hardware, huge mainframes have been successively replaced by desktops, laptops, tablets, and smart phones. And imagine: those 32 gigabytes of data you generated can now be stored on a miniscule 2-inch memory stick.

Small has also affected radio, television, and Internet transmission where Broadcasters have now added two new strategies: *narrowcasting* to specific audience groups and *egocasting* to the individual.

And, as you know, small is also a dynamic area of interest in

science, where fields such as genomics and nanotechnology[4] are daily becoming more and more attractive to the research community.

We've also discerned a trend toward miniaturization in women's clothing, where the full-body fashions of yesteryear have been replaced by peep-show tops, hip-hugging minis, and, in the realm of what used to be called unmentionables, the thong.

And we've witnessed a concomitant compression of military assemblages: large armies have been supplanted first by compact fighting units, then by tight bodies of special ops, and, among our fiercest enemies, by individual suicide bombers and IEDs—each of which, progressively, has had the advantage of giving more bang for the buck.

As seen in the worlds of business, communications, science, fashion, and the military, miniaturization has forcefully intruded into the lives of us all.[5] The pressure is felt everywhere.

Pressure

In view of all this pressure—all this stress—we've got to find ways to make life easier on ourselves. There are various ways to do this. For example, let's not waste time discussing business issues in person or on the phone: let's use e-mail—or better still, let's tweet. Let's not squander our energy in the kitchen: let's buy a prepared meal. Let's not devote all that time to the kids: let's outsource the job to a nanny. And teachers, let's not waste time correcting essay questions: let the Teaching Assistant do it—or even better, let's switch to short-answer questions: they're quicker and easier to grade.

And students, when dressing, instead of expending energy tucking in your shirt or blouse, just let it all hang out. That'll give you more time to text your friends, play computer games, and surf the Web.

Clearly, these are rather passive ways to relieve the pressure. However, instead of this, with great concern for privacy, you can post your confidential problems on your blog or on Facebook. Or you can go to some really private place like a shopping mall and reveal them to a friend on your cell phone. Of course, if privacy is not your concern, you can express your gripes on a TV or radio "Talk Back" show. And, imbued with faith in your "freedom of choice," if these tactics don't suffice, you can divulge your concerns to Dr. Phil, Dr. Oz, Judge Judy, or—in case your anxieties are really appalling—to Jerry Springer.[6]

Violence

Just mentioning Jerry Springer brings up the subject of violence. Violence is a fact of life today. Among other things, it also helps us relieve our tensions. To enjoy violence passively, you can go to the movies, look at videos, watch Wrestlemania on TV, or join the kids on Xbox playing "Gears of War."

Now if you want to be active about it, there's always a game of hockey with the boys. But, to tell the truth, even more satisfying is to slap your boss in the head as you tell him "You could've had a V8."

Competition

That last gambit might work if your job is very, very secure. But if not, just hold on a bit. Remember, competition is the order

of the day. It's everywhere. Take television, for example. Here are a few of the many programs that illustrate the point:

- "Dancing With The Stars"
- "American Idol"
- "Canada's Next Top Model"
- "The Next Iron Chef"
- "The Biggest Loser" (for those trying to lose the most weight quickest)
- And just to be sure that the next generation becomes attuned to this reality early in their life, the program "Toddlers & Tiaras" will teach the kids the meaning of competition

All of these programs expose an individual or a group to assessment by one or more judges. The judges' task is to appraise each competitor in turn until a winner is chosen. At each step in the evaluation process, the flaws of each competitor are revealed to a national or international audience—an audience which, in certain cases, participates in the voting. The losers are many. The humiliation is great.

It seems like we're being inspected, scrutinized, examined, and assessed, all the time. Imagine: even when we go to a website like "eHarmony" to find a mate, someone's checking us out to see if we meet their criteria.

Those who search for employment know the feelings that competition can generate. Lots of contenders. Judges at every step. Very few jobs. Back to "frustration" again!

Love

Despite all this, we're told that love is the overriding value. Love is everywhere. There are songs of love, tales of love, greet-

ing cards with words of love, an Astrologer of Love, and even Doctor Love with his Love Calculator that helps you "calculate the probability of a successful relationship . . . ."[7]

But wait. There's more! In the rare possibility that you have no friend or special person to love, all is not lost. You can love yourself. No shame in that. It's the trend of the times. And to assist you in this endeavor, you can avail yourself of any number of strategies that will enhance your attractiveness.

For example, if you're a woman, a plethora of dyes and sprays and mousses capable of improving the color, texture, and strength of your locks is available to you. And if you're a man whose pate is follicly challenged, you can restore your erstwhile shagginess by means of a variety of re-seeding procedures.

Plastic surgery is also available. With it, you can improve the line of your nose, chin, cheeks, and jaw and even re-establish the tender radiance of your youth.

And to set your internal being straight, you can also count on the pharmaceutical industry to free you of all your aches and pains, digestive ills, and private dysfunctions.

Well, that's great . . . but to really love yourself, you must get your personal tattoo and don the garments that fashion designers and marketers have made you love. For example, since wars are still going on, you can deck yourself out in military style. You've got plenty of choices: T-shirts, blouses, vests, field jackets, boonies, boots, and accessories like epaulets, buttons, and badges. And so, having taken all these steps, you can gaze upon your image and exult in your allure.

With this, you've achieved a double goal. The first is taking your rightful place in the generation of today—the *me* genera-

tion. And who better to love than *me*!

Your second achievement is to have found joy. And so imbued, you perform those ungoverned, convulsive gyrations like the ones shown constantly on the TV and computer screen. You now belong!

And as a *me* protected by love and joy, you can face the harsh reality that surrounds you. That reality is one of constant change. Of alteration. Of variance. Of modification. Of transformation.

Notes

1 This is a modified version of the initial paragraphs of my article "Acquisition of Innovation in a Time of Rapid Change: Some Observations," published in vol. 13, no. 4 (Autumn 2013), pp. 66-70 of the *Canadian Military Journal*.

2 Thomas Mann (1875-1955) was a German novelist, short story writer, social critic, philanthropist, and essayist who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1929. In the 1930s, he attacked the concepts of National Socialism and the practices of its supporters. After Hitler came to power, Mann took refuge in the United States. Among his greatest works were the novels *Buddenbrooks* (1901) and *The Magic Mountain* (1924).

3 Benjamin R. Barber (1939-) is a renowned U.S. author who has advised political leaders in the United States and abroad. He is especially noted for his *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1995) and *Consumed: How Markets Corrupt Children, Infantilize Adults, and Swallow Citizens Whole*. The latter book (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008, p. 98) portrays a global economy that no longer aims to manufacture goods, but primarily to manufacture needs.

4 Nanotechnology is used for many purposes, among them to decrease the visibility of potential military targets through the design of specially made fabrics. These fabrics, called meta-materials, "interact with light to produce what's known as a negative index of refraction." Such fabrics decrease visibility by bending light around objects. (Bruce Barcott, "Invisible, Inc.," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2011, p. 84.)

5 Life is never without exceptions. So let's keep in mind the upsurge in the production of SUVs, the mammoth portions of food that are served in our restaurants, and the individuals who satisfy their cravings by purchasing both.

6 Gerald Norman "Jerry" Springer (1944-) is host of the rough-and-tumble TV program "The Jerry Springer Show" which made its debut in 1991 and, as of this writing, is still popular among a large segment of the American public. Springer received a B.A. with a major in political science from Tulane University (1965) and a doctorate in jurisprudence from Northwestern University (1968). He is a former mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio.

7 See <http://www. lovecalculator.com>.

On Fashion

If you were to hear the word *fashion*, you'd probably think of currently popular styles of apparel, coiffure, and jewelry. Well, most people would do the same. In point of fact, the word *fashion* came into use in this sense during the last quarter of the 18th century when the Industrial Revolution was taking place. At that time, "fashion plates" were printed in publications such as *The Lady's Magazine*, a London monthly (1770-1837), and *La Galerie des modes et costumes français* of Paris (1778) to graphically show how textiles could be *fashioned*—i.e., shaped or made—into attractive clothing.[1]

In the early part of the 19th century, George Bryan "Beau" Brummell established a mode of dress for men that stressed perfectly fitted tailored clothing, with immaculate shirt linen, an elaborately knotted cravat, and trousers instead of knee breeches and stockings. Brummell's influence was so great that he himself served as a "fashion plate" for men in upper echelons of society at the time.[2] Subsequently, it became common to speak of *fashion* as a way of dressing, and *fashionable* not as "capable of being fashioned," but as "conforming to the current mode."

In the middle of the 20th century the meaning of the term expanded enormously, when Alfred H. Daniels declared that "Fashion is important because it is in almost everything."[3] Then, in 1969, Herbert Blumer of the University of California at

Berkeley asserted that fashion:

> is easily observable in the realm of the pure and applied arts, such as painting, sculpture, music, drama, architecture, dancing, and household decoration . . . entertainment and amusement . . . medicine . . . business management . . . mortuary practice . . . literature . . . the history of modern philosophy . . . political doctrine . . . [and] it is unquestionably at work in the field of science.[4]

Well, what is the nature of fashion? It seems that everyone who approaches the subject has a different idea of what it is. Here are a few examples:

- "'fashion' means clothing generally and the study of it."
- "a personal statement rather than a cultural expression . . . ."
- "a prevailing mode of expression . . . ."
- "a series of recurring changes in the choices of a group of people which, though they may be accompanied by utility, are not determined by it."

These examples display some of the basic ideas that are held about fashion. The first idea—the one that limits the concept of fashion to clothing—is clearly in conflict with the views of Daniels and Blumer, who contend that fashion is in virtually everything.

The second idea raises the issue of disparity: a difference between the personal and the cultural, and opts for the personal rather than anything that emanates from cultural factors.

The third idea broadens the picture considerably by indicating that fashion exists in time ("prevailing"), has distinguishing characteristics ("mode"), and is an emanation ("expression") from something.

The fourth idea adds significantly to this concept by stipulating that fashion is sequential, changeable, repetitive, and the product of human action ("choices of a group of people").

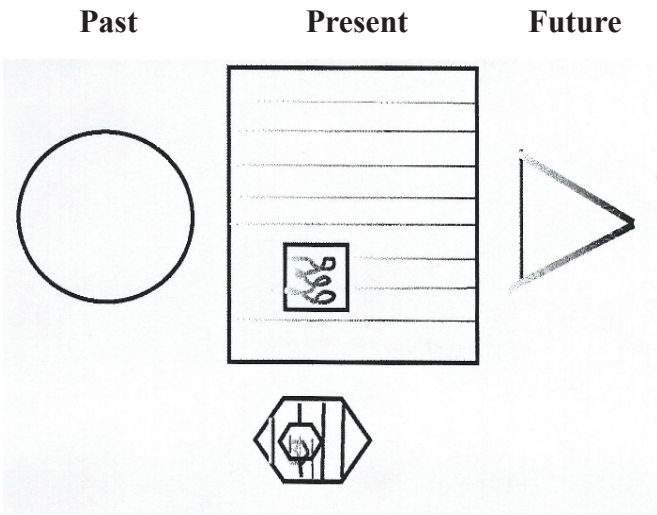
What is not mentioned in the above discussion is that fashion is essentially dualistic in nature in the sense that the choices that are made reveal a desire to belong to a group as well as a craving to be seen as an individual.

My personal definition of *fashion* is:

> A force in society that leads to the currency of an image, idea, process, object, or pattern of physical or lingistic behavior that is introduced by an individual or group, stimulated by conditions at a given time, and subsequently replaced through choice by something different in form or nature.

The diagram on page 20 brings to the fore a lot of information about the nature of fashion.

- The circle at the left designates a fashion that is no longer in vogue.
- The large box in the center represents a current fashion. This is the prevailing expression of the group to which people wish to belong.
- The small box within this represents an individual who adopts the form that is now popular, but who shows personal uniqueness by overlaying a pattern that is different from the one displayed by the form in vogue.
- The polygon at the bottom refers to a group that rejects the current mode and prefers to stand apart from it. Within this group there is also an option for individuality.
- And the triangle at the right suggests that a new mode is in the offing and aims to become popular in the future.



This diagram is a static snapshot of the fashion scene at a given moment. If its components were to come into motion, however, they would reveal the accuracy of Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovations formula: namely, there would be 1) a small set of *innovators* of the new fashion, 2) a slightly larger number of *early adopters*, 3) a still larger group representing the *early majority* who accept the fashion, 4) a considerably larger number corresponding to the *late majority*, and trailing behind, 5) a small set of *laggards* who, for various reasons, are slow to adopt the fashion or who resist it out of hand.[5]

If we accept Rogers' theory, we would have to ask questions such as the following: Who are the *innovators* of the new fashion? What inspires them to introduce something novel? Is their action self-stimulated or are other factors at play which induce them to act the way they do when they do?

Well, let's explore an example. This may surprise you: it's the introduction and evolution of Spain's *novel of chivalry* and *picaresque novel* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This subject is discussed here—a subject quite far from an image that comes to mind when the word *fashion* is mentioned—because proof of its presence in a place and time so far away would help to prove Daniels' assertion that "Fashion is important because it is in almost everything."

Spain's *Novel of Chivalry* and *Picaresque Novel*

When we hear the word "technology," we tend to think of computers, hybrid cars, and travel to the International Space Station. Well, over five and a half centuries ago, an invention appeared in Germany which stunned the world and brought about incredible changes to life everywhere. That invention, which is still esential to all of us today, was Johannes Gutenberg's printing press of 1450.

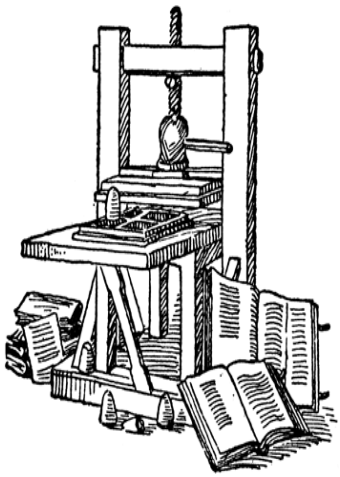
As is the case with technology today, Gutenberg didn't create the whole process alone. Printing was a collaborative venture—not in the sense of a team effort, but of an enterprise in which several groups and individuals contributed to the process over time. Here are some examples:

- **The paper.** During the Middle Ages, *parchment* and *vellum* were used for books. *Parchment* was derived mainly from the skin of goats, sheep, or cows, that was scraped and dried under tension. *Vellum* was made from calfskin. Paper, a much less costly, more easily manufactured

product began to replace parchment and vellum in the 12th century when the first European paper mills were established in Spain. The most common source of paper was pulped cellulose fibers from wood and textiles such as hemp, linen, flax, and cotton. In 1276, the Fabriano paper mill in Italy began making a higher quality paper. Because of its excellence, printers soon preferred Fabriano paper over the Spanish product.

