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The Americanist Congresses and the Swedes

Magnus Mörner *

I. The Congress of 1894

Institutionalized European learned interest in other continents and cultures rose as a sequel of nineteenth century imperialism and colonialism. Geographical societies played a great role as pressure groups in which, as Norwegian historian Jarle Simensen puts it, scientific, humanist, religious and economic considerations merged.[1] At the same time, after Darwin's "Origin of the species" (1859), evolutionism soon spread to anthropology, ethnology and geography. The peoples of other continents seemed to reflect earlier stages of human evolution. The emergence of African studies in Britain and France, in particular, was intimately related with colonial responsibility. In the case of Oriental studies, the European attitude was a mixture of curiosity, admiration and disdain. The first international Congress of Orientalists took place in Paris in 1873. The Eighth Congress was held in Stockholm in 1889. It was pervaded by feelings of European cultural superiority.[2] The example of the Orientalists probably inspired other French intellectuals interested in, above all, precolumbian civilizations who took the initiative of organizing the first International Congress of Americanists in the town of Nancy in 1875.

Remarkably, the French group succeeded in attracting to this meeting interested people from no less than 22 other countries, including nine from the New World. The ties of Latin American intellectuals to French "savants" were certainly very strong at this time. Four people came to Nancy from Norway, another four from Denmark but none from Sweden. But at most of the following congresses Sweden was represented, even though by little known persons. At the Congress in nearby Copenhagen in 1883 the Swedish group was more substantial.

At the first Americanist congresses, myth and early science were engaged in a tenacious struggle. In Nancy a lecture was held on Buddhism in Mexico c. 500 A.D. Atlantis and the Deluge in the Americas were other themes on the agenda of early congresses. It barely helped when the Austrian Americanist Friedrich Hellwald declared in 1879: "La question du Déluge ne rentre pas dans

* Äppelstigen 5, S–647 00 MARIEFRED

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la compétence du Congrès actuel...". First at the Congress held in London in 1912, the president, Sir Clements Markham, was daring enough to state that in the course of the meeting, there appeared to have been "fewer unsupported theories and many more conclusions derived from the consideration of ascertained facts" than at earlier congresses.

At the same time, most Americanists were afraid of letting post-columbian themes be placed on the agenda. One French delegate in 1879 even opposed the acceptance of seventeenth-eighteenth century subjects on the program, because they might "introduire la politique dans les débats". Nevertheless in Paris in 1890, after heated discussions, even border questions after Conquest were found to be worthy of study, a considerable concession at the time. By and large, however, history at the Congresses seldom exceeded the colonial period until recent times. Archaeology, ethnology (ethnography), anthropology and Amerindian languages for a long time maintained a complete domination, at least outside Spain.[3]

The Ninth Congress in Huelva, Spain, formed part of the ambitious Spanish celebration of the Discovery in 1892. Spain's glory was underlined at the Congress, in particular by a Colombian historian, Ernesto Restrepo Tirado:

> "Time seems to have come to make justice to the Spanish conquistadores. Those myths about the capricious destruction of the indigenous race by the Spaniards ought to vanish..."

He saw the elimination of the Indians being foredoomed by their own vices (!). In Huelva, the Minister of the United States invited the Americanists to hold their next Congress in his country in 1894. The delegates were not overly happy about this proposal. It would anyway be a question of an "extraordinary" congress. As a matter of fact it never took place. In any case the Huelva Congress decided that the next ordinary congress would take place in Sweden or Norway, countries united under the same monarch at the time. None of the two representatives of that monarchy at the Congress, were really Americanists in the strict sense though. Norwegian Gustav Storm (1843-1903), best known for his work in medieval history, had just studied the Vinland voyages. The Swede, Baron Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832-1901) was clearly more famous. Born in Finland and a mineralogist and geographer by training, he had in 1879 on the Swedish ship VEGA, been the first to penetrate the so called Northeast passage along the Siberian north coast to the Pacific. In the course of the 1880's his interest turned towards cartography. He presented a cartographic work to the Copenhagen Congress of 1883. At the closure of the Huelva Congress, Nordenskiöld was the one who offered the thanks of the participants to the Queen Regent of Spain.[4]

