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Latinos versus Anglo-Saxons: identity projections in the accounts of Latin Americans who traveled to the United States in the nineteenth century

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Abstract

This article analyzes aspects of the construction of Latin American identity in the nineteenth century and argues that this process was based on the contrast between an idealized personality, which circulated among peoples of Latin origin, particularly Hispanics, and an imagined vision of the Anglo-Saxon character that was especially strong in the United States. This opposition, which has been much studied in the context of the late nineteenth century, was already present in the early part of the same century and over time it gained particular dimensions depending on specific conceptions. These travel accounts – which were the main sources used in this article - were instrumental in the circulation, appropriation and selection of these conceptions.

Keywords

Identities; travel accounts; national character;
Latinos versus Anglo-Saxons.

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Introduction

The political formation of significant personalities of the Spanish-American thinking during the 19th Century included, very often, trips to Europe, in order to discover the birthplace of Western civilization. Although their National Constitution was still recent, the United States emerged as a place of interest for the peoples of the Continent which was shortly before colonized by the Spanish and, newly independent, were looking for pathways and references for their national character. Particularly with regard to North Americans, those "Latinos" neighbors registered in their travel accounts some perceptions demarcating an identity affirmation. As a general rule, since the earliest days of the 19th Century, such identity affirmation resulted from the comparison between the traits of a Latin culture - which would prevail in the area colonized by the Spanish - and the character of the North Americans. It was common for them to think about the North American "way of living", a people conceived as having a singular character, influenced by the Protestantism, marked by sobriety and a pragmatic state of mind, inherited from the Anglo-Saxon background and adapted to their local conditions. As opposed to this view, the behavior of the Spanish-American peoples would reflect their propensity to joy and celebration, interest in art and new ideas, with a certain degree of indolence.

This article intends to go a step further with respect to some existing considerations on this matter, and to show that the identity affirmations related to the opposition between North Americans and Spanish-Americans were present since the onset of the 19th Century in the accounts of the ones who went from the Latin section of the continent to the United States. Therefore, the first source considered herein - in which it is possible to perceive such aspect - dates from 1815. Most of the works covering this subject area focus mainly on two contexts which occurred considerably later compared to our period. Some seek to address the subject matter of Latin American identity as opposed to the North American identity in the mid-19th Century, during the war between United States and Mexico (1846-48), resulting in the loss of approximately half of the Mexican territory, and this has been decisive to set the identity borders and the separation between "us" and "them". It was precisely in the next decade, when the expression "La-

tin America" would be first coined and used by authors of such continent.[1] Other articles focused more on the literate production from the end of the 19th century, when the identity matter was incited by the Spanish-American war. The year of the war, 1898, was symbolic for Spanish and Latin-American peoples, because of the meaning of losing the last colonial properties by Spain suggested: the end of a domination that lasted three centuries and the emergency of having the United States as a new influencing area for Latin America. This scenario provided the approach between Spanish and Latin American intellectuals, while contributing to increase the distance between the peoples from North America and the ones in nations with Iberian colonization.[2] Some intellectuals became paradigmatic for the understanding of the identity issue in this context, such as José Martí, from Cuba, Rubén Darío, from Nicaragua, and mainly José Enrique Rodó, from Uruguay.[3]

We believe that the images more widely disclosed from those two moments – the decades of 1840 and 1890 – were already in use previously. Although we can assure that its dissemination was intensified in such moments, we may not assert that they correspond exactly to an invention, or a novelty, because they had been in circulation long before that, and were widespread in the social imagery.[4] Over time, such contrasts were repe-

[1] The aim of this article is not to analyze the "concept" of Latin America, a subject which was widely studied by historiography. Among the most famous works on the subject, see ARDAO, Arturo. América Latina y la latinidad. México: UNAM, 1993. For a summary of the discussions, see: QUIJADA, Mónica. Sobre el origen y difusión del nombre 'América Latina' (o una variación heterodoxa en torno al tema de la construcción social de la verdad). Revista de Indias, Madrid, v. LVIII, no. 214, 1998, p. 595-615.

[2] CAPELATO, Maria Helena R. A data símbolo de 1898: o impacto da independência de Cuba na Espanha e Hispanoamérica. História, São Paulo, v. 22, n. 2, 2003, p. 35-58.

[3] For the identity issue at the turn of the 19th to the 20th Century, see ZANETTI, Susana. Modernidad y religación: una perspectiva continental (1880-1916). In: PIZARRO, Ana (org). América Latina: palavra, literatura e cultura. Vol. 2: emancipação do discurso. São Paulo: Memorial da América Latina: Campinas: Ed Unicamp, 1994, p. 489-534. For an interesting interpretation of the works of Rodó, see: MITRE, Antonio. Fenômenos de massa na sociedade oligárquica. O despontar da modernidade em Ariel de Rodó". In: ____ (org). O dilema do centauro: ensaios de teoria da história e pensamento latino-americano. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 2003, p. 103-121.

[4] Bronislaw Baczko conceives the social imagery as reference point in a symbolic system produced by the society to designate identity, to create their own representation, to establish different roles and social

atedly reproduced and stigmatized, and got closer to the dimension of a political myth.[5] In our conception, they should be subjected to the critical scrutiny for the necessary deconstruction of its supposed immanent aspect. For this purpose, we aimed to analyze this matter considering the political contexts in which our sources were produced, the exchange of ideas and the political-ideological biases expressed by the authors. With that in mind, we intend to contribute to offer historicity to the process of identity development in the American continent during the 19th Century.

Bearing in mind such intentions, we are going to address in this article the representations of Spanish-Americans about the United States. The documental body is comprised of travel accounts written and/or published between 1815 and 1898.[6] In common, they have the fact of been produced by authors from Spanish-American countries, who traveled to the United States in the 19th Century and addressed the subject matter of identities in the Americas.

Establishing identities: images in contrast

During the independence process of the Hispanic America, at the beginning of the 19th Century, some Spanish-American had already identified what would become a peculiar way of thinking and acting of the North Americans. In the mid-1810s, amidst the political uncertainties caused by the crisis of the Iberian monarchies, we have found writings from characters who traveled to the United States, signaling the aspects that would define a specific nature among the populations who inhabited that country. Those were echoes of the process of identity reformulation experienced by the

positions, to share beliefs and build codes of behavior. BACZKO, Bronislaw. Imaginação Social. In: LEACH, Edmund et Alii (dir). Anthropos-Homem. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional; Casada Moeda, 1985. p. 309.

[5] According to Raoul Girardet, the political myths are constructed from a successive arrangement of images laden with meaning, tending to recur and happen with a rationale that he calls "dialectic of opposites", in which the myths may be inverted and recharacterized. GIRARDET, Raoul. Mitos e mitologias políticas. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987, p. 17.

[6] The list with the bibliographical references of issues used is at the end of this document. The quotations show the original spelling, as it appears in the reports. Bearing in mind the large quantity of travel accounts, it becomes unfeasible to have a more detailed analysis of the biographical journey of the authors.

people involved in the movements which led to the rupture with the former metropolis.[7]

Those were the first moves for the distinction between the "us" professed by the Spanish-Americans and the "them", associated to the North Americans, in a relation of affirmation and opposition which we can understand as a part of a game including the identity-alterity binomial. The comparison exercise is inherent to this process, and a method highly used in the travel accounts. According to François Hartog, comparing involves categorizing, showing similarities, whilst the deviations are signaled. In addition, the author believed that the comparison is established very often by means of the description of the traditions.[8]

The most common oppositions in the accounts of Spanish-Americans in the United States involved topics related to politics, religion and mental formation of each people. Therefore, we can present a series of pairs of opposites emerging to designate, respectively, the United States and Latin America. Herein we highlighted the following: Democracy versus Aristocracy; Protestantism versus Catholicism; Materialism and Anti-intellectualism versus Idealism. The repetition of such topics suggest that the authors read the works of each other, or at least talked about their travels, in a way that the contents could significantly circulate, establishing conventions that would be almost compulsorily reproduced in the documents. Even though they got more common with the political interference of the United States in Latin America, especially from the 1840s onwards, the opposite images were disseminated long before, as a way of informing about the cultural differences between both parties. Each author would show his/her particular apprecia-

[7] As shown by Jorge Myers, the travel accounts of this period are interesting sources to envision the troubled identity turnabouts which happened during the independence process. MYERS, Jorge (selección y prólogo). Rumbos pátrios: la cultura del viaje entre fines de la Colonia y la Independencia. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011, p. 10.

[8] HARTOG, François. O Espelho de Heródoto: ensaio sobre a representação do outro. Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG, 1999, p. 241.

tions, and at times they would reverse the position from appreciative to derogatory, and vice versa, but hardly ever they would deconstruct the opposition.

