

Africanism and Racial Democracy: The Correspondence between Herskovits and Arthur Ramos (1935–1949)¹

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Melville Herskovits, a disciple of Franz Boas, was the anthropologist responsible for the institutionalization of African Studies in the United States during the 1940s. For fourteen years he corresponded closely with Arthur Ramos, a medical graduate and self-taught academic who institutionalized Black Cultural Studies in Brazil during the same period. Their letters offer us a privileged insight into the transformations of the professional and intellectual ambitions of both men, as well as the development of their respective fields. Attracted by the same culturalist ideal, the two men became great friends. They gradually moved away from each other due to their professional, political, and ideological choices; however, their friendship remained constant, as I intend to show in this text.

In Evanston, Illinois, the home of Northwestern University where he taught, Herskovits tried to defend his work from what he considered to be excessive political and emotional activism found in studies carried out by W. B. DuBois and the New Negro theorists: Franklin Franzier, Alan Locke, and others. He became more deeply involved with the institutionalization of African studies. Ramos, while trying to establish himself as an international Latin American leader of the postwar world, turned Brazilian “racial democracy” into a weapon of “applied anthropology” and made it the motto of a wide-ranging research project.

In Brazil, culturalism or Africanism did not last long. Ramos died at the end of 1949, and would leave as his legacy the UNESCO project on Brazilian racial relations studies (1997), which gave international visibility to a new generation of social scientists (Florestan Fernandes, Thales de Azevedo, Costa Pinto, Fer-

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nando Henrique Cardoso, Otávio Ianni, Oracy Nogueira). This new generation not only supplanted Herskovits's and Ramos's culturalism but would eventually put in check the veracity of Brazilian "Racial Democracy" itself, whereas a more meaningful legacy of culturalism was reshaped by anthropology into the study of Afro-Brazilian religions. Ramos tried very hard to keep up with these changes, as we shall see, by attempting to make "Racial Democracy," "Black Culture," racial equality, and miscegenation complementary, taking a more progressive line than Gilberto Freyre. However, unlike Herskovits, it never crossed Ramos's mind that his culturalism could serve as a basis for the resurgence of Brazilian black pride (Yelvington 2006). This is because for Brazilians racial democracy and miscegenation have always walked arm in arm.

However, I am getting ahead of myself. Let us go back to 1935.

A lasting friendship

Let us briefly consider the history of this relationship. The first stage is the exchange of letters between 1935 and 1941, after which they spent two months in each other's company at Northwestern University, where Ramos attended Herskovits's acculturation seminar. A second phase of correspondence occurs during the year that Herskovits did fieldwork in Brazil between September 1941 and August 1942; and the final period lasted from Herskovits's return to the United States to Ramos's death in 1949.

Their correspondence began when Ramos sent Herskovits three volumes of the *Coleção de Divulgação Científica*, which included among other things, *O Negro Brasileiro*. It is likely that Gilberto Freyre² put them in touch with each other. On 31 December 1935, the day after the volumes arrived, Herskovits replied. The speed of the reply is the best measure of his enthusiasm. In addition to his letter of response, Herskovits sent Ramos some copies of published articles and asked his editor to forward some of his books to Ramos. Thus, their close cooperation through letters lasted until Ramos died.

Arthur Ramos's American period began 27 August 1940 when he traveled with his wife to the United States to conduct a three-month course (between September 1940 and January 1941) at Louisiana State University (LSU) in Baton Rouge, having been invited by T. Lynn Smith, head of the University's sociology department.³ After finishing his period in Louisiana, Ramos traveled to the West coast for a series of four conferences, three in Berkeley and one in Utah, and from there he went on to Evanston, Illinois, where he stayed two months with Frances and Melville Herskovits (Ramos 1945). The latter part

of this North American tour was spent at a series of three conferences at East coast universities.⁴

The relationship between Herskovits and Ramos continued during Herskovits's field trip to Brazil.⁵ Melville and Frances Herskovits arrived in Rio on 10 September 1941, two months after Ramos left Evanston. Herskovits received funding from the Rockefeller Foundation to carry out intensive research on the Brazilian Negro, which also included the first magnetic tape recordings of Bahia's sacred candomblé music.⁶ They stayed in Rio for a little over two months, enjoying the company of Arthur and Luisa Ramos, getting to know the Brazilian intellectual and university milieu, and finalizing arrangements for his fieldwork in Bahia. In November 1941, carrying with them letters of introduction written by Ramos, they went to Salvador, where they remained until May 1942.⁷ These letters, which can be found in the Arthur Ramos Archive, in the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library), are addressed to Estácio de Lima (21 November 1941) and Aristides Novis (24 November 1941), both ex-colleagues at the Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia (Bahia Medical School), but of course it is also possible that other academics such as Hossanah Oliveira and Thales de Azevedo, with whom the Herskovitses had closer contact in Bahia, could also have been introduced through letters, seeing that they were all part of Ramos's close circle. Later on, around the middle of May 1942, the Herskovitses went to Recife to stay for a month, also carrying at least three letters of introduction from Ramos. These were addressed to Pedro Cavalcanti,⁸ to Gonçalves Fernandes, with whom Ramos negotiated the publication of *Investigações sobre os cultos negro-feitichistas do Recife* (Investigation of Afro-fetichist cults in Recife) for the Civilização Brasileira publishing company, and to Ulisses Pernambucano. In June, the Herskovitses returned to Rio and went on to Porto Alegre in July; they returned to the United States in August 1942.