- **The type.** Gutenberg's system depended on the use of a stock of individually movable pieces of lead-based type sorted alphabetically in a letter case in the printshop. Gutenberg's fonts were of the heavy Gothic style typical of the kind found in medieval manuscripts. In 1469, however, Nicolas Jenson, a French printer working in Venice, crafted the font we know as "Roman," and this quickly became the favorite of southern European readers.
- **The ink.** As writing developed from the making of impressions on such materials as clay tablets to the drawing of images on substances like papyrus, it was necessary to make fluids capable of producing the desired graphics on the chosen surfaces. Over the centuries, inks were created from a variety of substances. When the printing press was invented, though, the inks previously used for handwriting failed to adhere to the metal typeface without blurring. Therefore a new liquid had to be concocted for letterpress printing. The mixture that was chosen was an oily, gummy substance derived by mixing soot, turpentine, and walnut oil.[6] Pads stuffed with sheep's wool were used to apply the ink to the type.

- **The press.** Gutenberg did not invent letterpress printing from scratch, but combined several existing devices and processes with his own innovations into one complete system. For example, the machine he employed was a modified version of the screw press that had been used for centuries for crushing grapes and olives. He also introduced a hand-held mould for casting the lead-based letters that were needed for typesetting. And he added a movable undertable to the press, which made it possible to change the printsheets quickly. All of this allowed a single printing press to produce over 3,000 pages in a 12-15 hour workday. An image of Gutenberg's press is shown below.[7]



- **The binding.** It's reported that Arabs were the first to learn how to bind paper into books. Printed sheets were usually folded into two, four, or eight pages and then the folded

sections were gathered together in proper sequence to form a textblock. With the enormous demand for books after the invention of letterpress printing in the 15th century, bookbinding became essential for marketing and distributing the output from the many printshops that sprang up in the Western World.

Functioning with mass-produced moveable metal type, rag paper, and oil-based ink, Gutenberg's press revolutionized communication. According to reliable sources, by 1500, printing presses were operating in 270 European cities and are calculated to have already produced more than twenty million volumes; and although it seems incredible, by 1600, they are estimated to have put out 10 times as many.[8]

Between 1472 and 1499, printing presses were operating in 9 Spanish cities.[9] The main distribution center, however, was the port city of Seville, whose Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), founded in 1503 by Queen Isabella, was established to control all Spanish exploration, colonization, and foreign trade.[10]

In 1500, Jacobo Cromberger, a printer from Nuremberg, set up a press in Seville. By 1528, in addition to religious and administrative works printed by contract for individuals and organizations, he had a large stock of popular items for sale—song sheets, prayer sheets, illustrations, rosaries, and several scores of novels.

Cromberger was so successful that, encouraged by Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico), he obtained a monopoly for trading there and, in 1539, set up the first printing press in the New World. By 1540, his Mexican enterprise had a stock of 8,679 volumes representing 20 novels of chivalry on its

shelves.[11]

Who were the readers?

The Middle Ages saw a sharp rise in literacy among the upper and middle classes and increased the demand for books which the time-consuming hand-copying method could not satisfy.[12]

During the High Middle Ages, the growth of Church bureaucracy, government institutions, and commerce created a greater need for literacy than had existed earlier. Literacy was obtained in two main ways: either through instruction given by the clergy or by private tutoring. Since Latin was the universal language in Europe, it was the indispensable foundation upon which further learning could be built. Following the basics was the *trivium.* This consisted of Latin grammar, logic, and rhetoric. In classical Greece, these subjects were considered to be essential for producing citizens capable of taking an active part in civic life. After showing competence in the *trivium*, students applied themselves to mastery of the *quadrivium*. This included arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. During the Middle Ages, these seven liberal arts were accepted by the Catholic Church and formed the curriculum in institutions of advanced learning. Theology, law, and medicine were specialized subjects that required additional years of study.

Girls generally married young and were mothers in early adolescence. Those from the upper strata of society, however, usually acquired literacy by home schooling or through instruction provided to them in convents. Although most girls of this class did not have as broad an education as boys, many not only

learned a great deal about the classics and subjects of the day, but acquired skills as writers, artists, and musicians. Girls from the lower strata of society, though, rarely received even basic schooling because of the costs and because they were needed to assist their family at home and at work.

While girls of all classes were restricted from advancing their schooling, once a boy proved that he was competent in the the basics, he could go on to study at a university. In Spain, the earliest university was founded in 1208 in Palencia, a city in northern Spain. Between 1208 and 1542, 11 more universities were established in the realm. This greatly helped to increase the readership necessary to support the book industry that was rapidly developing from the proliferation of Gutenberg's letterpress method of printing.

If, on the one hand, the number of readers was growing sufficiently to support the young book industry, the availability of printing also encouraged an increase in literacy. What we've seen in recent times with the introduction of the iPad, for instance, resembles what happened in the 15th and 16th centuries with the introduction of printing. More and more people wanted access to the new technology, for it made it possible to learn and to entertain oneself without relying on the presence of a teacher or a storyteller.

The importance that books had already achieved in less than a hundred years after the printing press was introduced is borne out by the case of Antonio de Mendoza. Not only did he include some 200 volumes in his luggage when he sailed to Mexico in 1536 to assume his post as first Viceroy of New Spain, but, as we've seen above, he also fostered the establishment of

the first printing press in Mexico. Furthermore, he helped create two key educational institutions in his area of governance: the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, where the sons of Indian nobles received instruction in such subjects as Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, and music, and the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico), which was modeled on Spain's University of Salamanca mainly to train young creoles for the clergy.[13]

What did they read?

The first book printed in Mexico was *La Escala Espiritual de San Juan Clímaco* (The Ladder of Divine Ascent of St. John Climacus), a religious tract which indicates the means by which the highest degree of religious perfection may be attained.[14] This was not an unexpected occurrence, for many of the literate Spaniards who went to Mexico were clergy, and their reading included religious materials such as missals, breviaries, and other devotional works. However, despite prohibitions by the Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición (Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition), both members of the clergy and explorer/conquerors were often captivated by the literature of entertainment.[15]

Las Novelas de Caballerías (The Novels of Chivalry)

The most popular books of entertainment were the *novels of chivalry*. These works told of heroic knights engaged in larger-than-life exploits in extraordinary lands populated by weird, unnatural creatures. The knightly protagonists in these works tended to be models of virtue, passion, and strength, and their extravagant

deeds fired the imagination of the uncritical to believe that the picture painted before them was real.

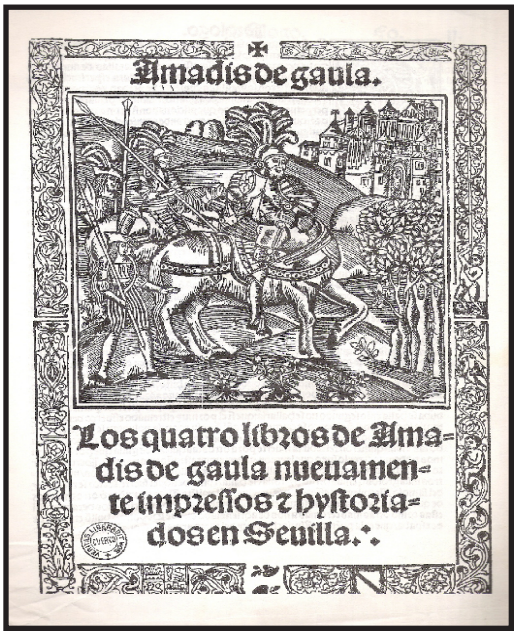
In referring to the novel of chivalry, Irving A. Leonard says: "Taking its strongest hold in Spain soon after the discovery of America, this literary fashion spread like a contagion into the neighboring countries of Europe and, presently, crossed the ocean to the New World. Everywhere the appeal of this fiction proved overpowering and the literate elements of all social classes succumbed to it."[16]

The most popular chivalric novel was *Amadís de Gaula* (Amadís of Gaul). The story of this knight apparently dates from the 13th or 14th century, but was first printed in 1508 in Zaragoza. Consisting of four volumes, the book told of the adventures of the heroic knight Amadís, undeterred in his love for Oriana, heiress to the throne of England, and dauntless in his struggle against evil.

Below is a copy of the title page of "Los quatro libros de Amadís de gaula nueuamente impressos e hystoriados en Seuilla" (The four books of Amadís de Gaula newly printed and recorded in Seville).[17]

So popular was the *Amadís* that numerous editions of the original story were published and a series of spin-offs were also produced. One of the most sought after was *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (The Exploits of Esplandián [the premaritally conceived son of Amadís and Oriana]). However, as Leonard indicates: "The literary merit of *Amadís of Gaul*, the first truly successful novel to circulate in print, was never equaled in the long procession of sequels and imitations that it inspired, and these continuations degenerated to such extremes of absurdity

that, more than any other factor, they ultimately destroyed their own vogue."[18]



La Novela Picaresca (The Picaresque Novel)

As the romance of chivalry declined in popularity, a new literary fashion came on the scene: *la novela picaresca*, known in English as the *picaresque novel* or the *novel of roguery*.

This genre appeared in the middle of the 16th century when Spain—after its heyday of discovery and conquest—was beginning its economic, political, and moral decline. Reflecting

the fact that the days of high-minded knights and noble deeds fancied in the novels of chivalry were coming to an end, the picaresque novel was an autobiographical narration told not by a high-ranking member of the nobility, but by someone from the lowest class of the community.

After giving an account of his birth and geneological background, the protagonist describes how he is thrust into the stream of life, either by choice or by circumstance, and moves from master to master, suffering hardship and abuse at every step. These episodes, related in colorful, colloquial language, vividly picture aspects of life on different levels of society.

Every day is a battle for the protagonist. To win it, he doesn't have to master the knightly arts described in the novels of chivalry, but must learn the tricks essential for thriving in society's underworld. His first priority is to satisfy his physical needs. To do this, he enters into competition with his fellows, and since he's alone and defenseless in a hostile world, he finds it imperative to use his wits, courage, and fortitude to prevail over those around him. This leads him to sacrifice higher ideals and ethical principles merely to survive. By acting in this way, he proves himself to be an authentic *pícaro*—an anti-hero in the truest sense of the word.[19]

Lazarillo de Tormes

The first picaresque novel was entitled *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes and His Fortunes and Adversities) and was published in 1554 in three cities: Alcalá de Henares, Burgos, and Antwerp.[20] The unidentified author begins the novel with a prologue. The purpose of the book, he says, is to please the reader and possibly

give him something worthwhile to learn from it. This message reveals the essential aim of the entire genre: to please and to teach.

The story opens with information about Lazarillo's parentage and birth. His mother was Antoña Pérez. His father,Tomé González, was a miller whose mill was located on the Tormes River that runs through the University town of Salamanca. Lazarillo (little Lazarus) was born in the mill on the Tormes—hence his apellation *Lazarillo de Tormes*. When the boy was eight years old, his father was sent to jail for stealing grain from the mill's customers. On being released from prison, he was sent into exile and ultimately died in a battle against the Moors.

In order to sustain her family, Lazarillo's mother rented a house in Salamanca, where she prepared food and did laundry for others. While there, she met a black man named Zaide. In the winter, Zaide would bring the family food for the table and wood to keep them warm. Both Lazarillo and his mother became attached to Zaide, and before long, Lazarillo had a little mulatto brother. It soon became evident, however, that Zaide was stealing. For this he was punished, but Antoña suffered as well, for she was forbidden to take him in any longer and thus lost the life-sustaining assistance that he had provided.

When a blind man came to her house, Antoña decided to send Lazarillo with him to be his guide. Soon after going on the road, the blind man taught Lazarillo the first cruel lesson of his young life. The moral of that lesson was: "Fool, learn that the servant of a blind man has to know more than the devil himself!"

In the years that follow, Lazarillo becomes the servant of an avaricious priest, an impoverished squire, a dissolute friar, a seller of indulgences,[21] a painter of timbrels, a chaplain, a

constable, and an immoral archpriest whose own maid and paramour is given to Lazarillo as a wife.

At the end, despite all his sufferings, Lazarillo considers himself fortunate, for he has clothes to wear, food to eat, a pleasing wife, and a certain standing in the community.

Lazarillo's trip from youthful innocence to experienced adulthood makes the reader painfully aware of some of the real hardships and cruelties that life held for Spain's masses in the mid-sixteenth century. Simply put, his journey and the "success" Lazarillo finally achieves reveal what truly lay beneath the thin veneer of eminence, piety, honor, and generosity that Spaniards of his time saw themselves possessing. What an education!

This kind of teaching, though, made the Inquisition rather uncomfortable, especially because of the anti-clerical tone of some of the passages in the book. Therefore, it was put on the *Index* shortly after its publication. An abridged version was allowed to circulate in Spain after 1573, but the Antwerp version was not altered and served as the basis for translations into French (1560), English (1576), Dutch (1579), German (1617), and Italian (1622).

As happened with the novels of chivalry, the *Lazarillo de Tormes* inspired sequels. The first, entitled *Segunda parte de Lazarillo* (Second Part of Lazarillo) and written by an anonymous author, was based on the Antwerp version and appeared in 1555. Although of much less literary quality than the original, this version was translated into English by William Phiston in 1596. The second sequel—entitled *Segunda parte de Lazarillo de Tormes, sacada de las crónicas antiguas de Toledo* (Second Part of Lazarillo de Tormes, Drawn from the Ancient Chronicles of Toledo)—was written by Juan de Luna and was published in

Paris in 1620. Much longer than the original, it was also more irreverent than the original and was cruder in its realism.