Democracy versus aristocracy

The North American democracy was one of the most interesting topics for the Spanish-American travelers towards the United States during the 19th Century. Naturally, this was not exclusive to this group. One of the most significant works related to this topic was the one written by the French author Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59), resulting from a travel to the United States at the beginning of the 1830s. Even though his reflections were critical, they were important to disseminate the idea that the North American democracy emerged as a new concept in the modern Western politics.[9] The Spanish-Americans perceived such notion and - whether surprised or astonished - they exposed the sense of alterity and started thinking about how the Politics operated in their home countries. Thus, the projected image about democracy in the United States was frequently set against the aristocratic character, which prevailed among Spanish-Americans. Such contrast was shown in the descriptions of the everyday practices of the people being visited. Therefore, to explore the projection of the United States as the place with a new democratic model, we chose to cover the representations of an aspect of the North Americans ordinary life, which was very common in the travel accounts studied. We can use the image of the public transportation not divided by social condition as a metaphor of this system. At first this could seem banal, but the attempt to translate the method of political operation of the groups descri-

[9] The Spanish-American travelers read Tocqueville, as shown further below. In accordance with François Furet, after traveling to the United States, he came to understand democracy as a sort of inexorable fate for the societies, trying to realize how it could be compatible with freedom. According to Furet, the author would admire and criticize the North American democracy simultaneously. He would say that the practical political education was one of its key points, and this would provide a particular nature to that people, who he considered as "vulgar", "rude" and "obsessed with money", although they were civilized. FURET, François. Prólogo. In: TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis de. A democracia na América. Leis e costumes. De certas leis e certos costumes políticos que foram naturalmente sugeridos aos americanos por seu estado social democrático. São Paulo Martis Fontes, 2005, p. XI.

bed, focused on the democracy, underlies the narrative about such everyday aspect.

The subject matter appears in the travel accounts since the onset of the 19th Century. It appears in the journal of the Chilean General José Miguel Carrera, written between 1815 and 16.[10] The journal is more straightforward than the average reports, but it is still possible to find significant comments about the identity of the people, emphasizing the different traits and the alterity in relation to Spanish-Americans. He described a part of his journey, from New Haven to New York, in an anecdotal form. The vessel, according to his account, presented more passengers than seats. In the face of this dilemma on how to solve the placement problem, the author describes that the passengers had chosen a practical solution: a raffle. He tells that, except for the women, who had the privilege to sit, all remaining passengers should undergo the "democratic method", regardless their social positions: "Sailors, coachmen, military officers, etc., all of them are very similar and no one complains".[11] The ironic tone reveals that he was uncomfortable and marks his objection to the method used.[12]

Another critic to the social leveling especially identified in the means of transportation was the Argentinean Juan B. Alberdi, who traveled to the United States in the name of the Argentine Confederation in the 1850s. Taking

[10] José Miguel Carrera (1785-1821) traveled to the United States to obtain military equipment to fight for independence at the moment the North American government declared its neutrality in relation to the process. CARRERA, José Miguel. Diario de viaje a Estados Unidos de América. Santiago: Editorial Universitária, 1996. For the biography of the author, see BRAGONI, Beatriz. José Miguel Carrera: un revolucionario chileno en el Río de la Plata. Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2012.

[11] CARRERA, José Miguel. Op. Cit., p. 59. Source: "Marineros, cocheros, oficiales militares, etc., todos son muy iguales y nadie se queja".

[12] The critical position about the "democratic method" may be connected to his social position. Although a considerable part of the works about the author is based on a "populist interpretation" of his figure, stressing that he had the broad support of the grassroot classes, a recent bibliography contested such interpretation, alluding to other forms of support, more traditional ones, such as family connections and military apparatus, as well as discussing the meaning of "people" in his speech, not addressing only the "lower classes", but an abstract notion of people. PINTO VALLEJOS, Julio y ORTÍZ DE ZÁRATE, Verónica Valdivia ¿ Chilenos todos? La construcción social de la nación (1810-1840). Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2009.

trains throughout the country, he raged against what he believed to be a lack of distinction among the social classes within the wagons. He told, not properly in a humorous way, that he had to share the space with miners who were going to California, during the Gold Rush. With quite an aristocratic attitude, he admitted to feel uncomfortable amidst a population he believed had a rude aspect. With no other alternative, he had to conform to the situation and succumb to the "Yankee democracy": "We mingled with others; took what we could get. In fact, they opened the carriages in the front, I was mixed with the Yankee; I glimpsed a vacant seat; I sat beside a young and nice Yankee, although he was dirty".[13] The irony and the bad mood contained in both accounts reveal the unwillingness of the authors with a model they believed to be threatening the prevalence of distinctive marks dividing the privileged elite, to which they belonged, from the ordinary people, who they put in a lower position.

On the opposite side, there were some who perceived the new system in a positive manner. Supporting a speech of modernization, they celebrated the North American democracy, apparently more comprehensive in a social sense; they embraced the idea of progress and criticized what, according to them, was a Hispanic manorial rejection. But such optimism involved a partial reading of the reality, since their conception of egalitarianism hidden the social exclusions of North America, as a pronouncedly result of the slavery system.[14] Again, the idea of democracy was projected in the metaphor of the means of transportation.

[13] ALBERDI, Juan Bautista. Obras Selectas. Tomo 3: Memorias y Impresiones de viaje. Buenos Aires: University Press, 1920. p. 355. Source: "Mezclarnos a ellos; tomar lo que se pueda. En efecto, se abrieron los coches de delante, me metí entre la democracia yanqui; columbré un asiento vacante; lo ocupé al lado de un yanqui joven y agradable, aunque sucio".

[14] This article is not intended to study the particularities of the North American democracy. It is only worth noting a characteristic that affected the travelers researched herein. It is the notion that the North American democracy provided a certain social leveling. It is necessary to relativize such notion, because concurrently to its development, slavery reigned in the country. Despite this, the idea of an egalitarian promotion - which would be fostered by the North American democracy - was widespread. A way to understand this idea is to relate it to the expansion of the political rights in the United States during the post-independence period. According to Gordon S. Wood, in the 1780s it was possible to identify the demands of ordinary men to take part in politics. The rural

The Mexican Lorenzo de Zavala, who traveled to the United States in the beginning of the 1830s, is among those who appreciated the North Americans because of their various qualities, including the democracy matter, understood to be a fosterer of the social leveling.[15] During his journey, when he was close to Louisville, Kentucky, he describes a vessel where people from different social classes shared the same table, experiencing which he called "a truly republican simplicity". His diagnosis was that the rich people would lose in terms of civility but, on the other hand, the most humble and simple people would benefit from the situation.[16] He considered the North American model as one of the great inventions of humanity, as important as the press, the compass and the steam machinery. According to him, democracy in the United States could not be compared to any other political system, and was even superior to the Athenian democracy and the Roman republic, which were "mere and useful tests" to it.[17] Zavala uses the description by the absences, a common practice in the travel account to criticize the visited peo-

aristocracy would be argued as necessarily virtuous and naturally more suitable to power, because with it you don't have to worry about the survival issues. The openness of the political process to the average men brought to light the need of paying a wage to the government officials, like in any other profession, and that was a change to the traditional republican ideal, which conceived statesmen as "disinterested" persons. This process was supported by the criticism to idleness and the promotion of work as a means for ensuring survival. Ultimately, this would give the opportunity for "ordinary people" to achieve such positions, and we may think that, in that regard, it fostered the relation between democracy and social leveling. WOOD, Gordon S. Democracy and the American Revolution. In: DUNN, John (ed). Democracy: The Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 91-105.

[15] Lorenzo de Zavala (1788-1836) traveled to the United States in 1830, escaping from political issues faced in Mexico. In 1831, he moved to Europa and, in 1834 he published his account about the United States, while in Paris. In the same year, he went back to America and moved to Texas, where he worked with land concession for North American settlers, and took part in the uprising for the Texas Independence from Mexico. He was elected deputy in 1835 and, after the independence, in 1836, he became the Texas Vice-President, having resigned subsequently, because of political dissensions, and died in this same year. Involved in the issue of Independence of Texas, which would afterwards be integrated as a North American State, so it was expected for a positive portrayal of the United States. SIERRA O´REILLY, Justo. Notícia sobre la vida y escritos de Lorenzo de Zavala. In: ZAVALA, Lorenzo de. Obras. Edital Porrúa, 1976, p. 222-223; ZAVALA, Lorenzo de. Viaje a los Estados Unidos del Norte de América. Texas: Arte Público Press, 2005.

[16] Ibidem, p. 234-235.

[17] Ibidem, p. 385.

ple. However, the author uses this artifice to write about the topic in a positive manner. According to him, the North Americans were considered a nation without "hereditary privileges, life incomes and sacred figures."[18] He stated that the North Americans were simple and rejected luxury, and the President Andrew Jackson was a major inspiration in this aspect. The Mexicans, on the other hand, exhibited the wealth of the minority, especially those in power, a practice inherited from the vice royal past.[19]

Another enthusiast of the North American democratic model was the Argentinean Domingo F. Sarmiento, who traveled to Europe and to the United States in the end of the 1840s in the name of the Chilean government, where he was exiled. In his accounts, titled Viajes, he describes the North American society in a positive manner.[20] He was no exception to the rule, and had also linked the social leveling to the public transportation, reinforcing that, unlike Europe, there was no differentiation according to acquisitive power in the wagons.[21] According to Sarmiento, one of the fundamental aspects of the country was democracy, without privileged classes, bossism or servitude. In the face of such an optimistic reading, how could one understand the presence of slavery, that could refute this whole fascination? Protecting himself from potential criticism, he makes comments about the issue, addressing it as a localized issue, a phenomenon restricted to the Southern part of the country, and as an economic output, which he considered wrong, but from which the North Americans could not get rid of yet.[22] In an extremely idealized manner, he described the United States as a place with "absolute equality", which was noticeable in their way of dressing, behaving and thinking:

> Thus, there is an absolute equality in the practices and. The levels of civilization or wealth are not explicit, as it is in our culture, with special cuts for their garments. They wear no blazers, neither, but ordinary clothing, and even their

[18] Ibidem, p. 308.
[19] Ibidem, p. 337.
[20] SARMIENTO, Domingo F. Viajes por Europa, Africa i América, 1845-1847. Madrid: ALLCA XX.
[21] Ibidem, p. 302.
[22] Ibidem, p. 426-427.