During his stay in Salvador, Herskovits addressed at least four letters to Ramos and received three from Rio de Janeiro. After Herskovits returned to Evanston, where he remained between 1943 and 1949, the intensity of their correspondence decreased and the intervals between letters lengthened. Herskovits received at least five letters from Ramos and wrote twelve. Between 1943 and 1944 they exchanged ideas concerning the project of international co-operation. They both took part in this project along with Fernando Ortiz, Richard Pattee, Price-Mars, and others, and the project led to the creation of the Inter-American Society for Black Studies, whose headquarters were eventually established in Mexico in 1944. From 1945 their letters dealt with subjects relating to the exchange of books, to the publication of the translation of Herskovits's book *Acculturation*, and to invitations to international meetings that Ramos did not attend. There was

no correspondence after 7 August 1945 until 5 December 1947. The decreasing number of letters suggests a certain cooling of their relationship.

To what can this cooling be attributed? Was it due to a divergence in political posture that developed on the part of Ramos after his return to Brazil, as I suggested in the introduction? Or was it due to a change of focus on the part of Herskovits, who started concentrating more on the cultures in Africa rather than African cultures in the Americas? Or is it related to a certain lack of interest in pursuing his studies about black culture in Bahia, provoked by some inexplicable idiosyncrasy? Jerry Gershenhorn suggests the latter, based on information given by Herskovits's daughter Jean.⁹ To find an answer, I first have to address the circumstances experienced by both men, and the interests that motivated their letter writing and kept it going for many years. This is what I turn to now, after a brief presentation of my sources.

The archives

Melville Herskovits's papers are kept in the archives at Northwestern University Library in Evanston, Illinois. These include his correspondence with Arthur Ramos from 31 December 1935 to 24 July 1941.¹⁰ There are 22 letters written by Ramos in Portuguese, preserved on the original writing paper, and 25 letters written by Herskovits in English, kept in carbon copies. All of them, with the exception of three of Arthur Ramos's letters, were typed.

In the same collection are another 31 letters written by Herskovits to people and institutions: letters of introduction, letters of recommendation, or letters representing Arthur Ramos's professional interests relating to his North American stay between September 1940 and March 1941, in particular during his professional visit to Northwestern University, where he was invited by Herskovits between February and March 1941. There are also 23 letters received or written as replies to the 31 letters mentioned above. Finally within this collection there are carbon copies of two letters Arthur Ramos wrote to an editor and to a school supervisor in America who had invited him to seminars, as well as a copy of a memorandum to Ramos relating to professional contacts that he should make during his trip to the North American east coast.

In the Arthur Ramos Archive at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro are 12 letters that I made use of. The letters Herskovits sent from Evanston are in English, typed on the letterhead of the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern; those sent from Salvador or Rio are handwritten; Ramos's letters are hand-written drafts on block paper, some on letterhead, others not.

Their meeting

Herskovits was already internationally known for his research on Africanism in the New World when he wrote to Ramos in 1935. He was 45 years old and had just come back from his field trip in Haiti (1934), having firmly established himself at Northwestern University where he had just been appointed full professor, after brief passages through Columbia University (1924-1927) and Howard University (1925).

When their correspondence started, Arthur Ramos was 32 years old and a physician whose professional knowledge, apart from his graduation in forensic medicine, was limited to his autodidactic learning in social psychology and psychoanalysis, as Gilberto Freyre noted.¹¹ However, Ramos was already becoming known as a disciple of Afrânio Peixoto (Corrêa 1998) and the intellectual heir of Nina Rodrigues, having left Salvador in 1934, where he worked in forensic medicine. He established himself in Rio de Janeiro, where he published *O Negro Brasileiro* (1934) and, during the following year, he started to teach social psychology at the Universidade do Distrito Federal (University of the Federal District).

Although a medical doctor, during his stay in the United States in 1941 Ramos was referred to as “the only full-time professor of anthropology in Brazil.” This can be seen in the presentation letters written by Herskovits to his peers (see, for example, the letter Herskovits sent to Linton, 18 February 1941). However, this change from medicine to anthropology had started earlier, while still in Brazil, and can be followed to a large extent through the correspondence that Ramos maintained with Herskovits for five years, before he met him personally and attended his acculturation seminar at Northwestern.