Guzmán de Alfarache

The picaresque novel that was most enthusiastically received by readers both in Spain and its colonies was written by Mateo Alemán (1547-1615?). This work consisted of two parts. Part I, entitled *Guzmán de Alfarache* was published in Madrid in 1599. Part II was published in Lisbon in 1604. Its title was *Segunda parte de la vida de Guzmán de Alfarache, atalaya de la vida humana* (Second Part of the Life of Guzmán de Alfarache, Observatory of Human Life).

Scholars have long wondered whether a third part was intended, for the second part of the novel ends with the following comment: "Aquí di punto y fin a estas desgracias. Rematé la cuenta con mi mala vida. La que después gasté todo el restante della verás en la tercera y última parte, si el cielo me la diere antes de la eterna que todos esperamos" (At this point I put an end to these misfortunes. I paid the bill with my wicked life. How I spent the rest of it you'll see in the third and final part, if heaven were to allow before I reach the eternal one that we all await). Despite this and similar references to a third part elsewhere in the novel, no third part ever appeared. Unfortunately, no evidence exists about what Alemán really had in mind: simply to write a continuation of the *Guzmán* or to dissuade others from writing an apocryphal sequel. Since idle speculation would be futile, we'll leave this subject to the good fortune of future researchers and turn to two subjects that do deserve comment: the book's dates of publication and the title of Part II.

Dates of publication

The turn of the 16th century was a critical time in Spanish history. Although the Council of Trent (1545-1563) had begun a series of steps designed to purify the Catholic Church of certain intolerable abuses and depravities and thus restore religious unity in Europe, its reforms proved insufficient to prevent the growth and consolidation of northern Protestantism. By 1600, the *absolute faith* was no longer considered *absolute* by many Europeans. In particular, small independent-minded national groups such as the English and Dutch not only left the Church of Rome, but vigorously contested Catholic military and naval power. Spain, the bulwark of Catholicism, at this time suffered some extremely humiliating defeats, a prime example being the failure of the Spanish Armada which was sent by Philip II in 1588 to invade England.

History has revealed the extent to which costly wars; the maintenance of colonies in Europe, America, and Asia; production deficiencies at home;[22] and the ever-increasing moral laxity of the populace were responsible for ultimately bringing Spain down and the picaresque fashion into prominence.

Even though Spaniards tended to continue boasting about their values and the supremacy of their homeland, a small number already detected the presence of forces that were undermining the country. One of these visionaries was Mateo Alemán. Recognizing the symptoms of degeneracy, he was not only concerned about the deplorable state of internal conditions, but also about the shocking decline of Spain's prestige in world affairs. When abroad, he noted, merely to say one was Spanish was to be hated.

On assessing the situation, Alemán concluded that Spain's

weaknesses did not stem from its religion, its divine right monarchy, or the laws that governed the land, but from the immorality of the clergy, the corruption of those who administered the laws, and the depravity of those who broke the laws of God and man. For Alemán, therefore, the solution to the problem rested directly on the individual.

Title of Part II

The title of the second part of the book suggests Alemán's purpose in writing this novel of roguery. His work was designed to observe the life of his contemporaries as if from a watchtower—an *atalaya*. However, his observation point was not a place, but a person: Guzmán de Alfarache, a consummate *pícaro,* the servant of many masters, who travels widely and sees the world as it really is. After years of transgressing the law, Guzmán is punished for his misdeeds by being imprisoned as a galley slave. This experience leads him to write his autobiography.

Through the *pícaro* Guzmán, Alemán could accomplish two objectives. First, he could display a variety of mankind's moral debilities and describe the vices to which they lead. And second, he could suggest curative or, if possible, preventive measures. Thus, Alemán was not only an observer, but an educator, as well.

In both of these roles, Alemán's clearly stated aim was to help the reader correct his faults. By having the protagonist and the figures whom he meets show the kind of vices that weaken the individual, Alemán teaches *by example*. And by making moralizing comments in the text and occasionally inserting long sermonic tracts, he teaches *didactically*.

The picaresque novel was ideal for accomplishing these

ends, for the realistic qualities of the protagonist, the excitement afforded by his adventures, and the dynamic nature of the language used were capable of keeping the reader constantly absorbed. But in case the reader's interest was to lag, Alemán saw fit to insert 85 additional stories—some long, some short, but all in line with the basic objectives of the book.

This shows that the *Guzmán* is essentially a tripartite work consisting of autobiographical anecdotes, moralizing passages, and interpolated tales.

Though the presence of autobiographical anecdotes in a picaresque novel raises no questions, today we might wonder why Alemán thought he could insert didactic comments and long moralizing tracts into the text without losing the reader's attention. There are three answers to this question. The first hinges on the nature of the protagonist; the second, on the nature of his times; the third on the style in which those items are written.

The protagonist

Although Guzmán possesses most of the characteristics usually associated with his caste, he is no ordinary *pícaro*. He is a clever individual whose understanding has been enriched by experience and study to the degree that, without losing any of his roguish verisimilitude, he can analyze himself and the world around him in detail and make judgments on both. This analysis by the protagonist is not only an artistic device, but also a didactic one which is indispensable for achieving the book's moral objective. In fact, Alemán himself explained that it was not improper to include "dotrina" (doctrine, religious ideas) in his story, because those ideas were offered in good faith by a person who, like the reader, was an

imperfect being struggling to maintain himself in an unfriendly world. Once the reader recognized this fact, he could not help but form a sympathetic bond with Guzmán and learn the lessons he teaches.

The nature of the times

While readers today may baulk at Guzmán's self-analyses and moral comments because they interrupt the progress of the plot, those insertions actually function as interpretations of it. Despite our twenty-first century views, the digressions were quite acceptable to the readers in Alemán's time, for theirs was an age which, while manifesting all sorts of roguery, also placed great emphasis on moral issues and spoke at length about them.

In essence, Guzmán's self-analyses and moral comments echo the basic teachings of the Catholic Church. One of the most frequently repeated themes in the novel is the universal corruption of humanity. Original sin resulted from disobedience, and disobedience is still a prime cause of vice. People continue to lie, cheat, steal, gamble, feel envy, engage in malicious gossiping, and yield to their lowest passions. This puts every individual at risk—both from the actions of others and from their own immoral predispositions.[23]

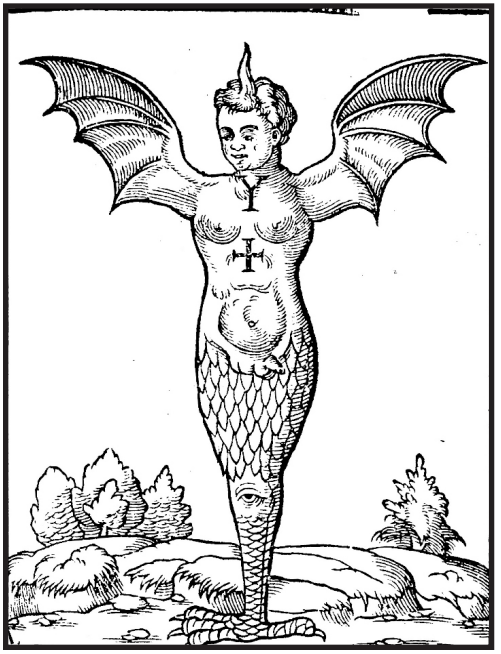
All of us, though, are capable of making a sincere effort to abandon our sinful ways and win Heaven's favor. The road is well marked for everyone to follow, we're told. By exercising free will in constructive ways, attending religious observances with a pure heart, and doing good deeds, we may all lighten our burdens in this world and open a door to salvation in the next.

The style

Alemán's style offers another reason why his protagonist's "dotrina" was accepted by contemporary readers. As Guillermo Rojas Carrasco explained: "We read these dissertations . . . because the style in which they're written isn't the solemn, heavy style of one of those ordinary moralists who tries to impose his precepts on us, but rather they're written pleasantly, simply, and are dotted with witty remarks, all of which help us move with delight through pages which, if written in some other way, would be very difficult for us."[24]

The presence of the positive figures with whom Guzmán comes in contact and the interpolated stories that embellish the book also help explain why the preachments did not put contemporary readers off. Both of these elements show that, even in the hostile world in which the *pícaro* moves, there are people who are good-hearted, forgiving, charitable, and virtuous, and salvation is a possibility for all.

"El monstruo de Ravena" (The Monster of Ravenna) is one example that shows Alemán's optimism despite the negativism that it describes. The story begins like a news report about Italy at the beginning of the 16th century, when the land was ravaged by war. In 1512, a strange hermaphroditic monster was born in the city of Ravenna. From the waist up it looked human, except that it bore a single horn on its head and its arms were replaced by the wings of a bat. It had but one leg in whose knee there was a single eye and whose foot was that of a bird of prey. Inscribed on the monster's chest was a "Pythagorean Y" and on its stomach a cross. Below is one of the many images of the monster with the Pythagorean Y and cross that circulated through the ages.[25]



This weird being was recognized as portentous. Its features were interpreted as follows: the horn symbolized pride and ambition; the lack of arms, lack of good works; the wings, inconstancy; the clawed foot, avarice, robbery, and usury; the eye in the knee, fondness for things of this world; the two sexes, sodomy and bestiality. In short, it represented the vices for which God was punishing the inhabitants of Ravenna at the time. However, the other two signs were good omens. The Pythagorean Y symbolized mankind's freedom to choose between the easy path of vice on the left and the difficult path of virtue on the right. And the cross on the monster's stomach signified God's promise of redemption if the individual chose the path of virtue.

Monsters were a reality in the superstitious imagination of average people in 16th century Spain, so it's not surprising that Alemán felt free to adapt this story which was making the rounds in Europe at the time, and use it as a means of communicating his message in a dramatic way. This was not at all unusual to do during this period, for since copyright didn't exist, it was common to "borrow" material from other writers without indicating the sources used. Like so many of his contemporaries, Alemán was guilty of seeking inspiration in this way. Nevertheless, the enormous amout of personal creativity that we find in his work shields him from excessive criticism.

Conclusion

Our brief consideration of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* with its apochryphal continuations and Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* which also led to apochryphal sequels brings us to the following conclusion: if the *Lazarillo* introduced the picaresque novel as a literary genre, then the *Guzmán* made that genre truly fashionable. Indeed, Luis de Valdés who introduced Part II states that in the short time between 1599 when Part I was printed and 1604 when Part II was published, more than 50,000 copies came off the press. Furthermore, in the years after Alemán published his work, other authors took up the fashion. Among them were:

- Francisco López de Úbeda, *La pícara Justina* (Justina, the female rogue) [1605]
- Alonso J. de Salas Barbadillo, *La hija de Celestina* (The daughter of [the procuress] Celestina) [1612]
- Vicente Espinel, *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón* (Tales about the life of squire Marcos de Obregón) [1618]
- Carlos García, *La desordenada codicia de los bienes ajenos, antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones* (Unrestrained greed for other people's possessions; antiquity and nobility of thieves) [1619]
- Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez y Rivera, *El donado hablador Alonso, mozo de muchos amos* (The gossipy lay brother Alonso, servant to many masters) [Part I, 1624; Part II, 1626]
- Francisco de Quevedo, *Historia de la vida del Buscón, llamado don Pablos, ejemplo de vagamundos y espejo de tacaños* (History of the life of the swindler called Don

Pablos, example for vagabonds and mirror of misers) [1626]
- Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *Las harpías en Madrid* (The harpies in Madrid) [1631]
- ——, *La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares, natural de Madrid* (The lying trickster Teresa de Manzanares, native of Madrid) [1632]
- ——, *Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza, quinta esencia de embusteros y maestro de embelecadores* (Adventures of the Bachelor Trapaza, perfect example of the trickster and dean of cheaters) [1637]
- ——, *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas* (The weasel of Seville and snarer of purses) [1642]
- Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (The crippled devil) [1641]

This study gives clear proof that, as Blumer says, fashion manifests itself in many fields, and one of them is literature. An important point to remember is that this manifestation is not only limited to the present, but as we see here, it can show itself even in a far-off place and a distant time. Another fact that this study brings to the fore is that fashion does not spring up autonomously, but is a product of the environment of its time and place and the contributions of more than the individual or group that introduced it. Fashion seen in this way acquires a depth which otherwise would not be recognized.

Notes

1 The term "fashion" and its derivatives come from Latin *facere* = to make. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fashion_plate.
2 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beau_Brummell>.
3 Quoted by Christopher M. Miller, Shelby H. McIntyre, and Murali K. Mantrala in "Toward Formalizing Fashion Theory," *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (May, 1993).
4 *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 10, Issue 3.
5 Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations.* Glencoe: Free Press, 1962.
6 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Printing_press>.
7 See<http://happypress.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07%20gutenbergpress.jpg>.
8 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Printing_press>.
9 "Incunabula Short Title Catalogue." British Library.
10 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casa_de_Contratación>.
11 Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Berkeley: U California Press, 1992, pp. 91-99.
12 See<http://www.oocities.org/pmmcdonough/high_middle_ages.htm.
13 See<http://www.mexconnect.com/articles/295-the-first-and-the-best-viceroy-antonio-de-mendoza>.
14 See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Spain.
15 The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478 by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to maintain Catholic orthodoxy in their kingdoms and to replace the Medieval

Inquisition, which till then had been under Papal control. The first Index of prohibited books published in Spain appeared in 1551. Although a large bureaucracy of censors kept an eye on what was being published—indeed, almost all of the nation's major authors sooner or later clashed to some degree with the Holy Office—the restrictive efforts of the Inquisition did not impede the flowering of Spanish literature in the "Siglo de Oro" (Golden Age) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Inquisition>.

16 Leonard, p. 13. For an interesting overview of the novel of chivalry see < http://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-literature/romances-of-chivalry/default_68.aspx>.

17 See<http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/conjuro_libros/06_amadis_gaula01.htm>.

18 Leonard, p. 15.

19 According to Joaquín Casalduero, the essential character of this roguish figure is that he believes that: "la maldad y la crueldad no pueden ser superadas, y que por lo tanto es necesario combatir la maldad con maldad, con crueldad la crueldad" (evil and cruelty cannot be overcome, and it is therefore necessary to combat evil with evil, cruelty with cruelty). *Sentido y forma de las novelas ejemplares*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1943, p. 81.