> similar rude manners, giving the appearance of equality in Education.[23] Several other authors also turned to the same idea of the means of transportation as a democracy metaphor, arguing that this system, in the United States, had the potential to balance the social disparities.[24]

As we can see, the appreciations presented are opposed to one another. Some show a more aristocratic posture, and criticize the social leveling; some believe in the North American democratic model. Nonetheless, thus far, none of them questions that it provided a greater coexistence among people from different social groups. A disparate reading appears in our sources in the end of the 19th Century, with the considerations of the Argentinean socialist Juan B. Justo, who had been in the United States in 1895.[25] He sees the issue of the social leveling as an argument created and explored by the North Americans themselves as a way to value their nation and criticizes the idea that there was some kind of "social harmony", reflected in the metaphor of public transportation shared by different groups. According to Justo, such information was not true, and the idea of the "multiclass wagons" was a complete farce:

> Naturally, in some cases - when it comes to make people believe they have a privileged position in the nation - the term "people" is really honorable. The same happens within the trains, in the United States, there are no second-class carriages, so that everyone is satisfied, but the worst are the ones we call first-class. The huge "palace carriages" are not taken into account.[26]

[23] Ibidem, p. 301. Source: "La igualdad es, pues, absoluta en las costumbres i en las formas. Los grados de civilización o de riqueza no están espresados como entre nosotros por cortes especiales de vestido. No hai chaqueta, ni poncho, sino un vestido común i hasta una rudeza común de modales que mantiene las apariencias de igualdad en la educación."

[24] We highlight the following accounts: BLEST GANA, Alberto. De Nueva York al Niágara. Santiago de Chile: Imp. Nacional, 1868, p. 29; VARELA, José Pedro. Impresiones de viaje en Europa y América. Correspondencia literaria y crítica, 1867-1868. Montevideo: Editorial Liceo, 1945, p. 110.

[25] Juan B. Justo (1865-1928) was the founder of the Socialist Party in Argentina in 1895, same year he has traveled to the United States. His accounts were primarily published in the pages of La Vanguardia, a newspaper of his Party. In 1898, such writings were compiled in a book, and such Edition was used herein.

[26] JUSTO, Juan B. En los Estados Unidos. Buenos Aires: Imprenta, Litog. y Encuadernación de Jacobo Peuser, 1898, p. 29. Source: "Por supuesto que en ciertas ocasiones, cuando se trata de hacer creer al pueblo que ocupa el primer puesto en la nación, la expresión de 'pueblo' es muy honrada. Con

To confirm his statement, the author mentioned the coches palacios (palace carriages). It is a reference to the Pullman Sleeping Car, as it was known back then, a sleeping car created by George Mortimer Pullman (1831-1897) to make the night train journeys more comfortable – at least for the ones who could pay for the luxurious accommodation.[27] The fact that Justo has used this example to question the statement that the means of transportation would reflect a social leveling was not adventitious. One year before his travel, in 1894, the workers from the manufacturing company, Pullman´s Palace Car Company, held a major strike, carrying out boycotts and stopping the train circulation in the North American Midwest.[28]

The argument of the Argentinean is consistent with his socialist position. He seeks to warn people about the social inequalities in the United States, which was refuted by more optimistic authors, who tried to prove the innovation of the North American model, which was based on a democracy where, supposedly, everyone lived together. According to Justo, this was a fallacy:

> The existence of classes in the United States is clear nowadays, and they are as distinct as the ancient ones. The difference between the West Side and the East Side in New York can be related to the difference between the West End and the East End in London, the city of Lords. On the one side, the huge mansions, the magnificent hotel, the wide avenues, parks and art museums; this is the city

la misma verdad con que en los trenes, para que todo el mundo vaya contento, no hay coches de segunda clase en los Estados Unidos, pero los peores son los llamados de primera. Los grandes coches palacios no entran en la cuenta."

[27] This luxurious model was put into operation in 1865 and used to carry the body of Abraham Lincoln after his death. George Pullman was an emerging man. Son of a carpenter, he became rich when joining the railway construction sector during the post-Civil war period, a moment of notably expansion of such business. In 1867, he became the chairman of the Pullman´s Palace Car Company and, in 1881, he built a company town for the employees of the company in the vicinity of Chicago, and its mockup was one of the attractions of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. With the excuse of contributing to the welfare of the inhabitants, the workers began to live under the most diverse forms of control. For details about the manner in which the railroads changed the United States during the post-Civil War period, see: WHITE, Richard. Railroaded: The transcontinentals and the making of modern America. New York: W. W. & Co., 2011.

[28] SCHNEIROV, Richard; STROMQUIST, Shelton; SALVATORE, Nick (Eds.). The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s. Essays on Labor and Politics. Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

> of the gentlemen and their servants. On the other side, the working population lives in overcrowded, narrow and dark, separated by dirty streets, where the youngsters amuse themselves near the rails of the or the tram. Naturally, in this neighborhood, one can see every miserable and abject thing conceivable.[29]

Justo's remarks about the means of transportation, which were used as a metaphor for the North American democracy, or, more directly, about the political system itself, reflect a tangible fact of the North American reality when he was traveling throughout the country, that is, a moment of economic crisis and social disputes, and also shows his specific sensibility - affected by his close relation to socialism - to represent the reality in a quite different way in relation to the travelers before him.

More than dealing precisely with the use of the means of transportation involving different segments of society, and more than addressing the existence of a division by classes in the railway system, the debate was, actually, about democracy itself. The dominant representations were the ones showing that the system would bring different groups together, enabling an inspiring alternative for the aristocratic republics of Latin America. But, as we have noted, not everyone was happy with such possibility. The restrictions, although being a minority, were expressed in different forms, from unfriendly grumblings to more intense criticism.

Protestantism versus Catholicism

The representation of the United States also included the comparison between two of the main religions of each American space. North Americans, historically composed of groups connected to different sectors of Pro-

[29] JUSTO, Juan B. Op. Cit. p. 28. Source: "Hoy es evidente en los Estados Unidos la existencia de clases, tan distintas como en las viejas. Entre el West side y el East side de Nueva York, no hay menos diferencia que entre el West end y el East end de Londres, la ciudad de los lores. De un lado están las inmensas mansiones, los espléndidos hoteles, las grandes avenidas, los parques y los museos de arte; ésta es la ciudad de los señores y de los lacayos. Del otro, la población trabajadora vive hacinada en habitaciones estrechas y oscuras, separadas por calles sucias, donde los muchachos toman su recreo entre los rieles del ferrocarril o del tranvía. Hacia este barrio gravita también naturalmente todo lo que hay de miserable en lo abyeto".

testantism, would show a character which was inherited from such religious beliefs. That would include sobriety, dedication to work and self-restraint. On the other side, the Spanish-Americans, influenced by the Catholicism, were a festive, joyful, extroverted, not reserved at all, extravagant people.

As in the democracy case, projected in the public transportation, for the religious life aspect, the readings also used a metaphor, recognized in the everyday practice, to establish the differences between "us" and "them". Such practice is the North American tradition, especially among protestants, to keep Sunday, avoiding every excess, in contrast to the tradition among Spanish-Americans, mainly the Catholics, who use this day to celebrate.

In this regard, travelers with the most diverse political and ideological views expressed their criticism, openly stating that they preferred the merriment of the Latin American people. In their accounts, the criticism revealed the dissatisfaction with the boredom of the cities and their inhabitants during their sabbatical day. José Miguel Carrera, aforementioned, complained about the Sunday sorrow in New York, saying that the city was abandoned, even with no vehicles around.[30] According to Lorenzo de Zavala, on Sundays the North Americans respected the seclusion, whilst the Mexicans respected joy: "In such places, Sundays - which is a day of pleasure and celebration among us – is dedicated to prayer, seclusion and rest. This is one of the many aspects in which the Anglo-American people differs from the Mexican people".[31] Isidoro Errázuriz (1835-98), from Chile, traveled to the United States when he was 16 years old and was a boarding student of the Georgetown Jesuit school, on the outskirts of Washington, and said: "Sunday is not only sad in the cities of the Protestant nations, but also in the unsettled areas, where everything seems to wear the death mantle".[32]

[30] CARRERA, J. M. Op. Cit., p. 46.

[31] ZAVALA, L. Op. Cit., p. 354. Source: "El domingo, que entre nosotros es un día de placer y de fiesta, en estos lugares se dedica a la oración, al recogimiento y al descanso. Este es uno de los muchos aspectos en que difiere el pueblo angloamericano del mexicano".

[32] ERRÁZURIZ, Isidoro. Diario de Don Isidoro Errázuriz 1851-1856. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1947, p. 9. Source: "El domingo no sólo es triste en las ciudades de los países protestantes, sino aún en lo despoblado, en donde todo parece revestirse con el manto de muerte"

At the end of the Century, the same perspective was reaffirmed, as we can see in the accounts of the Mexican Justo Sierra. [33] Without denying the boredom when reporting about the Sundays in New York, he describes, ironically:

> It feels so lonely! (…) What has happened? Why is the city abandoned? Where are its inhabitants? Asked himself, with an elegiac mood. Were they swallowed by the earth? No, my colleague said: a quarter of the population is in the fields, the second quarter is in the church, the third, in their homes, and the remainder is in the saloons (which are closed). Today is Sunday.[34]

[33] Justo Sierra (1848-1912) was an important intellectual in the Mexican history. Closely related to the governance of Porfírio Díaz (1876-1910), he stood out because of his role in the Education field. He was the Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice, Undersecretary of Justice and Public Instruction, Secretary of Public Education and Fine Arts. He spoke up about public and lay education. In 1895, he was invited to travel to the United States by his maternal uncle, who lived there. From 1897 to 98, he published his accounts for the magazine El Mundo, with the title Em tierra yankee (Notas a todo vapor). In 1900, he went to Europa as the Head of the Mexican Delegation in a Conference, and got to know France, Spain and Italy. The accounts of this period, published from 1901 to 1903 in the newspaper El Mundo Ilustrado, received the title of La Europa Latina. Subsequently, both works were published together in a book: SIERRA, Justo. Viajes: en tierra yankee, en la Europa latina. México: UNAM, 1948. In relation to his educational projects, see: OCAMPO LÓPEZ, Javier. Justo Sierra 'el Maestro de América'. Fundador de la Universidad Nacional de México. Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana, v. 15, 2010, p. 13-38.