Rather surprisingly, Nordenskiöld did not become the President of the Tenth Congress in Stockholm. The position was given to Baron Gustav Tamm (1838-1925), a politician who since 1888 was the Governor of the City of Stock-

holm. The organization of the Congress was led by a capable Americanist in the strict sense. Born in Stockholm, Carl Bovallius (1849-1907) first studied and then taught zoology at the University of Uppsala. In 1881 he had joined a Swedish naval expedition to the Caribbean and disembarked in Panama. For another two years he travelled around in Central America on explorations which he described in a popular version in Swedish (1887). In Nicaragua, Bovallius had also eagerly collected archaeological artefacts. His "Nicaraguan Antiquities" (1887) was a pioneering work in the real sense of the word. In 1892-93, Bovallius was in charge of the Swedish section of the great Columbus exhibition in Madrid. Thus, it was natural that he should be chosen as the Secretary General of the Tenth Americanist Congress in Stockholm, a task he apparently carried out very well.

The Congress was opened at the seventeenth-century Palace of the Nobility in Stockholm on 3 August, 1894, by Baron Tamm. He greeted the many representatives of "la science Américaniste" (!) who had bothered to come to such a distant corner of the world. There were, in fact, participants from twelve other European countries and from no less than nine of the Western Hemisphere. Joseph-Florimond Loubat (1831-1927), a remarkable American-born patron of Americanist studies, who in 1883 had acquired the title of count from the pope and in 1893 that of duke; Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858-1924), an ethnographically interested traveller and Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), a physician and anthropologist from Berlin, were the most famous participants. As real scholars two were especially outstanding, Mrs Zélia Nuttall (1858-1933), an extraordinary pioneer student of Mexican codices, and Karl von den Steinen (1855-1929), the German ethnographer who in 1886 had published his fine work "Durch Zentral-Brasilien". Almost half of the 400 participants were Swedes of all sorts, however.[5] Among them there were at least two real Americanists, apart from Bovallius. Carl V. Hartman (1862-1941), who started his career as a gardener and in 1891 had joined the expedition of Norwegian explorer Carl Lumholtz (1851-1922) to Western Sierra Madre in Mexico. He had only just returned and was able to deliver an interesting report at the Congress. Hartman would, in 1896-99 undertake very important work in Central America, on which he reported in a famous volume "Archaeological Researches in Costa Rica" (1901). He became the head of the Ethnographical Division of the National Museum (later the Ethnographical Museum) in Stockholm in 1908, a position which he held until 1923. Another promising young Americanist at the Congress was a son of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, Gustaf (1868-95) who had carried out important archaeological research on the Cliff Dwellers of Mesa Verde, Colorado. But his life was soon cut short by tuberculosis.[6]

Behind the three young Americanists there was a remarkable group of mature scholars, well known also internationally for their works on Swedish subjects, but more or less involved in the Americanist venture as well. Hans Hildebrand (1842-1913) and Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) had built up important typologies and chronologies in archaeology.

Hildebrand had been since 1879 the Riksantikvarie, that is the State Custodian of Antiquities, an important office in Sweden then as today. He had met Loubat abroad and in 1889 the Count presented a donation of 20.000 Swedish crowns to the Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities in Stockholm of which Hildebrand ex officio was the Secretary. The interest on the capital would be awarded as a prize every fifth year for a work in a Scandinavian language on North American archaeology, ethnology or numismatics. The first to receive the Loubat prize was the Norwegian Storm for his work on the "Vinland voyages" in 1892. Three years later, Loubat himself suggested that the prize could also be given to students of South America. Last time it was awarded, was in 1993 (List: see Appendix).[7]

At the Congress, Montelius presented a bold outline of the cultural evolution of the Americas as compared to that of the Old World. He had come to the conclusion that evolution in the Americas had probably been autonomous and showed that Bronze age culture in Mexico and Peru 1500 A.D. could not possibly be explained by Egyptian cultural influences 3000 years earlier.

E. W. Dahlgren (1848-1934) was the very dynamic head librarian of the Academy of Sciences. He helped Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld to prepare the report of the VEGA expedition. This initiated an interest in the history of geography and cartography and he would, in due time, become known as the author of a classical work, "Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'Océan Pacifique (Commencement du XVIIIe siècle)" (1909).