20 At the beginning of the 16th century, Antwerp was the center of international commerce and accounted for 40% of world trade. Despite the fact that it was not part of the Spanish Empire, according to Luc-Normand Tellier: "It is estimated that the port of Antwerp was earning the Spanish crown seven times more revenues than the Americas." *Urban World His-*

tory: An Economic and Geographical Perspective. Quebec: UQuebec 2009, p. 308.

21 Indulgences were Papal letters of pardon which lessened the time that a sinner would have to spend in Purgatory or suffer punishment for a specific sin. Countless indulgences were sold by churchmen to gullible believers and brought in a great deal of money for the printer, for the Church, and for the Monarch who, like John II, King of Cyprus, used income raised by the indulgences to defend Cyprus from a Turkish invasion. Gutenberg was one of the printers who is said to have printed large numbers of these letters. For an example of how the sellers of indulgences worked, see "The Pardoner's Tale" in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (http://www.bl.uk/treasures/gutenberg/indulgences.html).

22 The expulsion of Moslems and Jews after 1492, plus the emigration of large groups of people to the colonies after the discovery of America, left Spain lacking sufficient numbers of agriculturalists, manufacturers, businessmen, and intellectuals to satisfy the country's needs.

23 One important idea stressed by Alemán is that both the *pícaro* and the noble have faults, and social status does not make one superior to the other in the eyes of God. Rather, social status gives a different type of expression to those faults. What this suggests is that the sinfulness of people on all levels makes any desire for a complete reorganization of society pointless. In this regard, Alemán was in no sense a revolutionary.

24 *La novela picaresca en la literatura española.* Santiago de Chile, 1919, p. 39.

25 See <http://williameamon.com/?p=707>.

On The Research Commitment[1]

Ours is an age when thought is treated more as a product than as a service, when harried administrators goad us to increase our "productivity," when the printed word is the main vehicle for our career advancement and an advertising medium for the university. It is an epoch when qualification has largely become a function of quantification.

The deluge of articles that internal pressures have caused to spring from the well of Academia has required the laying of new pipelines in every field. The proliferation of these conduits of information has not solved our problems, however. It has only compounded them. In our eagerness to tap all channels of thought, we monitor the multiplicity of publications that distribute information to the scholarly community. The flow overwhelms us. Since we cannot cope financially with the burden of personal subscriptions, we rely on our libraries to purchase and store the intellectual effluent for later use. Before long, though, our libraries come up against problems similar to those we faced earlier: excessive strains on the budget, insufficient time to survey and catalog new material, and grievous shortages of space to store that material. Our world is glutted with scholarly resources, but we find it impossible to use them all. So we reduce our scope of inquiry to what Ayn Rand would describe as "the cooking utensils of Babylon and the doormats of Byzantium."[2]

By specializing more and more finely, we think we can regain control of the situation. And we can. But our decision transforms us radically. From dynamic humanists with an all-encompassing curiosity, we devolve into pale pathologists of art. Constantly viewing minuscule cross-sections of literature through our research microscope, we begin to lose sight of the corpus from which the tissue was cut, and we pay no heed at all to the milieu that brought the corpus into being. We even lose touch with our own environment. Our teaching suffers. Our service to the community suffers. Our living suffers.

Back in 1900, the Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó cautioned that specialization tends to create a woeful imbalance in us as individuals—an imbalance that limits our humanity and ultimately deforms us. The words of Theodore Roszak remind us that specialization and the problems stemming from it did not begin and end in Rodó's age. Their roots go deep into history; they are still with us today. According to Roszak, North American universities have insisted on evaluating the academic, not as a whole personality, but rather as the receptacle of specialized and seemingly detachable talents. But as Socrates long ago warned the Sophists, to partition the personality is the first step away from wisdom. To isolate any human skill (as the Sophists isolated the skill of rhetoric), to cultivate and assess it apart from the total person in whom it resides, is to trivialize the skill and diminish the person.[3]

We in literature know that the same thing has been happening in our field. We know, too, that such a path is fraught with danger. As literary scholars specialize further and further, they run the risk not only of decreasing their personal horizons as citi-

zens of the larger community but of sinking as a group into what Roszak terms "a condition of entrenched social irrelevance"[4] and, eventually, of attaining what Louis Kampf describes as "exquisite levels of absurdity."[5]

How can this come to pass in the humanities? Under the present system, quite easily. Since the Great Depression, the North American university has given significant opportunities to ever larger numbers of intellectually-oriented people. For these individuals—many of them born on the outskirts of power—Academia is a garden where personal achievement can be intensively cultivated. As the saying goes, it's a place where you can "make it." You have the freedom to plant almost any seeds you wish in the field you have chosen. You can enrich your lot by tapping into public as well as private streams. You can vaunt your successes in journals and at periodic trade fairs. And if you put everything into your work, you can reap benefits that are denied to most people on earth: tenure, financial security, a sense of accomplishment—even a modicum of prestige and power.

Unfortunately, many academics tend to concentrate solely on personal and intramural goals, letting issues of broader concern go unattended. Instead of wishing to interact closely with those who live beyond the pale, the academic community prefers to deal with "insiders": those, we might say, who speak its own language—even though that language consists to a great degree of mutually unintelligible dialects.

Like a Vatican of the Intellect, the university exists within the borders of the state but keeps itself largely free of the state's authority and influence. The Vatican of the Intellect differs from the Vatican of the Spirit, however, in a very important way. Although its

members have many capabilities, it rewards only a small spectrum of talents. In most universities, the order of priority goes something like this:

1. The ability to write and publish scholarly books and articles, but not textbooks, creative compositions, or material of deep concern to the general public.
2. The faculty for preparing addresses based on highly specialized research and for delivering those addresses at learned conferences, but not for sharing knowledge directly with the masses through oral media.
3. The talent for obtaining research grants from extramural sources, particularly if those grants support team efforts and generate good press for the university.
4. Skill at getting appointed to high-profile administrative posts in professional associations, rather than in community or public service organizations.
5. The training of a student minority to carry the discipline into the future, but not the designing of innovative programs to imbue the non-specialist majority with a love of learning.
6. The ability to serve on intramural committees without giving up time for research and publication.

Since rewards are apportioned according to this scale, there is no reason for using other talents and doing other things—even if these alternatives were to yield greater satisfaction to the academic, increase the efficiency of the university, and expand the social relevancy of both.

That old bandit Procrustes now reigns in Academia. Everyone must fit the same mold or pay the penalty. How can anyone

expect the academic community to be socially relevant under conditions such as these?

Another factor to consider when we scrutinize our activities is our propensity for banding together in professional organizations. Let there be no mistake: this clustering into specialized associations has many positive consequences. Nevertheless, if carried to extremes, it can ghettoize us even further and neutralize us as a humanizing force in society. We must guard against two things in particular: (1) allowing the hours we spend working for the association or preparing ourselves to participate in its productions to take time from our students, our institution, or our non-academic neighbors; (2) allowing the sights and sounds that issue from our association in the form of articles and addresses to have an absurd cast either in concept or in style, as do those music videos that are now mesmerizing the juvenile mind. Frilly intricacies of the intellect are not for us. Unlike the androgynous Boy George of today's pop-music scene, we must preserve the potency of our ideas by ensuring that the message and its presentation are all of a piece: direct, forceful, unambiguous. We must make certain that, as we give voice to our concepts, we do not whisper in jargon or wail in the gibberish of another world, like some Michael Jackson of the humanities. Above all, we must make sure that our learned conferences do not degenerate into a kind of break-dancing competition at which our mental acrobatics dazzle those present but leave no lasting impression of value on them or on anyone else.

As Rodó warned, specialization tends to deform the individual and the institution alike. Now is the moment for both to move in another direction. The university must make the expansion of its assessment horizons one of its highest

priorities. This would imply the creation of realistic methods for identifying the skills and predicting the potential of staff members, encouraging them to use the full range of their talent, and apportioning rewards accordingly. If universities can devise sophisticated systems for many other areas of human endeavor, they can certainly design a fair, practical system for evaluating and rewarding the performance of staff members who work in their own spheres of activity.

For our part, we scholars must increase our breadth of vision, not reduce it. In the words of Maynard Mack, Sterling Professor of English, Emeritus, at Yale University:

> When one reads thoughtfully in . . . works by Darwin, Marx, and Freud . . . what one finds most impressive is not the competence they show in the studies we associate with them . . . but the range of what they knew, the staggering breadth of the reading which they had made their own and without which . . . they could never have achieved the insights in their own areas that we honor them for. Today . . . we are still moving mostly in the opposite direction . . . . We are narrowing, not enlarging our horizons. We are shucking, not assuming our responsibilities. And we communicate with fewer and fewer because it is easier to jabber in a jargon than to explain a complicated matter in the real language of men.[6]

We must determine what we really profess. Once we do, we may find ourselves turning away from intense concentration on

research. We may see ourselves devoting more time and energy to diversified reading and conversation, to innovative teaching, to meaningful community services, to the kind of living that makes every fiber of our being pulse with joy.

Under these conditions, our research will take on a truly dynamic quality. It will not concern itself primarily with pieces in isolation but will stress the interaction between human creativity and the entire fabric of life. It will lead to works that are in harmony with the trend of our times: small in volume, great in potency, broad in applicability, dramatic in impact. Like those marvelous silicone chips that have begun to revolutionize the world, our publications will be carefully crafted configurations, which, when put in place, will activate the mechanisms of the reader's mind, mobilize vast stores of data, and bring the essentials of understanding rapidly to light.

Notes

1 Reproduced from the *ADFL Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 3, April 1987, pp. 39-40.
2 Ayn Rand. *The Fountainhead*, New York: Signet, 1971, p. 78.
3 Theodore Roszak. "On Academic Delinquency" in *The Dissenting Academy*. Ed. T. Roszak. New York: Vintage, 1968, p. 7.
4 Roszak, p. 12.
5 Louis Kampf. "The Scandal of Literary Scholarship" in *The Dissenting Academy*. Ed. T. Roszak. New York: Vintage, 1968, p. 45.
6 Maynard Mack.p "The Life of Learning," *ACLS Newsletter* 34, 1983, pp. 9-10.

On Terminological Instability

The year was 1900. The dawn of a new century. The place was Uruguay. And when the readers of Montevideo's weekly *La Alborada* (The Dawn) opened one of the June issues, they found an article by A. Gustavo Cornejo entitled "El léxico del modernismo" (The lexicon of Modernism).[1] That article would amaze today's students of transdisciplinarity because of its currency.

Cosmopolitanism, it said, was the tendency of the age. In the environment of that time, words no longer had a distinct "nationality," but, altered by the attire and manners of foreign climes, they tended to acquire new and expanded meanings. For Cornejo, that terminological instability was a most positive trend, a "beautiful transfiguring of ideas" which reflected a massive development of the mind and greatly enriched the language of literature.

Such terminological instability stemmed from the fact that the era from 1885 to 1900 was one of rapid scientific, industrial, and intellectual progress, and in it everything seemed to be moving, changing, growing. The linguistic phenomenon Cornejo described, however, was not unique. One hundred years earlier—an epoch of movement, change, and growth in the newly forming United States—Thomas Paine asserted: "We see with other eyes; we hear with other ears; and think with other thoughts, than those we formerly used."[2] And in 1813, Thomas Jefferson called attention

to the fact that "New circumstances . . . call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects."[3]

Although we cannot disagree with the observations of Paine, Jefferson, and Cornejo, we must point out that what those men of letters considered both necessary and beneficial could be seen as counter-productive by the scientist, the physician, and the constitutional lawyer. Members of these and similar groups would have highlighted the comment of Patrick Henry, who, as a vigorous advocate of states rights, opposed ratification of the U.S. federal Constitution. His objection rested on a matter of language and how it would affect his state of Virginia. "The question turns," he declared, "on that poor little thing—the expression . . . ."[4] And the *expression* in that case would have a profound impact on the product of implementation: either a nation with a strong central government or one in which each state would have the right to act in a sovereign and independent manner.

One "poor little thing" we'd like to address here is the expression *knowledge*. A great deal has been said about what types of knowledge exist: inherited, experiential, intuitive, scientific, evidence-based, target, formal, informal, craft, indigenous, local, global, push, pull . . . . Enough to make the head spin![5]

Whatever the case, knowledge is what we are convinced is true. In this regard, it is the basis of our actions and our inaction. Our conviction is derived from sources such as personal experience, members of our group, respected outside authorities, and our own mental application or experimentation. No matter where knowledge comes from, however, we tend to want to share it. We do this through a process of *knowledge emission*—literally

"the sending out" of knowledge.[6]

Other terms that are commonly used are Knowledge *Transfer*, Knowledge *Translation*, Knowledge *Management*, and Knowledge *Mobilization*. Although these terms are often treated as equivalents, they do not really mean the same thing. Let's look at the first of these, Knowledge *transfer*.

Knowledge Transfer. Knowledge transfer is nothing new. It was a reality in our remote Darwinian past. It is a reality today. However, the first academic examination of the phenomenon was undertaken in 1943 with an assessment of agricultural practices in the United States. But intense scientific studies of knowledge transfer began only in the 1970s. Those studies focused primarily on descriptions of how knowledge was shared among groups with similar interests. Since then, the field of inquiry has branched out from descriptions to complex analyses of the nature of knowledge and its role in our lives.

This evolution has greatly enriched our understanding of all aspects of knowledge. However, the fragmentation of vocabulary associated with the term has affected our collective understanding of how different disciplines approach the creation, transfer, reception, implementation, evaluation, and exchange of knowledge.

In 1990, Gabriel Almond observed that the divisions produced when groups of scholars chose to sit at "separate tables"—i.e., in encapsulated disciplines—promoted a loss of their ability to collaborate in a productive way.[7] Now, because we live and work in an even more complex environment, comprehension difficulties for recipients are also on the rise. In view of this, as Almond suggested, it would be useful to adopt common terminolo-

gies so that individuals in different fields could fully comprehend the work that others are doing in their own. Nowhere is this more important than in project implementation.

And now a bit about etymology. The word "transfer" is of Latin origin. It is composed of the prefix 'trans' [across] and the verb 'ferre' [to carry or convey]. "Transfer" has two common meanings: The first is to convey or pass something from one person, group, place, or situation to another. For example, to transfer the reins of power from group A to group B.

The second meaning is found in the world of transportation. Here "transfer" means to move from one vehicle (A) to another (B), usually with the help of a strip of paper we call a "transfer."