[34] Ibidem, p. 54. With this remark, the author questions, even though in a concealed manner, the infamous self-restraint of the North American people. The Mexican Manuel Payno (1810-94), who traveled a few decades before Justo, also signaled the alcoholism as a contrast to the idea of a prevailing sobriety of North Americans. He believed that men drank too much in the bar rooms, and such debauchery was exactly the North American nature. Not exactly a sociable people, distrustful and abrasive, they were only devoted to work and religion, and because of this, they could be excessively moralistic or, conversely, alcoholic or aggressive. They went to bars because it was the only place they could find a sort of conviviality, an escape hatch to the "gloomy monotony" in which they lived. Payno's criticism was clearly due to political reasons. He visited the country in 1845, and went to New York and Philadelphia, on demand from the President Antonio López de Santa Anna. Politically, both were opposed to what the United States represented, especially in terms of expansion of the borders. He traveled in 1845 – the same year when Texas was declared as a North American State. In 1846, the Mexican-American war begin, and Mexico lost nearly half of its territory. PAYNO, Manuel. Crónicas de viaje, v.I. México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996. Source: "¡Y qué soledad! (…) ¿Qué ha sucedido? ¿Por qué está abandonada esta ciudad? ¿En dónde están los habitantes? preguntaba en ton elegíaco. ¿Se los ha tragado la tierra? No, respondía mi compañero: la cuarta parte de la población está en el campo, la segunda

In relation to safeguarding the Sundays, it is important to highlight an account that calls attention, because it provides evidences about the foundations of the idea. It is the narrative of the Uruguayan José Pedro Varela, who also linked the tedious Sundays to the Protestants, distinguishing the Anglo-Americans from the Latin-Americans and indicating the differences in their traditions. In this regard, he was not different from the other travelers mentioned before. However, he adds to his explanation that the Latin Americans devoted their existence to joy, and that they turned to the Christian faith only when they realized their life was coming to an end.[35] If we consider the strong anticlericalism of the author, the message sounds much more as a criticism to the religious hypocrisy of their compatriots, rather than a negative opinion about the North Americans, who he profoundly admired. But, apart from this clear objective, there is an interesting aspect about his statement, in relation to the doctrinal foundations of the religious movements at stake. The fact that he says that his fellow Catholic countrymen, unlike the Protestants, would become introspective only in the end of their lives, makes us think about the belief in salvation for such different approaches of the Christianism. For the Catholicism, situations as this are possible because one can appeal to resources such as repentance and penance, in addition to the salvation-by-works. According to Max Weber, "good deeds" were often performed by Catholics "as a compensation for their concrete sins or under the influence of the priest, or close to the end of their lives, as an insurance premium".[36] Unlike the Catholics, the Protestants, especially the Puritans, the "works", although were not completely disregarded, should not be performed individually, but "built in a system", that is, following a systemic and methodical ethics "consistent with the way of living as a whole".[37] The Puritans moral conduct, characterized by the Asceticism, was connected to the Doctrine of Predestination, whereby the salvation was determined by God, and the congregation should not question it. They should only be faithful and

cuarta parte está en el templo, la tercera en su casa y el resto en las cantinas (que están cerradas). Es domingo."

[35] VARELA, J. P. Op. Cit., p. 108.

[36] WEBER, Max. A ética protestante e o espírito do capitalismo. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004. p. 106.

[37] Ibidem, p. 107.

live in an ascetical manner, renouncing idleness, luxury, pleasure and celebrations. The discussion about this way of life underpins the Latin Americans travel accounts and their criticism to tedious Sundays.[38]

Such matters underlie the supposedly trivial remarks about the boring North American Sundays and the joyful Sundays of the Spanish-Americans on the accounts considered. We do not intend to legitimize such differences. Our aim is to denaturalize and historicize them. Hence, the fact that the accounts express in unison a criticism to this Ascetical behavior is revealing. Even if they commended the religious tolerance in the United States, they were not familiar with the austerity imposed by the Protestantism, so we can deduce that, even the enthusiasts of "America" could not relate to it with respect to the cultural practices arising from that religious universe.

Materialism and Anti-intellectualism versus Idealism

Our aim was to show how the remarks about the Sunday sorrow were linked to the Puritan Asceticism. Among the attitudes that would make up this morality, there was also the concentration of energy of the individuals in their works - another means to remove the doubt about the divine calling. This fact would put them in opposition to the Spanish-Americans, depicted as being more negligent in relation to the actions that could lead to the desire of financial accumulation.

In the beginning of the 19th Century, José Miguel Carrera gave his opinion about the North Americans' ability to make money. Somewhat amazed and sarcastic, he tells that a Protestant church in New Haven used to charge for the seats, therefore making significant profits.[39] He was also ironic when observing that he paid more for a map he ordered, doing justice to the "repu-

[38] The selection of the Sunday issue to express their opinions is not divested of historicity. There was a dispute about the Sunday distractions since the 17th Century in England, between the Puritans and the kings James I e Charles I. Condemned to the Asceticism of the Puritans, such kings declared a Code, named Book of Sports, by which some sports were permitted on Sundays, and they punished the ones attacking the legitimacy of the decree, affirming that such practice would destabilize the everyday organization of life. Ibidem, p. 152.

[39] CARRERA, J. M. Op Cit., p. 57.

blican freedom", which allowed the free enterprise system. At the beginning of the 1830s, Lorenzo de Zavala made fun of the opposed nature of both people, establishing a clear picture of the differences. The North Americans are represented as devoted to work, capable of saving money, lenient and defenders of freedom; Mexicans are viewed as lazy, generous and superstitious:

> [North Americans are] a hard-working, active, reflexive, discreet and religious people amidst multiple cults. They are tolerant, avaricious, free, prideful and persistent. Mexicans are gentle, idle, intolerant, generous and almost opulent, vain, brave, superstitious, ignorant and they oppose to dominance. North Americans work whilst Mexicans have fun; North Americans spend the least they can, Mexicans spend even what they do not have; North Americans put into effect even the most difficult undertakings, while Mexicans give up in the first steps: One of them lives in a house, decorates it, furnishes it, protects it from misfortunes; and the other spends time on the streets, away from home, and, with a soil which does not vary among seasons, they give little attention to the site and the care with it. In the North States, everyone owns a land and tends to expand their fortunes; in Mexico, those few who own a land, neglect them and some of them waste then.[40]

This author develops his arguments defining the North Americans as strict and tolerant at the same time. It is in stark contrast with the nature of the Spanish-Americans, descendants of the Latin people, who presented concurrently the flexibility of the Catholic religion and the imposition of exclusivity in terms of faith. According to him, order and freedom were indispensable principles for any Republic, and in Latin America only the former was valued.[41] Such considerations are made bearing in mind the factory

[40] ZAVALA, L. Op. Cit., p. 201. Source: "El norteamericano es] un pueblo laborioso, activo, reflexivo, circunspecto, religioso en medio de la multiplicidad de sectas, tolerante, avaro, libre, orgulloso y perseverante. El mexicano es ligero, perezoso, intolerante, generoso y casi pródigo, vano, guerrero, supersticioso, ignorante y enemigo de todo yugo. El norteamericano trabaja, el mexicano se divierte; el primero gasta lo menos que puede, el segundo hasta lo que no tiene; aquél lleva a efecto las empresas más arduas hasta su conclusión, éste las abandona a los primeros pasos: el uno vive en su casa, la adorna, la amuebla, la preserva de las inclemencias; el otro pasa su tiempo en la calle, huye la habitación, y en un suelo donde no hay estaciones poco cuida del lugar, de su descanso. En los Estados del Norte todos son propietarios y tienden a aumentar su fortuna; en México los pocos que hay la descuidan y algunos la dilapidan".

[41] Ibidem, p. 354.

town of Lowell, Massachusetts[42]. Zavala compares this city of workers with the Spanish-American societies, trying to show two opposed developments. In his own words, on the one hand, people who were disciplined in relation to work, that do not benefit from hobbies and distractions, who were pacific, well-dressed and decent; on the other hand, people indulging themselves, worshiping saints and begging for money.[43]

From 1848 to 49, the Chilean Vicente Pérez Rosales (1807-86) emphasized this description, using similar expressions. He went to California and took part in the Gold Rush, which was recently discovered in the region. In his writings, he includes (in the Appendixes) considerations about the "Yankee spirit".[44] The division between the Anglo-Saxon and Spanish-American "races", respectively marked by unethical concepts of entrepreneurship and passivity, is an integral part of his speech.[45] He supports the idea that the North Americans had a determined and individualistic character. The Yankees did not consider what could not work, on the contrary, they focused in their achievements no matter what was happening by their sides, running over whatever got in their way to achieve their goals:

> Clearly, the most important quality of the entrepreneurial spirit of the Yankees is their ability to work without limits (...). The Yankees never look at their feet when they walk. They stare at their objective, the imagination of the object of their wishes, and they go in its direction in a straight line, and they go over whoever stands up against them. If they fall, the fall does not intimidate his pursuit,

[42] Lorenzo de Zavala traveled to the United States during the administration of Andrew Jackson (1829-37), when especially textile factories gained importance due to protectionist measures. The workers of those factories started to live in cities like Lowell, which, in 1830, had about five thousand workers. NEVINS, Allan; COMMANGER, Henry S. Breve historia de los Estados Unidos. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994.