Hjalmar Stolpe (1841-1905), finally, taught Nordic archaeology at the University of Lund. He also took part in the Americanist Congress in Copenhagen in August 1883, where he gave a paper on "L'art ornamentaire des peuples américains". Some months later he joined the Swedish frigate VANADIS on a naval expedition around the world which was completed in 1885. Stolpe also took part in archaeological excavations in Ancón, Peru. He wrote little himself but taught Hartman the archaeological methods he should use. In 1897 he received the Swedish Loubat prize.[8]

The Congress in Stockholm was no doubt successful thanks to Bovallius' great working capacity and organizational skill. The social program comprised a boat trip in the Stockholm archipelago, a visit to Skansen, the famous open-air-museum founded three years earlier by Arthur Hazelius (1833-1901), a trip to Uppsala and a reception at the Royal Palace of Drottningholm, where King Oscar II and the Crown Prince personally greeted every Americanist.

At the final session, Gustavo Baz, the Mexican delegate, invited, as the Americans had done in Huelva, the Americanists to hold their next Congress in Mexico, where they would be able to study with their own eyes "des ruines grandioses...". But Virchow was strongly opposed:

> "...il est necessaire de rester en Europe. Ce serait livrer tout les Congrès au hasard que de convoquer un Congrès en Amérique, où l'on ne sait par qui y viendra, qui en prendra la direction, et quels résultats il donnera".

These Eurocentric concerns were, however, calmed down by, above all, the Duke of Loubat. "Il faut encourager les études. On ne connait l'Américanisme là-bas", he declared. Thus it was resolved that an extraordinary Congress would take place in Mexico prior to the next regular one which was to be held in the Netherlands in 1896. While the latter one never took place, the one in Mexico in 1895 was a clear success. Afterwards it was recognized as number eleven in the series of regular congresses. The next congress would, with a lengthy delay, take place in Paris in 1900. Since then, in accordance with a set of new statutes, the Americanist Congresses have alternated between the Old and the New World.[9]

No Swede took part in the Mexico Congress in 1895 nor in the one in Paris in 1900. But since the New York Congress in 1902 one or more Swedes have usually been present. The 1902 Congress was attended by Stolpe, Hartman and Åke Sjögren, an engineer who lived in Costa Rica and had archaeology as a hobby. Stolpe became one of 6 vice-presidents to form the Council of the Congresses. In Stuttgart in 1904, apart from Hartman, there was a new Swedish ethnographer present, count Eric von Rosen (1879-1948). Von Rosen had studied with Stolpe and had set out in 1901-02 on an expedition to Chaco and the Andes, which I will talk more about presently. Later he turned to African studies. Eric von Rosen was an excellent photographer and a fascinating, impressive man whom I am glad to have known some fifty years ago. In Vienna in 1908, Hartman gave a lecture on Costa Rican archaeology. The Congress in London in 1912, was the last Congress to take place in Europe before World War I.[10]

II. The Nordenskiöld group

In Rio de Janeiro in 1922, it was decided to divide the next Congress - the first one to be held in Europe since the war - between the cities of The Hague and Gothenburg (Göteborg), Sweden's second city and main harbour on the southwestern coast. The reason for the choice was no doubt that Erland Nordenskiöld (1877-1932), a younger son of Adolf Erik, since taking over the position as curator of the Ethnographic division of the Gothenburg Museum in 1913, had transformed it into an Americanist center of foremost international importance. A close friend of his, the French Americanist Paul Rivet (1876-1958) had been the one to propose Gothenburg in Rio, as one of the next two Congress sites.[11]

Nordenskiöld had a number of great qualities. Firstly, his range of interest and experiences was wide. In included different regions and native peoples. His first trip was to Patagonia in 1899, as a zoologist. Then, together with some other Swedes, he took part in the so-called "Swedish Chaco-Cordillera expedition" to Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-02 during which he worked as an ethnographer instead. In 1904-05 he explored the Montaña of the Central Andes and in 1908-09 he was once again in Chaco and northern Bolivia. The collec-

tions he brought back to Sweden from all these trips were truly impressive. After his return in 1909, one would have thought that he would have been the natural successor of Stolpe as the curator of the Ethnographical Division of the National Museum of Natural Sciences in Stockholm, but Hartman was chosen. Nordenskiöld, obtained the position in Gothenburg in 1913 instead. He came to a city which through trade and navigation stood in a more direct contact with the Americas than Stockholm. It was also a city where generous donators were often ready to help him in his endeavours. Before he died in 1932, he made a final, important expedition to another corner of the continent, northeastern Colombia and Panamá.