If what passes from place to place is a person, an object, or something seen as an object (like the "reins of power"), it cannot occupy A and B at the same time. However, if knowledge is the thing that is transferred, the situation is different. Like a faxed document, knowledge can stay with the sender while it moves to a designated recipient.[8]

This seems quite straightforward. However, difficulties arise when speakers retain the term "transfer" yet conceive of the process more broadly. An example of the problem may be seen in the definition of "*research transfer*" offered by the Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research. This organization conceives of research transfer as "the art and science of strategically communicating research findings to decision-makers *and creating systems where they can effectively access, interpret and apply research.*"[9] Clearly, the latter portion of the Foundation's definition goes beyond the strict concept of "transfer" and enters the realm of "utilization"—a subject which will be addressed later.

Translation. This word is derived from 'translatus,' a union of the prefix 'trans' [across] and 'latus,' the irregular past participle of 'ferre' [to carry or convey]—the same Latin sources that gave us "transfer" in English. Etymologically, therefore, "translation" and "transfer" are virtual equivalents.[10]

Over time, however, English usage has brought in a second meaning for "translation": namely, "a rendering from one language to another."[11] This is how Thomas E. Backer uses it: "What is known about an innovation," he says, "needs to be 'translated' into language that potential users can understand readily . . . ."[12]

Unfortunately, the concept of rendering an idea from one language into another can lead to problems. Perhaps the main one is that, for a variety of reasons, the initiator of the message, the translator, and the recipient do not always have a common understanding and appreciation of the message or visualize it in the same way.

Even more confusion can arise, however, when the meaning of the word "translation" is extended beyond its two basic definitions and applied to subsequent points along the knowledge pathway.[13] This sense of the word is simply too broad. In order to avoid the pitfalls of excessive scope, we would limit the meaning of *knowledge translation* and define it as the process by which transferred knowledge is explained to recipients in such a way that they can understand its possible utility for them. Understanding, however, does not necessarily mean that the transferred knowledge will actually be used or that it will be used in the ways imagined by its creators, for no matter how empirically determined and how well explained, knowledge "is subjectively consumed—by both individuals

and organizations . . . ."[14] And, as will be seen in a moment, such *subjective consumption* can have a profound effect on implementation.

Management. With the burgeoning of science and technology in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the amount of data, information, and knowledge in existence in every field increased enormously. Toward the end of the twentieth century, the term *knowledge management* came into vogue as a means of referring to the process of skillfully organizing, indexing, and cross-referencing "material by subject, practice area and other criteria to make it easy to find when needed."[15] From this it is clear that "knowledge management" is a key precursor to the *mobilization* of knowledge.

Mobilization. The verb "to mobilize" is derived from the Latin word 'movēre' [to move]. Three common definitions of *mobilization* are: "to put into movement or circulation"; "to assemble and make ready for war duty"; and "to marshal (as resources) for action."[16] These definitions suggest that *mobilization* means the marshalling and readying of specific knowledge in such a way as to achieve a particular purpose once it is moved.[17] The Knowledge Quest Institute of West Virginia, however, defines it as "the process of creating value or a value stream through the creation, assimilation, leveraging, sharing and application of focused knowledge to a bounded community."[18] Quite a different understanding of the term!

Reception of transferred knowledge. It is clear from the above discussion that different people and organizations tend to use the same terms with different meanings. What complicates the situation even further, though, is that many things can happen when knowledge is transferred, for knowledge is never received in the same way. It can be discarded; it can be shelved for possible use in the future; it can be utilized immediately by the recipient alone; it can be shared with others; and so forth.

With this in mind, those who wish to transfer knowledge should strive to avoid communication failure by providing themselves in advance of the transfer with as much information as possible about themselves, the knowledge they wish to transfer, and the potential recipients of that transfer. For, as Machiavelli warned, if you are transferring something really new, you will likely face enormous difficulties in your attempt to introduce your innovation.[19]

As a teacher, I know that much of the solution to this problem rests with my ability to coordinate the learning styles of my students with the teaching styles that I employ.

And as an innovator intent on transferring new ideas to others, I am aware that knowledge can be packaged for transfer in a variety of ways. Indeed, Hari Srinivas lists over 150 formats in which knowledge can be packaged.[20]

However, I also realize that the successful transfer of knowledge depends on much more than packaging. It depends on a complex of factors, all of which play a part in the transfer process. Among those factors are:

- The careful selection of those chosen to receive the knowledge.

- Familiarity with the environment in which the knowledge is to be received.
- Attention to the appropriateness of the moment when the knowledge will arrive.
- Consideration of the suitability of the message for the needs of the recipient.
- Certainty that the transferred knowledge will be unique, since the recipient can often respond in ways that inhibit use of the knowledge that has been transferred. For example, "Oh, that's like what we're doing now." "Oh, that's too different from what we're doing now." "Oh, we've seen something like that before."
- And sensitivity to the traditions, practices, values, policies, and fashions that are in place when the knowledge arrives.

Fashion. Now you might ask what role *fashion* plays in the process of knowledge transfer. Although, we generally think of it as referring to clothing, the second essay in this book stresses the fact that fashion is all pervasive in our lives.[21]

How does knowing this affect the way we should transfer knowledge? Simply put, if we don't move in rhythm with the times and follow the prevailing fashions, our efforts will be compromised. Therefore, let's remember that, today, short **is in.** Focusing on *recipient needs* **is in**. *Transparency* **is in**. And *recipient participation* **is in**.

But no matter what the time or what the fashion, it's always essential for the sender of a message to speak the same language in the same way as the recipient if effective implementation of

a plan is to be achieved. In fact, speaking the same language in the same way as the recipient can help disprove Brian Haig's gloomy assertion that "a plan lasts until the second it's implemented."[22]

To say *implement* means to execute a plan as it was meant to be executed. It does not mean to "utilize" the knowledge that has been transferred, because "utilization" is simply a starting point for further use, possibly with results quite different from those the original planners had in mind.

An example of the difference between *implementation* and *utilization* would be the use of steam power at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1807, Robert Fulton designed a plan for applying steam power to boats for transport on water. The result was the steamboat called "The Clermont." Several years later, George Stephenson also used the concept of steam power. If he had just *implemented* Fulton's design, he would have simply produced another steamboat. However, he did not. Instead, he *utilized* the concept of steam-driven propulsion and produced a vehicle for transport on *land*—the railroad locomotive.

Whatever the case, in order to communicate effectively with each other, we must speak the same language in the same way. This suggests that today, when everyone seems to be calling for greater *freedom of choice* in almost every sphere, there is a need to limit freedom of choice in language and establish "a standing rule . . . common to everyone"[23] who uses speech to communicate. This is especially important in government, science, and business. Standardization has been the aim of language academies from the 16th century to the present. By standardizing their national tongues, these academies have strived to insure that "the receiver

of the information understands and appreciates the message in essentially the same way as the person who [sends] it."[24]

Notes

1 Gustavo A. Cornejo. Quoted in Robert Jay Glickman, *Fin del siglo: retrato de Hispanoamérica en la época modernista.* Toronto: Canadian Academy of the Arts, 1999, p. 273.

2 Thomas Paine. Quoted from *Common Sense* (1776) in Eric Forner, *The Story of American Freedom*. NY: Norton, 1998, p. 16.

3 Thomas Jefferson. Quoted in Forner, p. xv.

4 In his argument "Against the Federal Constitution," Patrick Henry said: "The question turns, sir, on that poor little thing—the expression, 'We, the *people*, instead of the *states*, of America'" (italics mine).

5 Among other types of knowledge that have been mentioned in the literature are: traditional, spiritual, instrumental, strategic, tactical, practical, expert, explicit, tacit, embrained, embodied, encultured, embedded, and encoded knowledge.

6 The following nouns—with my understanding of their meaning—are frequently used to indicate the specific manner of *emission*:

- *Transmission*: i.e., the conveying of information from one person or place to another, as by means of telegraphy or telephony.
- *Distribution*: i.e., the giving out, delivering to, or circulating of information among a finite group of members or subscribers, as through a mailout of newsletters, news-

papers, or scientific journals.

- *Dissemination*: i.e., the spreading abroad of information as though scattering seeds in a circumscribed area. This is done, e.g., through lectures at a scholarly convention.
- *Broadcasting*: i.e., the casting of information over a broad geographical region in a generalized manner, as by means of electronic media such as radio, television, or the Internet.
- *Diffusion*: i.e., the outpouring of information, often in a non-concentrated way, as is the case when travelers informally share craft "know-how" in their movement from place to place.

7 Gabriel A. Almond. *A Discipline Divided: Schools and Sects in Political Science*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990. This concept reflects one of the core ideas in my essay "The Research Commitment," originally published in 1987 and reproduced above.

8 This is the way the Alliance for Health Policy Systems Research conceives of it. For that organization, *knowledge transfer* is "the process of passing available knowledge along to specified 'audiences.'" See <www/inclentrust.org/Modules/Module_Two_KnowledgeManagement/OverviewUnit5/pdf >.

9 "Dissemination: An Art and a Science." See <ahfmr.ab.ca/dissemination/program-desc.shtml> (italics mine).

10 The use of "translate" with the meaning of to carry or convey from one place to another is now quite rare in English. In theology, it means "to convey directly to heaven without death." One of the few examples of this sort which the pres-

ent writer has encountered is found in John Steinbeck's *East of Eden*: "Cathy was fourteen when she entered high school. She had always been precious to her parents, but with her entrance into the rarities of algebra and Latin she climbed into clouds where her parents could not follow. They had lost her. They felt that she was *translated* to a higher order." NY: Penguin, 1982, p. 90 (italics mine). The association of the word "translate" with movement is also found in Euclidean geometry. Here, its meaning is to move every point a constant distance in a specified direction. In cytology, *translate* has the specific meaning of "to convert into a chain of amino acids forming a specific protein: said of genetic information in the form of messenger RNA." See <www.yourdictionary.com/translate>.

11 *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1994, p. 1254. It should be noted that language professsionals distinguish between "translation" and "interpretation." In this field, "translation" signifies the conveyance of meaning from one language to another by means of the *written word*, while "interpretation" signifies the conveyance of meaning from one language to another through the *spoken word*. "Translation" is always done after the message has been presented in written form. "Interpretation" is of two kinds: in "consecutive interpretation," the interpreter conveys the message after the speaker presents it orally; in "simultaneous interpretation," the interpreter renders the message at the same time as the speaker presents it orally. In general usage, however, these distinctions are not usually made, and, whether the message is rendered in

written or oral form, the word "translation" tends to be used. For more on this subject, see the information provided by the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Ontario at <www.atio.on.ca>.

12 Thomas E. Backer. "Knowledge utilization: The third wave," *Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1991, p. 234.

13 The definition of "knowledge translation" suggested by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) offers such an example: it encompasses the many steps between the creation of new knowledge, its assessment, the development of consensus guidelines, and more. See <www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/8505.html>.

14 Backer, p. 233. Because, as Backer says, *knowledge* "is subjectively consumed—by both individuals and organizations" and because the conversion of knowledge into action is a process consisting of multiple steps—we prefer to avoid using the expression "translating knowledge into action."

15 Grant Buckler. "Knowledge management crucial tool for law firms," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 April 2004, p. B12. Buckler describes some of the major tools that are utilized in this process both within a broad field of endeavor and within specific organizations: "The tools of knowledge management include data bases, document management systems and indexing tools that organize and cross-reference material by subject, practice area and other criteria to make it easy to find when needed. They also include intranets for making this organized information available to a widely dispersed audience."

16 *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, p.747.

17 Daryl Rock and the Ontario Neurotrama Foundation define the term as "getting the right information to the right people in the right format at the right time, so as to influence decision-making." See <www.onf.org/knowledge/glossary.htm>. Based on our definition above, what Rock and the ONF call "knowledge mobilization" is, in reality, effective "knowledge transfer." Mobilization takes place before transfer and makes the efficacy of transfer possible.

18 See <www.mountainquestinstitute.com>.

19 For this reason, Everett M. Rogers—in his study of the ways in which new ideas and practices move from introduction to use—selected as his epigraph a quotation to this effect from Machiavelli's *Il Principe. S*ee the 4th edition of *Diffusion of Innovations.* NY: Free Press, 1995.

20 "Packaging knowledge: An information continuum." See <www.gdrc.org/info-design/continuum/continuum.html>.

21 See the sub-section "Miniaturization" above on pp. 9-10 of "On Life Today."

22 Brian Haig. *Man in the Middle*. NY: Grand Central Publishing, 2007, p. 267. Haig is a former Assistant to the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, John Shalikashvili.

23 Foner, p. 5.

24 Glickman. *Successful Business Meetings*. Toronto: Canadian Academy of the Arts, 1987, p. 37.

On Standardizing the Spelling of Spanish

Standardization is a fundamental necessity in many areas of life. For instance, if you want to make a phone call, you depend on the fact that the same numbers that you press on one phone will work on any other phone. That's because all phone systems are standardized with respect to their dialing system.

Well, language works just like that where spelling is concerned. Each language has standardized ways for writing the sounds that we speak. Sometimes the system is complicated, as in English. Sometimes the system is relatively simple, as in Italian and Spanish.

It wasn't always that way, though. As Latin evolved into what we now call the Romance languages—Italian, French, Romanian, Portuguese, Spanish, etc.—those languages also evolved and produced variants. That's why, in Spanish, we have dialects such as Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Leonese, and so forth.

As time passed and these dialects became rooted in their particular geographical areas, variants began to appear within the forms used by people who wrote in those dialects. By the time the Catholic Monarchs— Fernando of Aragon and Isabella of Castile—conquered the Moors in 1492 and laid the bases for the political unification of Spain, these regional variations often complicated communication from one area to another.

Well, if you've got a problem, there's always a professor around to try to solve it. In Spain, that man was Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522), a famous professor of Latin. Not only did Nebrija produce the first Latin-Spanish dictionary (1492) and the first Spanish-Latin dictionary (1495), but he wrote the very first grammar for a Romance language: the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (Grammar of the Castilian Language). And he did this in 1492, the same year that Columbus discovered America. According to Nebrija, a principal function of this grammar would be as the companion of Empire—an image of greatness for the nation that Nebrija saw coming in the future.