43 ZAVALA, L. Op. Cit., p. 355.

[44] PEREZ ROSALES, Vicente. Diario de un viaje a California, 1848-1849. Santiago: Tajamar Editores, 2007.

[45] The author uses this word – "race" – to describe cultural habits of both people, not referring to a characterization of the expression in the biological sense. The travels discussed herein have not a scientific nature. In relation to the historical meaning of the expression "Anglo-Saxon race", in England and in the United States, we suggest: JUNQUEIRA, Mary A. Velas ao mar: U. S. Exploring Expedition (1838-1842). A viagem científica de circum-navegação dos norte-americanos. São Paulo: Intermeios; Fapesp, 2015. (Cap. 06).

> rather, they make the most out of the difficulties they had been through and take advantage of it to make their way to a successful career.[46]

Conversely, the Spanish-American were inoperative and passive; they did not intervene in order to promote prosperity in any situation; they were carried away by fate and would only break this inertia when a situation was inevitable. That resulted in negative consequences for the material development of the countries.[47]

The anti-intellectualism, highlighted as an important feature of the North American culture, also divided the opinions of the travelers. This aspect can be linked to materialism, as the devotion to work of the North Americans would lead to their need to focus on action, on what is useful, disregarding the intellectual refinement, because that would demand a great deal of time, and the material reward would not necessarily return to the same extent.

The anti-intellectualism issue was reviewed by eminent North American researchers. The historian Richard Hofstadter seeks to understand how a nation founded by an intellectual elite, that is, the generation of men who had made the Independence and the Constitution, ended up devaluing the intellectual skills so much that this became a "political defect".[48]

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[46] PEREZ ROSALES, Vicente. Diario de un viaje a California, 1848-1849. Santiago: Tajamar Editores, 2007. p. 137. Source: "La prenda que más campea el carácter emprendedor del yanqui es sin duda su actividad sin límites (...). El yanqui nunca mira a sus pies cuando camina. Fija la vista y la imaginación en el objeto de sus deseos, marcha a él en línea recta, y atropella cuanto se le opone en su tránsito. Si cae, su caída no intimida al que va en pos de él, antes bien, aprovechándose de las dificultades vencidas, hace del caído puente y prosigue embellezando su carrera".

47 Ibidem, p. 127.

[48] According to the author, this turning point occurred in the end of the 18th Century, at a time of extreme political passion, when the Federalist Party started to attack the aristocratic intellectuals and landlords, focusing mainly on Thomas Jefferson, from the opponent party, the Democratic-Republican Party. The notions of anti-intellectualism were also used in the end of the 18th Century by popular writers, who distrusted the educated man and landlords. Such criticisms gained importance at this moment, but they did not prevent Jefferson to be elected president in 1800. The anti-intellectualism was expanded in the North American politics with the administration of Andrew Jackson (1829-37), elected with the image of an ordinary man from the West. HOFSTADTER, Richard. Antiintelectualismo nos Estados Unidos. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1967, p. 182.

The travelers studied herein have different positions. Some of them tend to minimize the issue, protecting the North Americans from the criticisms, and some of them overvalue this aspect to attach the North American people. The Mexican Manuel Payno believed that the North Americans were ambitious, focused on work and did not value knowledge. The Latin America people, descending from Spanish, had inherited the spirit of Knowledge.[49] He stated, when visiting the Niagara Falls, that the North Americans could not even contemplate their nature, because they were only interested in making money: "such stoic men, in general with a mercantile spirit, that not even the Niagara Falls prevent them from talking only about dollars and cottons".[50]

The Chilean Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-86) is also emphatic when stating the lack of "erudite propensity" of the North American people.[51] In his writings, he comments about the differences between Latinos and Anglo-Saxons, protecting the former: "Gentle, frank, selfless and chivalrous people, and extremely generous They are excellent peers to live in society and it is very easy for them to forget offenses...".[52] It should be noted that this view did not include the indigenous people as "Latinos". When talking about Mexico, he highlights the large amount of indigenous people in relation to white people, considering them as a part of the calamities of the country, because they were a "masa ingovernable" (ungovernable mass).[53] When sta-

[49] PAYNO, M. Op. Cit. p. 182.

[50] Ibidem, p. 236. The Mexican Luis de La Rosa, who traveled to the United States in 1848, also condemned the North Americans for their inability to observe nature with a romantic view. DE LA ROSA, Luis. Impresiones de un viaje de México a Washington en octubre y noviembre de 1848. Toluca: Instituto Mexiquense de Cultura, 2002, p. 76. Source: "hombres tan estoicos y tan mercantiles por lo general, que ni aun el Niagara los distrae un instante de sus conversaciones de dollars y de cottons".

[51] His travel is related to a period of political exile, when, in 1851, he had to leave Chile because he engaged in an uprising in opposition to the conservative administration of Manuel Montt. He went to the United States first, and then to Europe. He was in political exile from 1853 to 55, when he was 24 years old, and published his accounts in 1856. VICUÑA MACKENNA, Benjamín. Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viaje (1853-54-55). Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1936.

[52] Ibidem, p. 84. Source: Gente ligera de sangre, francos, desinteresados, caballerescos hasta la fatuidade y generosos hasta el non plus ultra de la disipación. Son excelentes y espirituales compañeros en sociedad y muy fáciles para olvidar agravios...".

[53] Ibidem, p. 84.

ting that the Latinos were generous, ceremonious and not very ambitious, it was implicit that they behaved unlike the North Americans, who, as per his judgment, had a mercantile, calculating, egoistic and individualistic nature. Vicuña-Mackenna says that, among the North American people, the power of money prevailed, and the moral values could not interpose the monetary assets. This would lead to immoral actions, such as the practice of newspaper publishers, who altered their dates to extend the sales. The unscrupulousness was widespread and the most important thing was to profit. "Everything here is infected by the greed and money making (as the American would say) viruses. (...) I do not judge them, I only mention the facts I have seen; everything is about money here, about business, self-interest, love for what is mine and greed or disregard for what is not mine, according only to the value for money of the things!"[54]

Material greed and anti-intellectual behavior were together in those representations. The paradigmatic example of the financial exploitation, connected to the lack of artistic taste of the North Americans was the image of Phineas Taylor Barnum, businessman of the entertainment industry, who made his fortune with easily assimilated shows, named by Vicuña Mackenna as "el rei del humbug" (The Humbug King).[55] Such word, used by different travelers, can be translated into Portuguese as quackery, charlatanism or fraud. In New York, Vicuña-Mackenna identified two symbols of the humbug, both related to Barnum. The first one, the Crystal Palace, launched in 1853, when the traveler was in the United States. Its owner built a wooden tower, where people could go up for a "bargain", and where they could contemplate the city skyline of the city. In the surroundings of the Palace, a number of shows, described by the author as grotesque.[56] The other paradigmatic building of the humbug was the Barnum Museum, built in the center of Broadway. Among the oddities, there were optical illusion items - such as a scenery of

[54] Ibidem, p. 251. Source: "Todo se contamina aquí con este vírus sacrus de la ganancia y del money making, como los americanos dicen. (...) Yo no acuso, cito hechos que he visto por mis ojos; todo es plata aquí, negocio, egoísmo, amor por lo mío y codicia o menosprecio por lo ajeno, según valga o no dinero!"

[55] Ibidem, p. 164.

[56] Ibidem, p. 232.

South America, where a native on horseback was swallowed by a snake, and afterwards, all of them turned into stones.[57]

Also, there was the attempt to persuade the reader that the North American nature was connected to the lack of intellectual interest, when saying that the number of relevant authors in the country was limited, and this was related to the commercial and industrial propensity of the North American people.[58] In relation to formal education, he agrees that there were many schools in the United States, but that the contents were not taught in a way to privilege intelligence, but rather the practical spirit; whereas in Spanish America, there were fewer schools, but it had a better quality of education.[59]

It is interesting to note, in this context, the critical remarks of a woman. The Argentinean Eduarda Mansilla (1834-92), who visited the United States in the 1860s with her husband, a Diplomat, comments about the nature of such people, comparing them with the Englishmen and the Latin-Americans. She intended to show that the traces of the "Saxon race", such as materialism, for example, were a heritage of the motherland, determining essentially the behavior of the North American people: "the political pharisaism of the Saxons has made its way, and the great nation goes ahead, destroying, plundering, integrating territories".[60] Her perspective is from someone on the other side, and she emphasizes the differences from her culture in relation to the one she is describing. As a "Latina", she presents herself as someone who is better at coping with feelings than coping with reason. It is also possible to understand this aspect in the light of the gender perspective, because it was common, at that period, to connect to women the emotional aspect. When evoking feelings, which are seen as an important thing to women and to Latinos, the author connected two speeches that were usually presented distinctly: the gender identity speech and the regional origin speech. When

[57] Ibidem, p. 221-222.