Secondly, by the early twenties, Nordenskiöld had become known not only for his careful ethnographic descriptions but also for his analytical and theoretical work. He had already started to map out the various cultural elements of South American Indians and drawn the conclusions regarding cultural sequences that could be made on that basis. As early as 1912 his article "Une contribution à la connaissance de l'anthropogéographie de l'Amérique" in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes of Paris, the main centre of its kind, was widely read. In 1918 the Gothenburg centre started to publish an important series of monographs, most being written by Nordenskiöld himself: Comparative Ethnographical Studies.

Thirdly, for all his analytical brilliance, Nordenskiöld also had a very great empathy and interest in the Indian as a fellow human being. It was reflected in his several popular travel books in Swedish. This was a time when Indians were under constant violent threat and racism was rampant. There were also, however, other ethnographers, like the Germans Karl von den Steinen, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, Martin Gusinde and, somewhat later, Curt Unckel Nimuendajú who were very much on the same pro-Indian line as Nordenskiöld.

Finally, Nordenskiöld was also a diligent and inspiring teacher, especially active as such after having received the chair in Ethnography at Gothenburg University in 1923. Colleagues, who at the same time were his disciples, included Sven Lovén (1875-1948), a pioneer student of the Taino (Arawaks) of the Caribbean, Gustaf Bolinder (1883-1957), who dedicated himself to the study of Colombia, and Eric Boman (1867-1924), famous for his "Antiquités de la région andine de la République Argentine et du désert d'Atacama" (I-II, 1908). Last but not least, we have to mention the Swiss, Alfred Métraux, who wrote his famous work on the material of the Tupi-Guaraní in Gothenburg under Nordenskiöld's direction during the 1920s.

The second session of the XXI Americanist Congress took place in Gothenburg on 20-26 August 1924, with the Governor of the province, Oscar von Sydow (1875-1936) as President and Nordenskiöld as Secretary General. The list of Vice-Presidents included some of his first rank colleagues such as Franz Boas, Robert H. Lowie, Paul Rivet and Max Uhle. Also present was Von den Steinen who had also been in Stockholm in 1894. Nordenskiöld's great reputation and the interest of the Americanists to see the collections he had

brought to Sweden can undoubtedly explain the particularly high quality of the congress participants. In The Hague, North America, the Guayanas and the Caribbean had been on the agenda. In Gothenburg, the program comprised South and Central America, but the latter session also had a much more ethnological/anthropological character. When welcoming his colleagues in Spanish, Nordenskiöld especially addressed Von den Steinen ("...mi muy respetado maestro"), Uhle and Rivet. The latter opened the working sessions with a lecture on "Les éléments constitutifs des civilisations du nord-Ouest et de l'Ouest sud-américaine". After a varied and fine program, Lowie gave the last lecture "On the historical connection between certain Old World and New World beliefs".

In connection with the Gothenburg session it is worthwhile mentioning that there was another remarkable Swedish Americanist also present, a cousin of Erland Nordenskiöld's, to greet the guests on behalf of Gothenburg's Royal Society of Science and Literature: Otto Nordenskjöld (1869-1928), a geologist and geographer. He made an expedition to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego 1895-97 and a dramatic naval expedition to the Antarctic 1901-03. After losing their ship, the party was rescued by an Argentine expedition. A third expedition led by Nordenskjöld went to the Peruvian Montaña in 1920-21.

Two of Nordenskiöld's students were listed as participants of the Congress, Sigvald Linné (1899-1986) and Gösta Montell (1899-1975). The latter presented his Gothenburg doctoral dissertation (1929) on dress customs in ancient Peru. Later, however, he came to devote most of his work to Central Asia.