Along with standardizing grammar, Nebrija also saw a need for standardizing spelling. In his opinion, "tenemos que escrivir como pronunciamos, y pronunciar como escrivimos" (we have to write as we pronounce, and pronounce as we write). In order to accomplish this, Nebrija said, "No debe haber letra que no tenga su distinto sonido, ni sonido que no tenga su distinta letra" (There shouldn't be a letter without a unique sound, nor a sound without its unique letter). In other words, Nebrija sought a spelling system in which each letter—or grapheme—would correspond to a specific sound—or phoneme.

Although this was Nebrija's ideal, he never introduced radical reforms in spelling. In good part, this was because conservatives in the field of language insisted that 1) it was imperative to respect the ties that Spanish had with Latin and Greek, and 2) it was essential to be loyal to "tradition."

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With the advent of the eighteenth century, great emphasis was placed on reason, logic, and order. This put stress on

the Spanish system of spelling, because during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, there had been an increase in the number of inconsistencies and confusions that appeared in the language. In an effort to combat this problem, in 1714 the Spanish Royal Academy was founded. As expressed in its official motto, the aim of the Academy was to cleanse the language, fix it firmly in place, and give it splendor ("Limpia, fija y da esplendor"). In 1741, the Academy also published an *Ortografía* (guide to proper spelling). The rules for spelling that it listed were based on factors such as pronunciation, etymology, convention, and popular usage.

However, writers on all levels continued to make spelling mistakes. The most frequent problems had to do with letters that had the same sound in different contexts.Those letters were "g"/"j", "c"/"s"/"z", "b"/"v", "ll"/"y". Another factor was the frequent haphazard use of accent marks, capital letters, and punctuation marks.

Concern about these travesties was loudly voiced by the Mexican neoclassic author José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776-1827) in his novel *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816). In an age when education and culture were highly prized, Lizardi roundly criticized teachers whose ignorance of the language created a generation whose lack of knowledge was a blight on Mexico's image. And the problem wasn't limited to the commoners in Mexican society, but "se extiende a muchas personas de fina educación, de talentos no vulgares, y que tal vez han pasado su juventud en los colegios y universidades . . ." (it extends to many people of fine education, of no mean talent, and who have spent their youth in colleges and universities . . .).

The following are among the spelling mistakes that Lizardi says can be seen in publicly displayed signs:

> "Chocola**T**ería **f**amosa", "R**i**al **e**stanqui**v**o de **p**uros y **s**iga**r**os", "El Barbero de **C**e**b**illa", "La **H**orgullosa", "El Se**b**ero Dictador" (instead of Chocolatería Famosa, Real Estanquillo de Puros y Cigarros, El Barbero de Sevilla, La Orgullosa, and El Severo Dictador).

•••

With the end of Spain's dominion over its colonies in America, efforts to reform the Spanish spelling system were made again. Evidence of those efforts can be seen in the influential journals *Biblioteca Americana*, published in London in 1823, and *Repertorio Americano*, published there in 1826-27 by Andrés Bello (Venezuela, 1781-1865) and Juan García del Río (Colombia, 1794-1856).

In Volume III of the *Repertorio Americano* dated April 1827, the article entitled "Ortografía Castellana" (Castilian Spelling) indicates that a reader had sent Bello, who was still living in London, a piece that had appeared in the Mexican newspaper *El Sol* in 1824. That piece dealt with a subject that Bello and García del Río had treated in 1823 in the *Biblioteca Americana* under the rubric "Indicaciones sobre la conveniencia de simplificar i uniformar la ortografía en América" (Suggestions about the convenience of simplifying and standardizing spelling in [Spanish] America).

As these dates show, the pace of trans-Atlantic communication at the beginning of the nineteenth century was extremely slow: 1823, an article is published in London; 1824, a reference

to it is made in the Mexican newspaper *El Sol*; in 1827, Bello, still in London, receives a comment on the *El Sol* article from a Mexican reader. In spite of the delay in communication, the impact of the message put forth by Bello and García del Río was great, for professional and amateur linguists seriously began to seek solutions to the problem of spelling.

Bello agreed that a guide to spelling should be produced. However, he believed that it would not be wise to put extensive reforms into effect at once. Therefore, he recommended that the reform process be executed in two stages.

In the first stage:

- the silent "h" in words like *hombre* would be removed, thus producing *ombre* for *hombre*,
- the "i" would replace a "y" at the end of a word (e.g., *rei* for *rey)* and "*i*" would take the place of "*y*" meaning "and",
- the "j" would replace the "g" in "ge" and "gi" combinations (e.g., *jeneral* for *general* and *jigante* for *gigante*),
- the silent "u" in words like *queso* would be removed, thus producing *qeso*,
- the "z" would replace the "c" in "ce" and "ci" combinations, thus producing *zero* for *cero* and *zima* for *cima*, and
- the "r" at the beginning of a breath group and in stressed positions would be written with emphasis as pronounced, thus producing *rrápido* for *rápido* and *alrrededor* for *alrededor*.

In the second stage, Bello recommended that:

- the "q" be used instead of "c" in words like *como*, thus

producing *qomo*, and that

- the silent "u" be removed from words like *guerra*, thus producing *gerra*.

It's important to know that Bello's reputation as a scholar was so great that, in 1829, the government of Chile invited him to come to that country and undertake a role in its political and educational development. Not only did Bello become a Senator and act as Minister of the Interior, but in 1847 he also published his famous *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (Grammar of the Castilian Language for Use by [Spanish] Americans). This book served for many decades as the principal grammatical resource in Spanish America.

Among Bello's other successes was the role he played in founding the University of Chile (1842). But at that time, he was not the only educator of note in the region. Together with the calm, objective, guarded Bello, Chile opened its doors to the impatient, opinionated, assertive Argentine exile Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888).

Sarmiento was an outspoken political activist, who on three occasions had to leave his embattled country of Argentina and flee to Chile. But Sarmiento was much more than an opponent of his nation's power structure. In Argentina, he had also been a writer and a teacher—a teacher so innovative that he even came into conflict with the governor of the province of San Juan, who couldn't accept Sarmiento's novel pedagogical methods.

In Chile, which, in contrast to Argentina, he considered to be well-ordered, safe, and industrious, Sarmiento actively engaged in public education. This was a field that he saw as the *sine qua non* of progress—an endeavor more important than the

construction of highways, the establishment of an efficient postal service, the attraction of "civilized" immigrants from Europe, and even freedom of the press.

As far as public education was concerned, however, Sarmiento observed that there was a paucity of practical teaching materials for Spanish American students. In his view, new materials would have to be produced locally. But how, if a stable, commonly used spelling system wasn't available in the Hispanic world? The remedy was clear to Sarmiento: "antes de enseñar a leer a los que no saben, deben los que saben estar de acuerdo sobre la manera de representar en lo escrito los pensamientos que han de constituir la materia de la lectura . . ." (before teaching reading to those who don't know how, those who do know should agree on the way to represent in writing the thoughts that should comprise the reading materials . . .).

In order to facilitate such an agreement, on 17 October 1843, Sarmiento, now the Director of the first teacher-training school in South America, presented his *Memoria sobre ortografía americana* (Report on [Spanish] American Spelling) to the University of Chile's Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities.

Whereas Bello *dared* to suggest only a few changes in spelling—"hé aquí todas las reformas que nos hemos atrevido a introducir por aora" (these are all the reforms that we dare to introduce for now)—Sarmiento *dared* to be radical in his suggestions. His reason was clear: in order to liberate Chile from obscurantism, he was willing to fight against every obstacle—"contra la naturaleza, la nacionalidad, la sociedad entera" (against Nature, nationality, all of society). Great reforms, he believed, had to be undertaken "cerrando los ojos, y poniendo

mano a la obra . . . cuando la razón y la conveniencia están de acuerdo" (by closing your eyes and doing it . . . when reason and convenience are in agreement).

Well, unfortunately, Sarmiento's enthusiasm for change led him to present his Report with his eyes closed to the true nature of Chilean reality. Chile in 1843 was not a radical, pioneering country, but a very conservative one—a land that prized stability and order. And it didn't value speed where change was concerned.

So, it's not surprising that it took the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities seven months to announce his decision: namely, that spelling change must not be done quickly. It should be a "marcha prudente que no violenta el curso de las cosas humanas" (a prudent march that does no violence to the course of things human). If there were defects in the current system, he said, "no estorban el desarrollo del espíritu, ni imponen trabas a la difusión de las luces, ni producen tan graves molestias que equivalgan a los inconvenientes de una súbita mudanza" ([those defects] do not hinder development of the spirit, nor obstruct the diffusion of knowledge, nor produce problems so great as to equal the disadvantages of a sudden change).

According to the Dean, if Sarmiento's spelling system were instituted, one of the disadvantages would be that, because it was so different, Chilean readers would be unable to read the literature of both the past and the present. What's more, a radical change in spelling wouldn't be in harmony with the spirit of the time: "El *justo medio*, el eclecticismo está a la orden del día, en política, en progreso, en literatura" (the *happy medium*, eclecticism [i.e., 'choosing the best of the many'] is the order of

the day in politics, in progress, in literature). Consequently, the Faculty was disposed to recommend only a modest modification in spelling. The system it chose was that of Andrés Bello.

Like so many others who tried to reform spelling, Sarmiento learned the sad lesson that Nebrija had learned over three centuries before: "es dura cosa hacer novedad" (it's hard to make change).

Benjamin Franklin, whose work was known to Sarmiento, learned that lesson, too. In 1768, while in London, Franklin proposed *A Scheme for a New Alphabet and a Reformed Mode of Spelling*. Franklin's aim was simple: to have an alphabet in which each letter represented a single sound. That was a tall order for English, so Franklin invented some new letters and commissioned a foundry to cast type for his revised alphabet. It looked like this:

a b d e f g h i k l m n o p r s t u

[æ] [b] [d] [ɛ] [f] [g] [h] [i] [k] [l] [m] [n] [o] [p] [r] [s] [t] [u]

v z ɑ ɥ ɦ ŋ ɧ ɳ tɧ dɧ

[v] [z] [ɔ] [ʌ] [ð] [ŋ] [ʃ] [θ] [ʧ] [ʤ]

mytfi az ɣi imperfekfiyn cav ɣer alfabet
uil admit cav ; ɣér prezent bad ſpeliŋ iz
onli bad, bikaz kantreri to ɣi prezent bad
ruls : ɥndɥr ɣi nu ruls it uuld bi gud.
— ɣi difikylti cav lɥrniŋ to ſpel uel in
ɣi old uế iz ſo grét, ɣat fiu atén it ;
ɧauzands and ɧauzands rɥitiŋ can to old
edfi, uiɣaut ever biiŋ ebil to akuɥir
it. 'Tiz, biſɥidz, a difikylti kantinuall
inkriiſiŋ ; az ɣi ſaund graduali veriz
mor and mor fram ɣi ſpeliŋ : and to
farenɥrs

We're told that we'd write the passage this way:

> Much as the imperfections of the alphabet will admit of; the present bad spelling is only bad because contrary to the present bad rules: under the new rules it would be good—the difficulty of learning to spell well in the old way is so great, that few attain it; thousands and thousands writing on to old age, without ever being able to acquire it. 'Tis, besides a difficulty continually increasing; as the sound gradually varies more and more from the spelling: and to foreigners.[1]

Why didn't Franklin put this system into effect in his writings? Was it because, after thinking the matter over, he recognized the difficulties of doing so? Or could it have been because he just had too much to do in founding a new nation? After all, it was a busy time.

- In politics, old regimes were being toppled by a series of revolutionary movements—the American Revolution of 1776; the French Revolution of 1789; and the Wars of Independence that brought freedom to Spain's American colonies in the first third of the 19th century.
- In economics, the nature of life everywhere was being opened to radical change by the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution.
- And in the social order, the struggle for the rights of man and, then, for the rights of women was a powerful force for change in many segments of society.

•••

Chile was not exempt from the changes that these currents brought with them. As the century progressed, roads, bridges, railroads, telegraph lines, and water systems were being con-

structed; schools were being established; important advances in mining were being made; vast quantities of nitrates were being exported; a seemingly endless variety of manufactured goods and *objets d'art* were being imported from around the world.

Finally, with the aid of Germany and Britain, a modern army and navy were being created and, with them, Chile succeeded in defeating Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Clearly, Chile was freeing itself from the shackles of the past and becoming a modern, *civilized* country.

To be "civilized" meant to vigorously oppose deceit, falseness, hypocrisy. "Sincerity" was the ideal held by everyone, from the Cuban literary giant and national hero José Martí, who described himself as "un hombre sincero / de donde crece la palma" (a sincere man / from where the palm tree grows) to Rubén Darío, Spanish America's most outstanding Modernist poet, who proclaimed that "ser sincero es ser potente" (to be sincere is to be powerful).

With this in mind, a new generation of educated people—many of them passionate young scientists—examined Chile's system of orthography and found it *deceitful*—a system of spelling totally inappropriate for a progressive country like theirs. The young scientists knew that action was required. Well, what could be done to solve this problem?

They saw that some courageous individuals in Europe were inventing whole new languages. And there were good reasons for doing so. Thanks to advances in communications like the telegraph and the undersea cable, all parts of the planet were growing closer, the world was getting smaller. This meant that people living in different parts of the globe had to find an

efficient way to communicate with each other. It was clear that what would help overcome the linguistic barriers that separated them would be a universal language. Johann Martin Schleyer was one person who invented just such a language. In 1880, he brought *Volapük* to public attention.[2]

Another linguist of importance was Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof, who was familiar with a variety of tongues, among them Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, Russian, German, Latin, Greek, English, French, and Italian. In 1887, Zamenhof published a book describing an international language which he had created. His invention became known as *Esperanto*. Its aim was not only to foster communication among peoples of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but also to promote peaceful coexistence among them.[3]

Commendable as these linguistic projects were, it was obvious that they would not meet the internal needs of Chile. Another tool was needed. Could standardization be that tool? After all, efforts to bring about standardization were being made in a plethora of fields.

Internationally, for example, agreement was being reached on everything from standardizing musical pitch (1859), to procedures for the exchange of international mail (1874) and the establishment of international time zones (1884). Standardization, the young scientists saw, could work in Chile, as well—especially in public education. Education, however, depended on learning how to read and write. And learning these skills depended on having a standardized system of spelling.