[58] Ibidem, p. 162.

[59] Ibidem, p. 236.

[60] MANSILLA, Eduarda. Recuerdos de viaje. Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1996, p. 62. Source: "el fariseismo político de los Sajones ha hecho su camino, y la gran nación va adelante con su go ahead, destruyendo, pillando, anexando".

addressing the manner North Americans dealt with indigenous people during the process of Conquest of the West, Mansilla uses the feelings as an important element of her analysis. "[The North Americans] do not put into practice their main precept: fraternity. Do not accuse me for being sentimental, or better said, rub it in my face, because I am not ashamed of it".[61]

According to the Mexican Justo Sierra, the artistic sensibility of the North American people was subject to a "concepción eminentemente industrial y utilitária" (eminently industrial and utilitarian conception).[62] The Cathedral of Baltimore is described as "desnuda y fría" (uncovered and cold), and it was peculiar because it had no artistic and aesthetic interest.[63] He states that the cathedral had no Catholic aspects, nor items coming from Italy, Spain or Mexico. The instincts of such "races", according to Sierra, were based on the voluptuousness of light, color and embossing; while in the United States there was a simple and terrible austerity.[64] When crossing the border back to Mexico, the author had this thought: that he was leaving the freedom country, but had the feeling that he had found it (the freedom) when stepping again in his country.[65] Even if it was poorer and backward country, with no comfort, populated by people he considered slow and negligent, "esa tierra de donde soy me gusta más" (I prefer this land of mine).[66] He commends not the work, an Anglo-Saxon value, but enjoyment, a practice of the Latin tradition: "Indefinitely begging for crumbs, we have chosen to sing to the sun, such as the grasshoppers of the fable".[67]

Even a socialist as Juan B. Justo who, as seen before, debunked the supposedly egalitarian nature of the North American people, would tend

[61] Ibidem, p. 63. Source: "No practican [los norteamericanos] el principal de sus preceptos: la fraternidade. No se me acuse de sentimentalismo, o mejor dicho, écheseme en la cara el sentir, no me será disgustoso".

[62] SIERRA, Justo. Viajes: en tierra yankee, en la Europa latina. México: UNAM, 1948, p. 88.

[63] Ibidem, p. 162.

[64] Ibidem, p. 133.

[65] Ibidem, p. 188-189.

[66] Ibidem, p. 193.

[67] Ibidem, p. 193. Source: "A hormiguear indefinidamente en torno de migajas, hemos preferido cantar al sol como las cigarras de la fábula".

to agree with the other travelers about the anti-intellectualism. According to him, the North American people were not very intelligent and were excessively pragmatic, and this fact was preventing them from being a great nation.[68] With a view inspired in Positivism and mentioning Auguste Comte, he states that the North American people was not ahead of the Europeans in the intellectual aspect, because they could not create general ideas or synthesize the scientific expertise.[69] The matter of their intellectual delay was connected, for the author, to the religious sphere. When he saw religious inscriptions in the main landmarks of the cities, he realized that, although the State was declared to have no official religion, faith had an expressive force in the United States, and was present even in the public instances.[70] Despite such positions, he highlights that the North Americans had a high level of formal education, and they massively knew how to read and write, and that was a benefit. In the unfulfilled predictions of the author, this fact about formal education would predispose them to Socialism.[71]

With regard to anti-intellectualism, thus far we approached critical positions in relation to North Americans. However, two authors tried to relativize such idea. The first one is the Peruvian José Arnaldo Márquez.[72] He disagreed on the idea that there was a prevailing anti-intellectualism amongst the North Americans and stated that the public education was disseminated throughout the country, and that it was assisted by the principles of freedom and progress. According to the author, in the United States, the children of

[68] JUSTO, J. B. Op. Cit., p. 58.

[69] Ibidem, p. 59.

[70] Ibidem, p. 59 a 62.

[71] Ibidem, p. 76.

[72] José Arnaldo Márquez (1832-1903) was a diplomat and journalist and had been in the United States from 1857 to 1861 as a Consul in New York. Enthusiast of the republican ideas, he stated that, in the United States, every benefit would be available to the majority, with no difference according to their origin, while in Latin America, the Spanish aristocratic heritage had influence. According to Carmen Mc Evoy, the author highlighted the republican qualities in the United States, identified in how they handled topics such as religion, education, press and the condition of women and children. MC EVOY, Carmen. Estudio preliminar. In: MÁRQUEZ, José Arnaldo. Recuerdos de viaje a los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte. Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; COFIDE, 2003. p. 13-47.

poor and rich people had the right to education, not only in the basic level, but also higher education, and could rely on investments by the government and private donors who wanted to perpetuate their names. In the Spanish America, conversely, there was a lack of incentives to education. Márquez ensured that the United States was a country of readers, and that the press was spread all over the country. Education and Press were the two cultural supporting pillars for a civilized people. The other author following this same path is the Uruguayan José Pedro Varela. Contributing to the ideas of Sarmiento - who he mentions several times in his accounts - he tries to "refute" the bad reputation about the North Americans about anti-intellectualism. He believes that the thinkers in the United States were more pragmatic, and this was not a disadvantage according to him.[73] He establishes the opposition between Latinos and Anglo-Saxons, but he reverses the notion that the former valued the intellect, whilst the latter were just concerned about material aspects. Mentioning Montevideo, his own city, he writes about the lack of material and intellectual progress. When it comes to the Spanish, he states that they were not interested in reading. In Spain, churches prevailed; in the United States, schools. The martyrdom spirit, coupled with Catholicism, had been disseminated to the areas colonized by the Spanish, whilst the Puritans left liberty as a legacy to their descendants in America.[74]

It can be noted that subjects like religion, materialism and anti-intellectualism are intertwined in the arguments of the travelers. For most of them, even the United States supporters, North Americans were sober and practical, and were more related to pragmatism than to simple nurture of ideas. This would be a result of the Protestant background and would set a trend to seek for material success. Anti-intellectualism is understood as a consequence of this preference. As one may observe, there is a more prominent trend to identify this "flaw" or "lack" in the "national character" of

[73] VARELA, J. P. Op. Cit. p. 107.
[74] Ibidem, p. 111.

the North Americans; However, some leaders tried to change this picture, highlighting the flaws of the Spanish-American sphere.

Reactions to the North American Expansionism

The discussions on the national character of the United States, as well as on the identity of the peoples from a Latin origin were closely related to politics and, especially, with the North American ambitions about the continent. The travelers reacted to the expansionist policy and expressed their opinion about it, and we can identify a variety of positions. Some were explicitly supporters of the North American "progress", whilst others were its fierce critics.

José Arnaldo Márquez, from Peru, represents the first group. He divides the world in two parts: the "prosperous" and the "unfortunate" countries. Among the former ones, we can find the countries which have their living conditions and power based in the industry. The other countries, which are not based on industrial development, are doomed to failure. Significant examples of developed countries are, according to the author, England, France and the United States. For the second group, he mentions Greece and Italy in Europe and Mexico, Central and South America Republics in Latin American. He acknowledges the existence of a natural potential among the latter, but he deplores the lack of industry and commerce. A stage for many wars, they became susceptible to the North American domination, as had happened to Mexico.[75] In an excerpt of his accounts - when talking about the fact that the United States, in 1850, granted political asylum to the General José Antonio Páez, from Venezuela - he reproduces, without contesting, the speech of the exiled cicerone, who is totally favorable to the North American preeminence in the continent. A part of this speech is clearly about the dominance of the United States over Latin America: "The White House should be considered as the headquarters from where the missionaries of freedom and of the real Americanism would depart to spread throughout the Columbus".[76] Convinced about the effectiveness of the Monroe Doctrine, he argues

[75] MÁRQUEZ, J. A. Op. Cit., p. 111-112.

[76] Ibidem, p. 151. Source: "La Casa Blanca debiera ser el cuartel general de donde saliesen los misioneros de la libertad y del verdadero americanismo para derramarse por todo el mundo de

that the Spanish-Americans should trust the United States, so they could protect themselves from the monarchists on the other side of the Atlantic. Thus, democracy and freedom would permeate such regions, making the South American republics as strong and prosperous as their neighbors in the North.[77] In relation to the war between Mexico and United States, he exonerated the North-Americans, arguing that they could, if they wanted to, have taken all over Mexico. Another episode which generates comments and causes controversy is the occupation of Nicaragua by the North American filibuster William Walker, proclaimed president of the country in 1856 (almost at the same time as Márquez traveled throughout the United States). In his accounts, he affirms that the United States were opposed to this position, because this kind of attack contradicted the republican principles. With his speech openly supporting the United States, he considers that South America should not close their doors to the United States, because they had nothing to lose, since they do not have strong commerce or production, but relied on a mighty nature.[78]

Vicente Pérez Rosales also supported the United States in different moments, but it is a mistake to think that this praise happened to the detriment of the appreciation of his own country. This acknowledgment would raise the awareness about the consequences represented by the North American progress for the Spanish-American countries. A nationalism - expressed on behalf of their own nature - was emerging.[79] This author, who traveled to participate in the Gold Rush in California, noticed the economic consequences that the development in the region could bring to Chile and other Latin American countries, especially the ones in the Pacific region. He mentions especially the export of primary and manufactured goods from Chile to California – such as flour, barley, dry fruits, tallow candles, clothes and shoes - heavily consumed, but tending to be replaced by the consumption of resources

Colón".

[77] Ibidem, p. 162.

[78] Ibidem, p. 1623-164.