Another rather early student was Karl Gustav Izikowitz (1903-1984), who after Nordenskiöld's death turned to the study of South East Asia. His dissertation was about musical instruments of the South American Indians. Other students who in 1924 were still high school students were Stig Rydén (1908-65) and S. Henry Wassén (1908-). Members of this generation of Swedish Americanists would often appear at Americanist Congresses, presenting communications and becoming well known among their respective scholarly groups. Sigvald Linné, who in 1927 took part in Nordenskiöld's last expedition to Panamá presented his doctoral dissertation a couple of years later on "Darién in the Past". From 1932 onwards he dedicated himself to Mexican archaeology. He is especially famous for his outstanding work in Teotihuacán. At the Americanist Congress in Mexico in 1939 he also gave an excellent summary on the unique map of Mexico City from 1550 and thus the oldest one preserved, which happened to have found its way to the Uppsala University Library. His detailed work on the map appeared in 1948. While Montell, especially, worked on the cultures of the Peruvian coast and its treasures of ancient burial sites, Rydén was a specialist on highland Bolivia, until for reasons of health he took up instead, the study of Spanish-Swedish cultural relations during the eighteenth century. Wassén has become first and foremost wellknown as a specialist on Chocó, Colombia and Indian drugs and medicine.[12]

The 1924 Congress in The Hague-Gothenburg was followed by that in Rome 1926, where Linné gave a talk on the Amazon collections of the

Gothenburg museum. In New York in 1928, Nordenskiöld presented some results from his latest expedition, talking about the Cuna Indian religion. His final words reflect his realistic and human concern with the then current situation. With all respect to archaeology, he said, "I consider that at the present time it is of still greater importance to study the Indians of today, who are everywhere losing their original culture and their original world of conceptions".[13]

A few years later, the interest in the Cuna would be further developed by Wassén. Even before Nordenskiöld's death, a Cuna Indian, Rubén Pérez Kantule from San Blas came as an informant to Gothenburg to help the Swedes analyse the Cuna heritage. In the 1940s a linguist from Lund, Nils M. Holmer (born in 1904) also joined the Cuna/Chocó team.

In 1947, under the presidency of Paul Rivet, the XXVIII Congress met in Paris, in a way the permanent capital of Americanism. Both Izikowitz, now Director of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum and Eric von Rosen, the veteran Swedish ethnographer from the 1904 Congress, were there.

III. From a historian's perspective

Not surprisingly, most Swedish Americanists were present at the XXXII Congress taking place in nearby Copenhagen in 1956. Here Åke Hultkrantz, a historian of religion, spoke on "Tribal division within the Eastern Shoshone of Wyoming", while Linné and Izikowitz were among the officers of the Congress. Naturally enough, in Copenhagen the Inuit (Eskimos) and Greenland received considerable attention. The president, Kaj Birket-Smith (1893-1977) who had been a close colleague and friend of Nordenskiöld, had himself this Arctic specialization.[14]

Copenhagen was also the first Americanist Congress in which I took part myself, presenting a paper on a Spanish American historical subject. From now on, I shall allow myself to let my own impressions form the red thread of the rest of this article.[15] This means that something also has to be said about another aspect of the rich Americanist agenda, that of History.

Even in the first Statutes of the Congresses the historical perspective was stressed: their purpose should be "l'étude historique et scientifique des deux Amériques et de leurs habitants". But archaeology and ethnology (ethnography) would be dominant. History, mostly that of the Discoveries, has formed a minor ingredient ever since early congresses. In Huelva in 1892, on the occasion of the Fourth Centennial, there were not surprisingly more historical papers than previously. After that, "Colonial history" was usually one of the main divisions of a congress. At the Congress in Seville in 1936, the section, in fact comprised half of the entire program, while elsewhere it was at times very small. I recall from Copenhagen in 1956 that when Professor Charles Verlinden gave a most interesting research report from Santa María del Darién, probably the first urban settlement to be founded on the mainland, a mere four congress par-

ticipants showed up, the chairman, my wife and I and poor Mrs. Verlinden for whom the lecture was surely no news.

In any case, at some history sessions the presentation of newly found, important documents by the discoverers formed an interesting ingredient. Thus, in London in 1912 the German R. Pietschmann enthusiastically presented the "Nueva Corónica" by Huamán Poma de Ayala which he had found at the Copenhagen Royal Library two years earlier. The first edition of this highly important work did not appear until 1936, however, and then it was only a facsimile edition without commentaries. In Hamburg in 1930, the American Charles Upton Clark presented another so far unknown work, hardly less important; the "Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales" by the seventeenth century friar Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, which he had found at the Biblioteca Barberiana of Rome. It took him another eighteen years to publish it.