Unfortunately, they claimed, with the spelling system then in use, children were taking 25% more time learning the basics

than was necessary; printing costs for textbooks were higher than they had to be; and newspapers like *El Mercurio* were filling hundreds of columns with useless letters. All of this could be remedied by introducing an *ortografía rrazional*—a rational orthography. With it, *sincerity* could be achieved in spelling. And, by this means, the language would become healthier, too—*más higiénica*.

Just look at the importance that these creators of a new spelling system gave to health:

- 1886-7, "Rresultado del eksámen kímiko i bakteriolójiko de algunas aguas de Chile" (Result of the chemical and bacteriological examination of some of Chile's waters).
- 1888, "Notas sobre el espirilo del kólera asiátiko" (Notes on the spirochete of Asiatic cholera).
- 1893, "El ielo ke se konsume en Balparaíso" (The ice that is consumed in Valparaiso).
- 1893, "El aire en los teatros Odeon, Biktoria (Balparaíso) i Munizipal (Santiago) i en algunos lokales zerrados i abitados" (The air in the Odeon and Victoria theaters of Valparaiso, the Municipal theater of Santiago, and the interiors of some inhabited premises).[4]

This list allows us to see the connection that was made between spelling reform and the effort to improve the life of Chile's citizens through science. For its promoters, introduction of the *ortografía rrazional* in the language was equivalent to using the power of antisepsis in matters of health. For them, purification of the spelling system of Spanish would result in having a more perfect tool for individual and national development. After all, hadn't Zamenhof said that "The more a language

is perfect, the more accessible is a nation to Progress"?

For years, scholars had maintained that Spain was pretty advanced as far as spelling was concerned, because its orthography was much simpler and more direct than the systems used in France and England. In fact, even Sarmiento had agreed that Spain had produced "la ortografía más aproximativamente perfecta" (the most nearly perfect spelling system). "*Nearly* perfect" and "*really* perfect," though, were not the same thing. And, so, the goal of the Chilean reformers was to reach perfection in spelling.

As they saw it, they would be able to accomplish this aim, because:

- They lived in an age of liberty when mankind had in its possession the scientific method which, with reason, made it possible to control the course of events.
- They lived in a progressive country.
- They had access to the most advanced ideas in the world.
- They possessed the same creative energy that brought about the victories which their noble ancestors had won.
- As evolutionists, they believed in purification as a natural law that led inevitably to perfection.
- As Modernists, they had faith in the power of *rugged individualism*, which together with a strong spirit of altruism, had guided the heroes of history in their service to mankind.
- With youth on their side, they saw themselves as invincible.

Around 1886, with faith in themselves and the value of their project, the proponents of *rational spelling* embarked

on a serious campaign to publicize their system by using it in newspapers, magazines, and books. By the first decade of the twentieth century they had published 48 original works and translations, as well as numerous newspaper and magazine articles with the new orthography.

Nevertheless, it was rough sledding. For example, in 1914, in a legal action, Carlos Newman, one of the most prominent of the Chilean reformers, used the new system of spelling in all of his documents and presented them that way to the court. Seeing "como desacato la presentación hecha en esa forma" (their presentation in that form as an act of contempt), the judge refused to accept the documents. Newman, though, opposed that ruling and made an appeal to the Supreme Court of Chile. In this instance, too, the judges ruled against Newman. Their position was that applications to the Court written in the rational orthography would not be accepted "por no ser ésta la usual y ordinaria que se emplea en las que se presentan a los tribunales y demás poderes" (because this was not the customary way in which [applications] are presented to tribunals and other legal institutions).

But this wasn't the end of the story. Things were changing in Chile. By this time, Chile was experiencing a period of disorder. In politics, for example, the Presidential Cabinet tended to be reorganized an average of three times a year. In 1911, the Board of Public Education ordered that no specific spelling system should be required of students in their exams. Of course, as far as the reformers were concerned, this was a step in their favor. But the Board's acceptance of diversity in spelling just made things more confusing for teachers and students alike.

And so it went until 1927 when Carlos Ibáñez became

President. Under Ibáñez, it was decreed that the spelling system approved by the Spanish Royal Academy should be used in all public documents and in all schools in the Republic. Thus, after more than 80 years, those who strugled to reform Chile's system of spelling lost the final battle.

Was this a positive step or not? Obviously, if the scientific and environmental achievements of the Chilean reformers had been applied by their contemporaries, the nation would have enjoyed both short-term and long-term health benefits. But where, we might ask, would Chile be if these proponents of the *rational orthography* had won the dispute about spelling? Would their victory not have led to the country's lexicographical isolation? After all, how would Chileans read what had been written elsewhere in the Hispanic world? And how would the inhabitants of the other Hispanic nations read works written by the citizens of Chile? The answer is self-evident: each group would have to learn to read texts that looked very different from their own. Without a doubt, this would deter both from making the effort.

Notes

1 See <http://www.omniglot.com/writing/franklin.htm>.
2 For information on Schleyer and *Volapük*, see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volapük>.
3 *Esperanto* still has its enthusiasts. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esperanto>.
4 See Robert Jay Glickman, *Fin del siglo: retrato de Hispanoamérica en la época modernista.* Toronto: Canadian Academy of the Arts, 1999, p. 255.

On Militarism in Spanish America, 1870-1910: Lessons in Globalization for Today

Introduction

Nowadays, globalization is commonly thought of as a relatively recent phenomenon and is generally understood to refer to economics. This essay attempts to show that globalization is not limited to economics, but has long affected numerous aspects of life; that the military in Spanish America between 1870 and 1910, with its growing uniformity of matériel, strategies, tactics, and dress, is a compelling illustration of the presence of globalization; and that important lessons for today can be drawn from the evolution of globalization during the period examined here.

In this essay, globalization will mean: *the process of incrementally forming worldwide relationships through the intra- and inter-national circulation of ideas, goods, systems, and populations.*

A Word of Background

Every age can be divided into periods, each of which has essential attributes that differentiate it from those that precede it and those that follow. These attributes tend not to be limited to one country or region, but are usually transnational. However, the periods are never totally encapsulated between specific

dates. Rather, whenever and wherever they appear, they manifest themselves first by showing subtle novelties from what currently exists; then they gradually build up to a new synthesis of distinguishing features; and finally, they fade away as other trends with other features take hold and make life different.

Four trends characterized the 19th century. The first started in the 18th century and lasted through the first third of the 19th. This period is known as "The Age of Reason." The military theories of Antoine-Henri Jomini (1779–1869) were a product of this age and its stress on rational thinking. Despite the fact that war is a very complex and disorderly phenomenon, Jomini conceived of war as a rational science—a kind of geometry—and his military art was expressed in prescriptive terms.

Although this period is usually called "The Age of Reason," it might more accurately be called the Age of Revolution. While we tend to think of the political revolutions of this time—namely, the American and French revolutions, and the Spanish American wars of independence—the world saw many other kinds of revolution. Among them were revolutions:

- In energy, from muscle power to steam power.
- In production, from small-scale to large-scale.
- In transportation, from horse-drawn on the land and wind-driven on the sea to mechanical in both settings.
- And in thought, from the belief that real knowledge is derived from religious sources, to a conviction that real knowledge stems from scientific observation and experimentation.

All of these revolutions developed from a passion to establish the hegemony of *liberté*—the foremost goal of the French

Revolution—the goal for which everyone now seemed to be struggling. Even mercantilism—that long-standing economic doctrine by which the central government took control of all of the nation's commercial interests—even mercantilism surrendered to a policy of free and open trade.

If the Age of Reason and Revolution was characterized by a passion to throw off objectionable limitations, the second quarter of the century saw the rise of an intense effort to move forward—to *progress*. Thanks to inventions like Fulton's steamboat (1807), Stephenson's locomotive (1825),[1] Hoe's rotary press (1843), and Morse's telegraph (1844), this could be described as the start of a real Age of Movement. A few years later, many remaining barriers to East-West thought and travel were removed by the Panama railroad in 1855, the transatlantic cable in 1866, and the Suez Canal in 1869.[2]

As for military theory, we find Carl von Clausewitz, author of *Vom Kriege* (On War, 1832), reacting against the absolute categories, standards, and values of theorists like Jomini. War, von Clausewitz affirmed, was not to be treated as a kind of static geometry. It was always moving, always dynamic, always driven by forces beyond the control of any individual or group. Therefore, it was unwise to make prescriptions for others to follow in conflicts yet to come. What was essential was to study the *Zeitgeist* or "spirit of the age" in which those wars would be fought, and not see them as repetitions of conflicts that took place in the past.

As the trends discussed above changed people's view of reality, a growing tide of acquisitiveness was taking place in the Western World. If the 18th century could be characterized by

the assertion of René Descartes (1596-1650), "I think, therefore I am," the third quarter of the 19th century could be represented by "I have, therefore I am." Acquisition elevated the sense of self-worth of governments, commercial interests, and members of society, thus resulting in the search for new colonial holdings, new overseas markets, and greater personal wealth.

Ideas, images, and objects from all parts of Europe, Africa, and the Far East were sent to large and small population centers in the Americas.[3] There was more of everything and everything seemed to be getting bigger and heavier. This happened because, over the years, globalization—which started further back in time than we tend to recognize—was taking place at a faster rate than ever before.

Politicians and military leaders didn't shrink from following the trend of acquisition. More guns, more ships, more ammunition, more wars:

Franco-Prussian War	(1870-1871)
Aceh War	(1873-1904)
Third Anglo-Ashanti War	(1873-1874)
Russo-Turkish War	(1877-1878)
Second Anglo-Afghan War	(1878-1880)
Anglo-Zulu War	(1879)
War of the Pacific (Chile vs. Peru & Bolivia)	**(1879-1883)**
First Boer War	(1880-1881)
Sino-French War	(1884-1885)
Serbo-Bulgarian War	(1885-1886)
Third Anglo-Burmese War	(1885-1887)
Franco-Siamese War	(1893)

First Sino-Japanese War	(1894-1895)
Fourth Anglo-Ashanti War	(1894-1896)
First Italo-Ethiopian War	(1895-1896)
Greco-Turkish War	(1897)
Spanish-American War	(1898)
Boxer Rebellion	(1899-1901)
Second Boer War	(1899-1902)
Russo-Japanese War	(1904-1905)

As this list shows, the War of the Pacific was one of the major conflicts during this period. Let's look at its causes.

For years, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru had been extracting nitrates from their coastal deserts. The nitrates were essential for the production of fertilizer and explosives, and therefore, were eagerly sought around the world. Although each of the three nations was involved in mining the nitrates, the mineral-rich areas in Peru and Bolivia were mostly exploited by Chilean companies backed by British interests.

Regrettably, from the time of independence in the first 1/3 of the century, a hazy boundary existed between Bolivia and Chile. In 1866, however, the two countries negotiated a treaty that recognized the 24th parallel south latitude as their boundary. This line was just south of Antofagasta, which was then a Bolivian port. In this treaty, Bolivia and Chile agreed to equally share all revenues generated by mining activities between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

Unfortunately, this seemingly positive agreement of 1866 between Bolivia and Chile was powerless to stave off conflict. Three major causes can be cited:

- First, in 1873, Bolivia and Peru signed a secret Treaty of Mutual Defense which was designed to guarantee the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of those two countries. Chile had no knowledge of this treaty at that time.
- Second, in 1875, Peru nationalized all nitrate mines in Tarapacá Province. This prevented Chile from continuing to exploit the minerals in this region and thus deprived it of a major source of revenue.
- And third, by 1878, Bolivia grew so dissatisfied with having to share its mining revenues with Chile, that it imposed a tax on the nitrates carried for export by the main railroad company (Compañía de Salitres y Ferrocarriles de Antofagasta), which belonged to Chile. Although Chile vehemently protested, Bolivia refused to withdraw the tax.

The last two steps were direct threats to the Chilean mining corporations and their backers. And on 14 February 1879, after Bolivia went further and confiscated the railway company's property, Chile's naval forces assisted its land forces in occupying the port of Antofagasta. In response, Bolivia declared war on Chile. However, because of Bolivia's secret treaty with Peru, Peru was also brought into the conflict. By 6 April 1879, all three nations were at war.

As we just saw, the War of the Pacific began as a naval operation. It continued in this form even after the land forces had engaged. Transporting troops and blockading harbors were basic tasks of each navy, but since the adversaries needed weapons and supplies, and these had to come from abroad, additional

naval action was essential. In defense of its interests, Peru sent its warships along the Pacific coast as far south as Cape Horn in order to intercept war material that was being shipped to Chile from overseas. And Chile sent her warships north in order to seize armaments that were being shipped to Peru from Europe and the United States across the Isthmus of Panama.

But what kind of war material did each nation have?

The naval strength of each country is shown below.

Naval Strength

Chile

Type	Name	Source	Age
1 schooner:	Covadonga	Spain	1859
4 corvettes:	Esmeralda		1855
	Abtao		1870
	O'Higgins		1874
	Chacabuco		1874
1 gunboat:	Magallanes		1874
2 ironclad frigates:	Cochrane	U.K.	1875
	Blanco Encalada	U.K.	1875

Peru

Type	Name	Source	Age
2 coastal monitors:	Manco Cápac	U.S.	1864
	Atahualpa	U.S.	1864
1 gunboat:	Pilcomayo		1864
1 corvette:	Unión		1864
1 ironclad:	Independencia	Scotland	1865
1 sea-going monitor:	Huáscar	U.K.	1865

In addition to these vessels, both navies also had a number of torpedo boats.[4] Chile, for example, had 12 such boats; these had been built in Britain between 1880 and 1881. It also had a number of purpose-built landing craft.

Intent on outdoing each other, both Chile and Peru attempted to purchase additional ships abroad. In order to thwart its adversary in this regard, Chile established a special mission in Paris to track and foil Peru's purchasing efforts. It appears that this mission was successful.

For the most part, Chile's fleet was newer and more formidable than Peru's. Indeed, reports from contemporary U.S. sources indicate that, at the time the War of the Pacific took place, Chile had the most outstanding navy in the Western Hemisphere.

The land strength of each country is shown below.