[79] SANHUEZA CERDA, Carlos. Chilenos en Alemania y alemanes en Chile: viaje y nación en el siglo XIX. Santiago de Chile: LOM Editores, 2006.

produced internally or acquired from foreign competition, such as China. He is also afraid of the inbound of products with competitive prices in Chilean harbors.[80] Thus, while he valued the visited country, in some specific excerpts, he also criticizes it: he complains about the fact that the Chilean people suffer the prejudice in that country, but they bragged themselves of having an open-door policy to foreigners: "Since the begging of the year of 49, the Chilean people was considered as outcasts and, for the Yankees, they were seen as the Jewish had been seen by the Templars during the Middle Ages".[81]

Benjamín Vicuña-Mackenna also highlighted the North American political interests. The last chapter of his accounts, written during the 1850s, he appears to be concerned about the threat represented to the Latin America by the power of the United States.[82] Such ambitions turned the North Americans into the "new barbarians", with their "terrorist" attacks on Latinos.[83] When talking about the war against Mexico and the annexationist proposals about Cuba, he warns about the fact that the United States already considered the territories above Panama as their own. He expresses, yet, the disagreement in relation to this expansionary attitude and criticized the fact that they called themselves "America".[84]

At the end of his accounts about the United States, he strongly discourages the Spanish-American republics to have a deeper bond with that country, mentioning the disadvantages to the weaker side. At the same time, he appeals to the Latin identity to strengthen the spiritual bonds, which would

[80] PÉREZ ROSALES, V. Op. Cit., p. 140-141.

[81] Ibidem, p. 146. In relation to the Chilean and Mexican communities in California during the 19th Century, their interaction with North Americans and the identity issue, we referred to PURCELL, Fernando. 'Benditos sean los que no olvidan el país donde nacieron'. Chilenos y mexicanos en California, 1848-1880. In: FERNÁNDEZ, Marcos; HARAMBOUR, Alberto; HENRÍQUEZ, Rodrigo; ITURRIAGA, Jorge; ASANDÓN, Luis; OSORIO, Luis; PURCELL, Fernando. Arriba quemando el sol: estudios de Historia Social Chilena: experiencias populares de trabajo, revuelta y autonomía (1830-1940). Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2004. Source: "El chileno fue considerado allí desde princípios del año de 49 como un paria, y era a los ojos de la generalidade de los yanquis lo que el judío en los siglos médios para um templario".

[82] VICUÑA-MACKENNA, B. p. 244-245.

[83] Ibidem, p. 260.

[84] Ibidem, p. 261-262.

help to resist against a potential more direct intervention coming "from top to bottom":

> ...the souls and intelligences made to be heroic and sublime should oppose themselves to the invasion and plundering; we have a noble, although passive civilization, but they will resist to the active sting of materialism; we have a story, a tradition full of glory, and it should be raised as a venerable shield of the past against the fearless and unprepared power of the present; we have a religion that, if purified from the superstitions, will fortify the beliefs of the spirit, without obscuring it. In fact, we have to oppose firmly against the overflow of foreign and angry devotion, greed and misappropriation.[85]

Finally, it is worth mentioning the analysis of Justo Sierra, because this author went to the United States exactly during the Spanish-American War in 1898, another key political framework in the list of expansionary experiences from the second half of the 19th Century. At that moment, Cuba was gaining Independence from Spain, to be then subject to the United States. Therefore, the country is the focus of attention of the author. In his accounts, the author discusses that, in the Club Colón-Cervantes, in New York - where he used to meet other Spanish-Americans - they talked about the fate of that Island during the war. Against that background, the Latin-American identity strengthened. This is the idea expressed in the words of Sierra: "...who we call Latinos may not see peacefully the takeover of Antillean world by the Saxons, since they have purposes and means essentially different from ours".[86] The threat to Cuba alludes to the experience of past relations between his country, Mexico, and the United States, in events such as the loss of Texas and the Mexican-American war. When visiting the Capitol, in Washington,

[85] Ibidem, p. 264. Source: "...hay almas e inteligencias templadas para lo heroico y lo sublime que oponer a la invasión y al pillaje; hay una noble, aunque inerte civilización que resistirá al activo aguijón del materialismo; hay una historia, una tradición llena de glorias que levantar como un escudo venerable del pasado contra el poder impávido, improvisado, del presente; hay una religión que depurada de supersticiones fortifica las convicciones del espíritu sin obscurecerlo. Hay mucho, en verdad, que oponer al desborde de pasiones ajenas e irritadas, a la codicia y la usurpación".

[86] SIERRA, J. Op. Cit. p. 107. Source: "...los que nos llamamos latinos no podemos ver tranquilamente la absorción del mundo antillano por la raza sajona, que tiene fines y medios esencialmente distintos de los nuestros".

he describes that he thought about the iniquities sanctioned there, and resulted in the loss of such Mexican territories. He makes a reflection inspired by a painting he saw inside the Capitol, which represented the Battle of Chapultepec, in 1847, sealing the victory of the United States in the war against Mexico. He laments "...the affront of the American invasion; amidst so much misery and embarrassment, blood and corpses, our losses and the American triumphs during the year of 1847..."[87]

The resentments were still significant, nearly half a century after the Mexican-American war, as we can see by the use of strong words, such as "offense" and "shame", denoting anger and humiliation. The new war, involving now the United States and Cuba, would bring back the ghosts from the recent past, Mexican and Spanish-American, in which the United States figured as a serious threat.

Exchange of ideas: paradigmatic writings

It is necessary to take into account that this process of building affinity with Spanish-Americans and demonstrating the alterity in relation to the United States is not only a consequence of the political and ideological stances of the authors. The exchange of ideas, emphasized by the interaction between the Spanish-American travelers and the writings of Europeans, who had also visited the United States, contributed to such identity definition. They confirmed their positions or gave a new meaning to their perceptions through conversation or confrontation.

The main European authors mentioned by the Spanish-American travelers were the Frenchmen François-René Chateaubriand, Alexis de Tocqueville and Édouard Laboulaye, and the British Frances Trollope. Among them, the most mentioned was Chateaubriand, mainly because of the excerpts about nature in the United States, especially in the descriptions about

[87] Ibidem, p. 123. (Our emphasis). Source: "...as afrentas de la invasión americana; en esa pirámide de miserias, e vergüenzas, de sangre y de cadáveres, de derrotas nuestras y de triunfos americanos que se llama 1847...".

Mississippi and Niagara.[88] When mentioning the author, Lorenzo de Zavala draws parallels between the United States and the Latin American, talks about the existence, in both places, of a primitive, but fertile and rich nature, that is, able to generate resources.[89] Other authors also used excerpts from the Chateaubriand writings with issues related to the description of nature, emphasizing, though, that the context described by the French traveler was not the same anymore in the 19th Century, being modified by the progress.[90]

Alexis de Tocqueville was another author widely mentioned, and for various reasons. The most interesting analyses belong to Domingo F. Sarmiento, in the 1840s, and to Juan B. Justo, in the end of the 19th Century. Tocqueville is mentioned by those two authors in a reference to his concerns about the North American political system. Sarmiento praised the North American progress, and took advantage of the situation to use valued data presented by Tocqueville about the modern means of transportation in the country. His intention when mentioning the name of the author was to intellectually support his praises to the development of the railway and navigation systems, because they would bring profits and financial benefits to the country.[91] Juan B. Justo, conversely, mentions Tocqueville to show that his suspicion in relation to the model of the North American democracy was prophetic. According to Justo, since Tocqueville went to the United States, in the beginning of 1830s, the social differences only got worse. Such differences were visible

[88] François-René Chateaubriand (1768-1848) came from a French noble family and traveled to the United States in 1791, during the French Revolution. The author has published a report about this travel, entitled Voyage en Amérique (1826).

[89] ZAVALA, L. Op. Cit., respectively p. 226-27 and 255-56.

[90] Luis de la Rosa, with a romanticized view, deplores the fact that the view in Mississippi in 1848 had not the same characteristics identified before by Chateaubriand. It was a place without indigenous people, where he could see the results of development. Eduarda Mansilla describes the arrival at the Niagara Falls in the 1860s, informing that the train journey was not so romantic as described by Chateaubriand, who made it in a carriage. The Peruvian José Arnaldo Márquez also remarks the changes in the country since the French author described it. According to Márquez, the United States were beginning at that time, and at the time of the travel, in the end of the 1850s, they did not have telegraphs and railways, things that changed the living conditions. DE LA ROSA, L. Op. Cit., p. 64; MANSILLA, E. Op. Cit., p 151; 154; MÁRQUEZ, J. A. Op. Cit., p. 111; 190.

[91] SARMIENTO, D. F. Op. Cit., p 297.

in different sectors involving, directly or indirectly, the economic production: agriculture, industry and transportation. Thus, unlike Sarmiento, who indicated the advantages of the model, Justo highlights the inequality, which he named "el peligro de Tocqueville" (the Tocqueville danger), in order to stress the counter face of the much-talked about democratic condition.[92]

The French Édouard Laboulaye is not as well known today, but he was broadly mentioned by the travelers at that time.[93] Enthusiast of the amenities found in the hotels of the large cities in North America, the Uruguayan José Pedro Varela uses the Laboulaye writings to support his positive appraisal of the country.[94] Eduarda Mansilla mentions him twice when discussing the North American Constitution. More open and less susceptible to changes, this letter was seen as perfect for the pragmatic character of the North American people; this contrasted with the French practice, mentioned by Laboulaye, who used to replace their Constitution more frequently.[95]

Among all the authors mentioned, the one we believe is the most interesting, because of the recurrence by which she is mentioned and because of the contents, is the British woman Frances Trollope (1780-1863), who had been in the United States from the end of the 1820s to the beginning of the following decade, having published the accounts Domestic Manners of the Americans.[96] Her main objective is to describe the North American way of life, catching moments of the everyday life. Even though admitting the existence

[92] JUSTO, Juan B. Op. cit. p. 27.