Many historians like other Americanists have used the Congresses to present early versions of what later on became more or less welknown works of theirs. In Seville in 1935, the American Lewis Hanke presented the first version of his pathbreaking study of Spanish Indian policy and the work of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, "The Spanish Struggle for Justice" (1949) and other learned works. Somewhat similarily, my Copenhagen paper led, fourteen years later to the publication of my most ambitious and arduous work. "La Corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de América" (1970). In Mexico and Lima in 1939, history was well represented. Dynamic Peruvian historians like Jorge Basadre, Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Ella Temple made important contributions. In Costa Rica in 1958, the history section was rather modest but included some papers of interest on Central America. The Congress, presided over by the archaeologist Dr. Doris Stone was especially noteworthy in that field. As a Swedish delegate I presented her with a copy of Hartman's great work. We do expect this most distinguished colleague, who now presides on the Permanent Committee of the Americanist Congresses, to attend our Stockholm Congress in 1994. Otherwise, I recall above all, pleasant adventures together with Henry Wassén and Thor Heyerdahl of the Kontiki enterprise, no doubt the most famous participant of that particular Congress.

In the course of the 1960's, the Americanist Congresses experienced a very strong growth in terms of both numbers of participants and programs. The disciplinary boundaries were weakened. Often inter-disciplinary symposia became the scientific centres of gravity of the congresses. The disciplinary sections such as that of history, instead became strikingly heterogenous and uneven in qualitative terms.

In Vienna in 1960, José Miranda, a first rank Mexican Historian, who had come there as a Spanish exile, led a stimulating symposium on "Evolución y transformaciones de los publos indígenas desde la Conquista". Another symposium at that Congress took up the theme of "Pictorial and Written Sources for Middle American Native History". This was an antecedent of a most important work, "Handbook of Middle American Indians", which in 1960 had been at a

preliminary stage of preparation. The key problem was that of striking a balance between archaeology and the new sub-discipline of ethno-history. It had been born as an interdisciplinary consequence of the 1946 "Indian Claims Commission Act" in the United States. To begin with it merely implied the usage of historical written materials for legal and ethnological purposes. Around 1970, however, its accent moved from ethnology to history. At the same time, the main concern of ethnohistory has shifted from the time of Conquest, Codices and Chronicles to more recent periods and problems. More or less ingeniously, ethnohistorians have tried to combine ethnological, archaeological, linguistical and methodologically historical approaches. While it is true that some very important monographs have appeared (e.g. the works of Charles Gibson on the colonial Aztecs (1964) and that on the Mayas by Nancy Farriss (1984), it seems to me that the full potential of ethnohistory has not yet been exploited at the Americanist Congresses. One of the symposia at Manchester in 1983, led by the anthropologist Teresita Majewski, rightly put the question: "Does a new ethnohistory exist?". She referred to the need for integration of demographical theory and methods as well as epidemiology with the ethnohistorical field. This remains to be done more systematically.

On the other hand, another field, interdisciplinary but with a strong historical accent, was practically born at Americanist Congresses, that is the study of the process of urbanization in Latin America. A series of symposia in this field started at the Congress in Mexico City in 1962 to be followed up at practically every congress until Paris in 1976. The main promoters were the American Richard Morse, with his keen, original mind, and the outstanding Argentine historical sociologist Jorge E. Hardoy. The latter was also planning a symposium for our 1994 Congress in Sweden, but unfortunately has recently passed away. In any case, the symposia on the urban history of Latin America exemplify that Americanist Congresses have really served to open up important new fields of scholarly inquiry.

Another fruitful innovation had to do with the new Economic History Commission of the Latin American Council for Social Sciences (CLACSO). Led by the dynamic Mexican historian Enrique Florescano, this commission chose to organize a series of symposia at the Americanist Congresses from Lima (1970) onwards. It has been a very interesting and stimulating experience for me to take part in this work. The group started with the preparation of an inventory of historiography and sources in the field of Latin American economic and social history. Also, it engaged in a critical discussion of methods to be used, such as the econometric "New Economic History", at that time very much en vogue in the United States. In Rome, in 1972, historical demography and the character of the large colonial estates were on the agenda. At the huge Congress in Mexico City in 1974, symposia of historical interest were very numerous. With Florescano's Commission I took part in one on technological history, a real innovation. Another symposium took up labour history, also very much an innovation. Characteristic for the time was a giant symposium on "Modos de

producción en América Latina", listed under Anthropology. I recall a friend and colleague from one of the "Socialist" countries sneaking away from it muttering: "Now I don't want to hear *anything more* on "modos de producción" for a very long time!"