Land Strength

Chile

Troops:

In 1879 about 3,000

In 1881 about 40,000

Artillery: over 120 artillery pieces including

Krupp field and mountain guns

British Blakely rifled muzzle-loading cannon

British Armstrong rifled breech-loading field guns

6 U.S. Gatling guns [5]

Small arms:

French Minié, Chassepot, and Gras rifles

Belgian Comblains

Dutch Beaumonts
U.S. Remingtons, Spencers, and Winchesters

Peru

Troops:

In 1879 about 6,000 inexperienced
In 1880 about 28,000 with little or no professional experience

Artillery: few pieces

Mainly British Blakely cannon dating from 1866
British Nordenfelt machine guns
U.S. Gardner and Gatling machine guns

Small arms:

France: Minié and Chassepot rifles
Belgium: Comblains
Britain: Sniders
U.S.: Peabody-Martini, Springfield, and Remingtons

Bolivia

Troops:

In 1878 about 2,200 inexperienced
In 1879 about 6,000 with little or no professional experience

Artillery: few pieces

Small arms:

From flintlock muskets to Martini-Henry, Snider, Winchester, and Remington rolling-block rifles

The diversity in weaponry shown here is further evidence that a lively globalization was taking place in this part of Spanish

America in the 19th century.

But let's not get bogged down in details. What's important is that—stronger on land as well as on sea—Chile won the war. And for its adversaries it was a truly humiliating defeat. Bolivia lost its access to the Pacific Ocean and became a totally landlocked country, with a frustration and anger so deep that they've lasted until today. And Peru—for three centuries the seat of Spanish power and culture in South America, and the center of pride that that prestigious position engendered—was humbled by the capture and pillaging of several cities including its capital, Lima. One of the most mortifying acts perpetrated by the victorious Chileans in Lima was their plundering of the contents of Peru's National Library, precious storehouse of books and documents that represented years of colonial glory.[6]

For Peru, the war with Chile ended on 20 October 1883 with the Treaty of Ancón. By this treaty, Peru ceded the region of Tarapacá to Chile in perpetuity and allowed it to occupy the regions of Tacna and Arica for 10 years. A final accord on the latter issue, however, had to wait until 1929 when, through the mediation of U.S. President Herbert Hoover, Tacna was given to Peru and Arica to Chile.

In 1884, Bolivia signed a truce with Chile by which it relinquished its entire coast, including the province of Antofagasta and its nitrate, copper, and other mineral deposits. A 1904 treaty made this arrangement permanent.

Peru's defeat was hotly discussed after the war. But perhaps the most scathing criticism was voiced by Manuel González Prada (1848-1918), one of Peru's most outstanding thinkers. In a speech delivered in 1888, González Prada, who had fought in the

war, stated that Peru had lost because of a lack of professionalism. In fact, lack of professionalism was characteristic of the entire government. "Without specialists—or rather—with amateurs who presumed to be omniscient," he said, "we lived from experiment to experiment: experiments by amateurs in Diplomacy, experiments by amateurs in Political Economy, experiments by amateurs in Legislation, and even experiments by amateurs in Tactics and Strategy . . . ."[7]

What a damning criticism!

In spite of this, some military-minded individuals believed that, although Peru lost the War of the Pacific because the military was not professionally trained, there was no reason for people to look down on war itself and harbor an opposition to military action. Such an attitude would be "baseless and illogical."[8]

Obviously, they said, the pacifists just weren't up to date. Hadn't Darwin declared that struggle is necessary for progress?

Hadn't informed thinkers affirmed that "War is an aide to thought, and to condemn it totally is . . . to renounce progress"?[9]

Hadn't the famous poet Rubén Darío (1867-1916) stated that "The peace that deluded prophets dream about is not human; constant activity makes war necessary"?[10]

The answer to the opponents of war, they insisted, was: "educate the military and it will be the most zealous guardian of national honor."[11]

Of course, to make the Peruvian military an effective force, it was essential to acquire appropriate matériel and initiate intensive training. This could be done by means of a four-step process:

- First, discover what equipment other nations were using. The *Revue Militaire Suisse*[12] was among the many foreign

sources available for this kind of information.

- Second, prioritize all items found through this research, according to their utility and cost for Peru—items such as submarines built in Kiel, Germany; cannons like those built by Krupp; and rifles like the unique Mexican Mondragón rifle.[13] The solution was to choose weapons that would give the most bang for the buck to a military that was short of troops and of funds to supply them.
- Third, purchase the selected equipment. Krupp was represented all over Spanish America, and experience proved that German salesmen were first class, much better than the haughty British ones. German sales reps wouldn't limit their client base to the élite, like the British did, but would deal with any buyer. They would also offer their products at very good prices, and would provide the best terms of payment.[14]

  Adding to this inclination to deal with Germans were the conclusions of Clemente Palma (1872-1946), who had argued in his Bachelor's thesis "The Future of the Races in Peru" (1897) that Germans were physically strong, profoundly intellectual, scientifically minded, calm, energetic, tenacious, moral, and orderly—a truly superior race.[15]
- And fourth, in addition to using the old training standbys by Jomini and von Clausewitz, the Peruvian Army could use a proposed work from Colombia: Manuel Briceño's five volume *Curso de arte militar aplicado a las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas* (Course in the Military Arts for the Spanish American Republics [1882]).[16] The next

step would be to go on meaningful military maneuvers.

Well, what about Chile? Couldn't she do the same as Peru to improve the effectiveness of her military? Sure. But Chile also had an ace in the hole. After the War of the Pacific, Chile decided to modernize its army. Seeing Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), its success in applying science to industry, and the admirable contributions that German settlers were making to Chile's progress, Germany's military was chosen as the model. In 1885, this pro-German bent led Chile's president Domingo Santa María (1881-1886) to contract Emil Körner, an outstanding Prussian artillery specialist and professor of military history, tactics, and ballistics to professionalize Chile's military. The result was a reorganization of the Officers' College (Escuela Militar), the establishment of a War Academy (Academia de Guerra), the restructuring of the military's curricula and regulations, and the introduction of Prussian-style uniforms.

While it's understandable that, in the wake of the War of the Pacific, Peru and Chile would want to build up their military, it's surprising to learn that, at the turn of the century, a peaceful country like Uruguay would consider steps to improve its army by introducing rudimentary military exercises in its high schools. Why?

There are at least two reasons for this. First, according to Uruguay's Lt. Jaime F. Bravo, as the 19th century ended and the 20th began, the U.S., Argentina, and Europe were arming. So if everyone was doing it, wouldn't it be wise for Uruguay to do so too?[17]

But something besides fashion was behind this militaristic trend. It was the change from free trade in economic policy to

protectionism. Free trade had brought Spanish America into step with the developed world. By 1896, however, there was evidence that attitudes were changing. One of these was that the degree of inspiration from foreign sources that Spanish American authors had welcomed during the free trade years was no longer sustainable. Inspiration, it was now believed, should not come from foreign sources, but from simple, familiar, national ones.

Many examples can be cited, but, in summary, they asserted that foreign influence should now be limited. In its place there should be a Spanish American educational system, a Spanish American system of governance, a Spanish American art, a Spanish American literature, a Spanish American way of thinking.[18]

This emphasis on things national also affected the feelings of Spanish Americans regarding immigration and investment from Europe. As a result, we see the open door/free trade policies of the past undergoing revision, and efforts being made to protect local interests.

And what better way to protect national and local interests than to have a professional military! In this regard, it should be noted that Chile's intensive efforts at professionalization were not limited to the armed forces. A brief example: from 1885 to 1915, a total of 205 German educators were imported to work in Chile's teacher-training institutions as well as primary and secondary schools. This stress on professionalizing Chile's educational system was not unique during this period, but was another example of globalization, for the last quarter of the 19th century was an era of educational reform throughout the Western World.

But this is a subject for another time.

The subject for us now is "Militarism in Spanish America, 1870-1910: Lessons in Globalization for Today." So what are those lessons?

One important lesson that the above discussion teaches is that despite their heterogeneity, the countries of Spanish America tended to follow global trends which changed with the passage of time. As examples, we find that in Spanish America, as in the rest of the Western World, there was:

- An Age of Reason and Revolution which led to widespread movement and change in many areas of life.
- This was followed by an Age of Acquisition, in which governments sought to acquire areas rich in raw materials; manufacturers sought to acquire markets for their products; and individuals sought to acquire as much personal wealth as possible.
- As the century progressed, there was a growth in the belief that adherence to the doctrines of Science would lead countries and institutions toward genuine progress.
- In commerce, there was a movement from mercantilism to free trade, and then to protectionism.
- And, as the turn of the century approached, there was a trend toward professionalization of the military and the system of public education, both of which were seen as a means of guaranteeing the political and cultural integrity of the nation.

Another lesson that can be derived from the above discussion is that an image, a concept, or an aspiration can manifest itself in many ways and last for decades, even centuries. One example is the fact that the key ideals and aspirations of the

French Revolution (liberty, equality, and fraternity) continued to motivate people forcefully. Just as the ideal of equality helped to encourage labor and socialist movements during and after the turn of the 19th century in Spanish America, that ideal manifests itself globally today in a multiplicity of ways, a major example being the striving for equal treatment of racial, religious, class, gender, and physical differences.

Thus we conclude that while the passage of time may produce degrees of diversity locally, the local should also be studied as part of the global.

Notes

1 In an article published in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* newspaper on 3 March 2012, Jeet Heer reminded his readers that "In the 19th century, trains were the first widespread form of mechanical locomotion, and they transformed the world . . . In a real sense, globalization is a byproduct of train travel" (p. F3).

2 According to Heer, in 1857 Karl Marx stated that "[c]apital must on the one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to . . . exchange, and to conquer the whole earth for its market."

3 During the last quarter of the 19th century, the Western World experienced a trend toward orientalism. Until 1854, Japan followed a 200 year old policy of *sakoku* (national isolation) under which no foreigner was allowed to enter the country nor any Japanese to leave it. In March of 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, supported by a naval squadron, succeeded in concluding a Treaty of Peace and Amity which opened two

Japanese ports to the United States, guaranteed the safety of shipwrecked U.S. sailors, and established a foundation for the Americans to maintain a permanent consul in the port of Shimoda. As the century progressed and greater contact was made between East and West, Japan left its mark in Europe and the Americas. In Cuba, for example, poets (most of them men at that time) would write Japanese type *haikus* in Spanish, high-class ladies would hold parties in which they dressed and took tea in Japanese fashion, and members of the lower classes would purchase Japanese knick-knacks for themselves in Havana markets.

4 During the war, Peru developed the Submarino Toro (Submarine "Bull"). Although it was completely operational, the Toro never saw action, and was eventually scuttled to prevent her capture. See <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/5/51/Submarinebull.PNG>.

5 Although developed in the early 1860s, the Gatling gun was accepted by the U.S. Army only after 1874, when a military report praised the weapon for "the lightness of its parts; the simplicity and strength of its mechanism; the rapidity and continuity of its fire without sensible recoil . . . its general accuracy at all ranges attainable by rifles . . . its great endurance." (Thomas J. Craughwell, *The War Scientists: The Brains Behind Military Technologies of Destruction and Defense*. New York: Metro Books, 2010, p. 147.) It is interesting to note that Chile was able to acquire this weapon only some 5 years after its acceptance by the U.S. military.

6 The consequences of this act came to my attention in 1968 during my research in Lima when I discovered that many

of the books that I wished to consult were then housed in Chile's capital, Santiago. Fortunately, in November 2007, almost 4,000 of the books that had been taken were returned to Peru.

7 González Prada's speech was given in Lima's Politeama Theater, which, with 2,000 seats, was the largest theater in Lima at the time.

8 "El militarismo," *Neblina* (Lima), 23 May 1895, pp. 523-24.

9 A. L. [sic], "La guerra y la civilización," *Martín Fierro* (Buenos Aires), 12 May 1904.

10 Darío, Rubén, "Salutación al Aguila," *El canto errante.* Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva de Escritores Españoles, 1907.

11 "El militarismo," *Neblina* (Lima), 23 May 1895, pp. 523-24.

12 Another example of globalization during this period is an 1887 entry in *La Revista Social* of Peru indicating that this periodical had established an exchange with 205 journals from 25 countries on 4 continents.

13 The Mondragón rifle was designed by Mexican general Manuel Mondragón at the command of Porfirio Díaz. It was the first fully automatic firearm capable of being operated by a single rifleman. It was available with either an 8-round or 20-round box magazine and, after 1910, with a 30-round drum magazine. It was also possible to operate it as a simple straight-pull bolt action gun. Mondragón began his work in 1882 and patented the weapon in 1887. (Ingeniero P., "El fusil automático mexicano," *Ilustración Peruana,* 3 March 1910.) See also <http://world.guns.ru/rifle/autoloading-rifles/mex/mondragon-e.html>.

14 "Ciencia y fuerza alemanas," *La Revista Nueva* (Santiago,

Chile), May 1900, pp. 161-62.

15 See Robert Jay Glickman, *Fin del siglo: retrato de Hispanoamérica en la época modernista*. Toronto: Canadian Academy of the Arts, 1999, pp. 229-231.

16 "Una obra nueva": Briceño, Manuel. Conocimientos militares—*Curso de arte militar aplicado a las Repúblicas Hispano-americanas* [with maps and 400 graphics], *Papel Periódico Ilustrado* (Bogotá), 1 June 1882, p. 271.

17 Jaime F. Bravo, "Instrucción militar en los colegios del Estado," *La Revista* (Montevideo), April 1900, pp. 375-380.

18 Here are two examples of this protectionist focus on America:

In 1882, José Martí of Cuba published an article entitled "Nuestra América" (Our America) in which he counseled Spanish Americans that: 1) A Spanish American system of education should replace the foreign systems then in use. 2) The good governor in Spanish America is not the one who knows how the German or Frenchman governs, but the one who knows his own country intimately. And as a way of summarizing this pro-Spanish American message, Martí declared, "Let our wine be made from bananas; and if it turns out sour, at least we know it's our wine!"

In 1897, Rufino Blanco Fombona (1874-1944) of Venezuela wrote "La teoría de Monroe aplicada a la literatura" (The Monroe Theory [i.e., the Monroe Doctrine] Applied to Literature), an article in which he said: 1) As far as Europe is concerned, let's not think that we're inferior to them or copy them like monkeys. 2) Let's admire their art, but let's create our own. 3) Europe can't conquer our territory; so let's not have it conquer our intellect.