[93] Édouard Laboulaye (1811-1883) was a lawyer and a writer. He used to criticize the Second Empire of Napoleon III. Obviously inspired by the works of Tocqueville, he addressed the United States in several works, from History books to travel accounts (such as Souvenir d´un voyageur, 1858). The document mentioned by the travelers, though, is a novel named Paris en América, published in Spanish, by Librería de la Cuesta, Madri, in 1862, and in English, by C. Scribner, New York, in 1863. The author engaged in correspondence with Sarmiento. Due to this relation, there is even a city in Cordoba, Argentina, with the name of the author (Laboulaye).

[94] VARELA, J. P. Op. Cit., p. 97.

[95] MANSILLA, E. Op. Cit. p. 57 e 59.

[96] Frances Trollope emigrated to the United States in 1827, searching for opportunities for herself and her family. She got to know the Utopian community founded by the Scottish Frances Wright, in Tennessee, an unsuccessful undertaking. Back in England, he published his first and most important book, Domestic manners of the Americans. London: Whittaker; Treacher, &Co., 1832.

of some positive aspects, as the willingness to work, the author satirizes the rudeness, bad manners and lack of civility of the North Americans. It is not a book, as A democracia na América, which became a classic of the political thinking; however, it seems to have awakened, in a passionate manner, the attention of the Spanish-Americans.

Her book generated reactions among readers of different generations, who formulated opinions, most of the times, to deny her statements. In the decade when the book was published, the Mexican Lorenzo de Zavala expressed, somewhat appalled, his opinions about it. Even though he accepted some of the descriptions, did not always agree with her diagnosis, performing a critical reading. It is worth recalling that, one excerpt of the accounts, where she refutes the attacks coming from Trollope about the bad manners of the North Americans, identified by her in vessels crossing the Mississippi river. According to the British writer, men used to spit on the floor, overeat in a non-polite manner and picked their teeth. Zavala intended to question this, stating that the European people would give worse examples: "What should we say about the Seine River, the Gironde, and other rivers of France? It is impossible to conceive, in such civilized and advanced countries, with all sorts of social conveniences, how they could maintain that kind of filthy and repulsive vessels".[97] Another way to protect the image of the North-Americans against the "insults" of the British author was by giving historical and cultural explanations to justify the acts of the North Americans. Zavala says that the practice of spitting on the floor was a result of the smoking habit. And, in order to relativize the idea even more, he stated that this was common practice among Mexican women too.[98] They were not only mentioning the validity - or not - of the rules of etiquette, but the current idea, that almost became a legend, that the portentous nation was made, mostly, by the celebrated "ordinary men" who had explored the West. It is not a coincidence that Zavala expressly indicates the process of colonization deve-

[97] ZAVALA, L. Op. Cit., p. 226. Source: "¿Qué diremos de los de Sena, del Gironda y otros ríos de Francia? Es imposible concebir cómo en los países tan civilizados y adelantados en todo género de comodidades sociales, se puedan mantener buques tan asquerosos y repugnantes".

[98] Ibidem, p. 225-226.

loped in the West. Aiming to protect the positive image of the United States, he considered unfair from Trollope to compare civility between the United States and Europe, considering that they were set apart by several stages of civilization. The need to put it in perspective occurred to alleviate the reprimands of the author.[99]

In the following decade, the Argentinean Domingo F. Sarmiento, promoter of the opposition "civilization versus barbarism", also expressed his ideas about Trollope. Besides her, he mentioned another author, Captain Frederick Marryat (1792-1848), a British Naval Officer and author of Diary in America, 1839. Both are addressed by Sarmiento as detractors of the image of the United States, a strategy he does not agree with. Even though he is not so assertive as Zavala, Sarmiento appeals to the same logic when criticizing those authors. Without denying the validity of some descriptions - as the bad manners of the North Americans - he questions them, ensuring that they were not so realistic. He states that the North Americans were able to turn the adverse circumstances faced in American ground to useful elements they could use to create their national identity, associated to the spirit of freedom.[100]

In the 1850s, the Chilean BenjamínVicuña-Mackenna, who was extremely critical to the United States, denied some of the discrediting descriptions made by Trollope, emphasizing other aspects. One of the characteristics highlighted by the British author to show the rudeness of the North American men was that, in bars and theaters, they used to seat with their feet above their bodies, supported in another chair. The criticism of the British author may had been made relatively popular because some say that, from a certain time on, people disseminated the habit to say her name out loud in theaters, in order to demand a more suitable attitude of the viewers.[101] However, according to Vicuña-Mackenna, this and other "uncivilized" practices had been already eliminated by the North Americans during his journey, in the 1850s. In relation to his experience in the Cincinnati theater, he

[99] Ibidem, p. 240-241.
[100] SARMIENTO, D. F. Op. Cit. p. 313.
[101] MANSILLA, E. Op. Cit. p. 118.

affirms that the only habit kept, as narrated by the British author, was to smoke tobacco during the shows.[102]

Eduarda Mansilla also commented the Trollope book, which she considered a not very prestigious work, with exaggerated comments. She disagrees with the British author, and ensures that the North Americans were not "el protótipo de la más acabada vulgaridade" (the prototype of complete vulgarity), as the British believed.[103] Although many times in her accounts she stated that the European people was a model of the civility that lacked in North Americans, when it comes to Trollope, she insisted to delegitimize her accounts, affirming that she considered North Americans a courteous people.[104] Finally, she affirms that the records from Trollope's book - such as saying that men did not sit upright - acquired a character of national myth. According to her, "among their repertoire, which could be more or less picturesque, we could mention the knife in the garter of Spanish Ladies, the multicolored garments of Brazilians and the cigarette of Spanish-American women".[105]

We can see that, although the contents of the book had always been considered with reservations, the apprehensions changed over time. At first, it was necessary to deny her defamations, as Zavala had done; then, they realized they should not give so much importance to it, because they were just clichés, as stated by Mansilla. However, the accounts made by Trollope lasted long in the imagery of the Spanish-Americans in relation to the United States, and this is so true that, in the second half of the 19th Century, it was still mentioned as a reference to discuss the manners of the peoples from the West.

The focus here is to point out that the subjects related to identities already appeared in European works about the United States, and such ideas were selectively absorbed by the Spanish-American travelers. Even the authors

[102] VICUÑA MACKENNA, B. Op. Cit. p. 135-136.

[103] MANSILLA, E. Op. Cit., p. 117.

[104] Ibidem, p. 118.

[105] Ibidem, p. 118. Source: "pertenecen al repertorio, más ó ménos pintoresco, en que figuran, la navaja en las ligas de las damas Españolas, el traje de colores varios de los Brasileros y el cigarro de las Hispano americanas".

who were more critical about the United States had some reservations about the stereotyped descriptions made by Frances Trollope.

Final Considerations

Since the beginning of the 19th Century, as shown by the older accounts mentioned, it was a recurring idea that the portion of the continent composed of descendants of Spanish settlers was significantly different from the "other America", the one colonized by the British. Throughout the century and according to the political events opposing the United States and the Latin America - such as the occupation of Texas; the Nicaragua invasion by the filibuster Walker; proposals for Cuba's annexation and the Mexican--American (1846-48) and Spanish-American wars (1898) – the objections developed and consolidated, and the travel accounts served as an area of elaboration of such ideas. By assigning peculiar characteristics, the authors intended to define the character of different peoples from their opposite natures. Democracy/aristocracy; circumspection/festive mood; business/idleness; order/chaos; freedom/control; tolerance/limitation; reason/emotion; pragmatism/lyricism were the subjects evoked to designate, respectively, North Americans and Spanish-Americans. The contrast existing in such symbolic remissions continues throughout the century, gaining density as the political ambitions of the United States were becoming clearer.

After reading a considerable amount of accounts, it is also interesting to note the opposition of the authors when it comes to the adoption of the United States as a model for the Spanish-America. Some sympathized with the idea, and others were vehemently against it. However, even the ones who were inspired by the North American model, had their reservations in relation to the idea of copy. Even Zavala, who - amongst the studied authors - was one of the persons who strongly valued the development of the United States, questioned the possibility of a full copy: "El modelo era sublime: pero inimitable" (The model was magnificent: but inimitable) – he stated.[106] Most of the authors emphasized the incompatibility of both natures, stating that

[106] ZAVALA, L. Op. cit. p. 390.

it represented a barrier to the reckless appropriation of the solutions created on the other side of the continent.

Ultimately, it is worth to highlight the exchange of the ideas, not only within the continent, but also crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Considering the specific characteristics of the interpretation of each author and in each period, the recurrence of the same themes in different accounts shows that those notions were vigorously propagated. The travel accounts seemed to operate as a sort of repository of commonplaces about the United States, which could be accessed, appropriated and resignified. The reiterated manner such stereotyping spread throughout the texts by authors in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and the way they were distributed in printed material produced by authors with different notoriety levels, show that the matter almost became a myth. We may also conclude that the European ideas - accessed by the accounts read by the Spanish-American - were not always accepted. In these terms, as the authors came from Latin America, they were able to write as having their own identity, and to selectively integrate the speeches coming from other regions, such as France and England.

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