The Centenary Congress in Paris in 1976 was even more overwhelming. The proceedings comprise no less than a shelf metre. From this Congress I recall above all the large-scale symposium, classified as Ethnology but of fundamental historical interest, organized by ethnohistorian Henri Favre on "Les mouvements indiens paysans aux XVIe, XIXe et XXe siècles". For me it was an opportunity to present some slightly heretical ideas about the Túpac Amaru rebellion. Interestingly, Favre, after the Congress has continued during many years to study this field with a Paris group called ERSIPAL. It stands for "Equipe de recherche sur les sociétés indiennes paysannes d'Amérique Latine". Claude Lévi-Strauss, in no need of presentation, served as President of the Paris Congress, while the tough job of Secretary General was carried out by ethnohistorian Jacques Lafaye, author of an important work on the Tonantzin-Virgin of Guadalupe phenomenon. A more painful memory relates to the embarassing open vote for the site of the next Congress, Vancouver or Caracas.

In any case, the next Congress was held in Vancouver in 1979 and was apparently quite successful. It was followed by one in Manchester in 1983. Participation was reduced as a consequence of the Falklands/Malvinas War of the previous year. There were no less than twenty symposia on history, many of them on nineteenth and twentieth century history, such as one on the export of capital to Latin America, organized by the late Harold Blakemore, who also served as President of the Congress. Another innovating symposium compared the economic and social development of Australia and Argentina from 1870 through 1914. The Manchester Congress reflected the high quality of British Latin Americanist historians.

In 1985, the 45.th Congress took place in Bogotá. Only the history papers have been published. Among them was another attempt at historical comparison, between late colonial Peru and New Granada (Colombia). The 46.th Congress was held in Amsterdam in 1988. It was a huge meeting and there were no less than twenty History Symposia. Mentalities, slave resistance to slavery, regional approaches to history, changing sugar technology, all reflected the concerns of a new generation of Americanist historians. Also, historians of Poland, until then little noticed at the meetings, organized another symposium of great historical interest, "El culto estatal del Imperio Inca".

Unfortunately, for various reasons, I was unable to participate in the Congresses held from 1979 to 1988. The next time I attended an Americanist Congress was at Tulane University (New Orleans) in 1991. Together with two Swedish colleagues, geographer Weine Karlsson and cultural anthropologist Jan-Åke Alvarsson I had a mayor errand: to consult with the organizers and to present the Swedish candidature for the Congress to be held in 1994. The general acceptance of the assembly was, of course, of very great satisfaction for us. At the

time of writing this article, the preparations for the 1994 Congress are still our main concern.

Looking back at the long series of International Americanist Congresses, it is clear that they have played a fundamental role for the scholarly study of the Americas, particularly that of Latin America. Great leaders in American anthropology and archaeology have been active at these Congresses. In the field of Latin American history, there can be no doubt that the Americanist Congresses have played a greater role than the International Congresses of Historical Sciences for the promotion of the historical inquiry. I think it is also fair to recognize that scholars from smaller European countries like Sweden have benefitted more from the Congresses than those from, let us say the United States, France, Germany and Spain with their much larger scholarly communities which often meet and collaborate within their respective country. We have gone to the congresses to get acquainted with often unknown or little known important research and to make very much needed scholarly contacts. We are now faced with the tremendous challenge of organizing one of them, just as the Swedes have previously done in 1894 and 1924.

Notes

1. Simensen (1986), 141

2. Holmberg (1988), 373-7

3. I ICA (Nancy 1875). At the II ICA (Luxemburg 1877), an engineer by the name of Eskild Lindblad from Jönköping had been named official delegate. He also attended the III ICA (Brussels 1879). On the "Déluge", Comas (1974), 15-20

4. IX ICA (Seville 1892), 120-23 & *passim*; Bernabeu Albert (1987), 78; Mörner (1992); on A E Nordenskiöld, SBL, 27 (1991), 264-75. His documents on the visit to Spain are kept as No 58 of his MS collection at the Library of the Academy of Sciences (Stockholm : Frescati).

5. X ICA (Stockholm 1894); on Bovallius, Karlsson (1992); SBL, 5 (1925), 616-19. We were unable to locate the archives of the Congress which probably vanished long ago.

6. On Hartman SBL, 18 (19769/71), 299-30; Brunius (1984); Rowe (1959). On Gustaf Nordenskiöld, SBL 27 (1991), 275-77

7. On Hildebrand, SBL 19 (1971/73), 43-48. His huge archives at the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities (Stockholm) include letters from Loubat, 1891-1904. Books on and by Loubat at the Library of the Academy. See also Vernau (1927); Schück (1946), 484-88. Other data on Loubat kindly given by Dr. M. Ribbing of the Academy.

8. On Dahlgren, SBL 9 (1931), 681-703; Mörner (1954), 113 ff. He wrote on Z. Nuttall in the journal *Ord och Bild,* I (1892), 484-88. On Stolpe, *Svenska män och kvinnor,* 7 (1954), 249-50

9. X ICA, pp. 138 f, 146; Comas (1974), 27-31. The Société des Américanistes in Paris was founded in 1895 with Loubat as one of the promoters.

10. Hartman reported on the XVI ICA (Vienna 1908) in the journal *Ymer*, 1909, 365-72

11. Both the Netherlands and the City of Gothenburg had applied, and the XX ICA had found it impossible to make a choice. (Vol. I: I am obliged to Dr. S E Isacsson for these data).

12. XXI ICA (II Session, Gothenburg, 1924). On E. Nordenskiöld SBL, 27 (1991), 283-89; On Otto Nordenskjöld *ibid.*, 277-83. The fine anthology on E. Nordenskiöld (1992) is also most useful on his various Swedish contemporaries and students. See also Wassén (1987); Brunius (1992) on Lovén, (1993) on Linné; Nordin (1992, 1993)

13. XXIII ICA (New York, 1928), 677

14. XXXII ICA (Copenhagen, 1956)

15. See also Mörner (1987)

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A main source has been the proceedings of the various International Congresses of Americanists. A practically complete series is kept at the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum, while "Folkens Museum" in Stockholm only has a part. I worked at both places and am most obliged to their staffs. In the notes I use the abbreviation I ICA (Nancy 1875) etc. For dates on Swedish Americanists I have used particularly, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (abbreviated SBL).

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APPENDIX

Nordic Winners of the Loubat Prize

1892 **Gustav Storm**, Norway, for a history of Vinland voyages

1897 **Hjalmar Stolpe**, Sweden, for work on American ornaments

1902 **C.W. Hartmann**, Sweden, for ethnographical work on the Aztecs of Salvador and archaeological work in Costa Rica

1907 No prize awarded

1912 **Erland Nordenskiöld**, Sweden, for works on South American ethnology

1917 **E.W. Dahlgren**, Sweden, for his work on French trade in the Pacific in the eighteenth century

1922 **Rafael Karsten**, Finland, for a work on the Indians of Ecuador

1927 **William Thalbitzer**, Denmark, for a work on Eskimo religion

1933 **Erland Nordenskiöld**, Sweden, posthumously, for his work on the Indians of Panamá

1938 **Kaj Birket-Smith**, Denmark, for a work "Gold and green forests"

1943 **Sigvald Linné**, Sweden, for a work on Teotihucán

1948 **Stig Rydén**, Sweden, for a work on the pre-Columbian art of Peru and Mexico

1953 **Helge Larsen**, Denmark, for a work on the Ipiutac culture of Alaska

1958 **Magnus Mörner**, Sweden, for his history of Latin America

1963 **Jörgen Meldgaard**, Denmark, for his work on Eskimo sculpture

1968 **S. Henry Wassén**, Sweden, for a work on Indian drugs

1973 No prize awarded

1978 **Magnus Mörner**, Sweden, for his works on Latin American history

1983 **Göran Rystad**, Sweden, for works on North American history

1988 No prize awarded

1993 **Göran Rystad**, Sweden, for several works on American history