Ramos was known and respected internationally for his knowledge of Bahian black culture as early as 1939 when he was invited by T. Lynn Smith to teach in Louisiana; however, it was only after he attended Herskovits’s seminar and became part of the North American anthropological scene that he felt he was a true anthropologist. His international fame during the second half of the 1930s can be measured by the fact that he maintained regular correspondence with other intellectuals central to the emergence of black cultural anthropology: Fernando Ortiz from Cuba, who contacted him in 1934 with an interest in becoming acquainted with his book, *O Negro Brasileiro*; Richard Pattee from Haiti, who also requested a copy of *O Negro Brasileiro*; Rüdiger Bilden whom he came to know through Gilberto Freyre; Jean-Price-Mars from Haiti, whose *Ainsi Parlait l’Oncle* was recommended to him by Herskovits; as well as young French researchers based in Brazil or spending time there, such as Roger Bastide in 1938 and, during the following decade, Alfred Métraux and Pierre Verger.

Herskovits's meeting with Ramos opened doors to the Brazilian intellectual scene and to the "African" world of Bahia, one of the best "preserved" in the Americas. In fact, it enabled him to take an enormous step forward in his intercontinental research project on the culture of the African peoples who were brought to the Americas. In 1930 when he published his statement about "the black man in the new world" in *American Anthropologist*, Herskovits felt obliged to remove Brazilian black people from his scale of "Africanisms in their cultural behavior" "because there are so few data on which to base judgement" (Herskovits 1930, 149). However, in 1955, in his *Cultural Anthropology*, he could already place Brazil in third place on his scale, just below Surinam and Haiti (Simpson 1973, 27). Kevin Yelvigton describes Herskovits's knowledge of Brazil before corresponding with Ramos:

In many ways, Herskovits's introduction to the anthropology of Brazil came via his friend Rüdiger Bilden, the student of Franz Boas and the associate of Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987). Bilden had written that Brazil was a "laboratory of civilization" and had endorsed the nationalist ideology of *democracia racial*.¹² When Donald Pierson (1900-1995) was a graduate student at the University of Chicago, he was the president of the sociology club and in 1933 asked Herskovits to give a talk at the university. Pierson then called on Herskovits for advice on studying the Negro in Brazil, saying he had become "interested in the apparent absence of prejudice in Portuguese-Negro relations in Brazil" and later Pierson provided Herskovits with translations of the chapter summaries of Raymundo Nina Rodrigues's (1862-1906) *Os africanos no Brasil* (1932). Freyre invited Herskovits to contribute to the first Afro-Brazilian congress in 1934; he sent two contributions of already-published material but did not attend. (Yelvigton 2004)

The discovery

Herskovits's enthusiasm for the author of *O Negro Brasileiro* was registered in his first letter:

The books having reached me only yesterday, it has obviously not been possible for me to do more than page through them, but even so there are a number of questions that I want to ask you. The first of these concerns the pieces shown in Figures 4, 5, 34, and

35. They resemble the pieces I have myself collected in Dahomey and Nigeria and I wish to be sure that my impression concerning their Brazilian provenience is correct. If that is the case, then your Brazilian Negroes have retained not only the technique of wood-carving, but the actual West African details of style to an extent that is found nowhere else. (31 December 1936)

Herskovits also asked for a bibliographical reference about Haiti, which Ramos had mentioned without citing sources: “might I ask the reference to the publication of Dr. Lhérisson’s on possession.”¹³

Nevertheless, with regard to the scientific world, there was a great dissymmetry between their respective institutional positions. As George Stocking tells us, anthropology was already well established in the United States in 1935, although disputes between ethnology and social anthropology had not been fully overcome, whereas in Brazil there wasn’t a single anthropology department in the recently created universities (Stocking 2002). This institutional inequality becomes clear immediately in the correspondence between Herskovits and Ramos: the first 12 letters addressed to Ramos were written on letterhead with the words “Dr. Arthur Ramos, Medical Doctor” occupying two lines in the top left-hand side of the paper, whereas in the opposite corner, also on two lines were his address “Praia do Russel 164/6 – ap. 16, Rio de Janeiro.” On the other hand the sender is referred to as “Prof. Melville J. Herskovits, Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.”

That is, despite an equality established through each other’s expertise, this is an exchange between a medical doctor, who writes from his personal address using a typewriter, to the professor, who replies from his university office also using a typewriter, but keeping carbon copies in his files. Although there is an exchange of books and professional information, in his first letter, Dr. Ramos asks for bibliographical references in social psychology, the discipline he teaches at the University of Brazil and also asks his new friend where he can “acquire a copy of the ‘Negro’ anthology edited by Nancy Cunard.”

The dissymmetry goes beyond these formalities. As the correspondence develops the professor takes on the role of teaching, recommending, suggesting, and especially facilitating the professional training of his doctor colleague. The anthropologist is anxious for scientific discoveries, trying to establish a continuity in cultural traces or in acculturation phenomena, forming disciples and collaborators; whereas the physician nearly always seems to present himself as one who registers discoveries and divulges to the greater public and Brazilian “specialists” the results of research carried out by foreign authors, as well as

writing didactic works (*Introdução à Psicologia Social*) and editing the famous “Coleção de Divulgação Científica,” published by Civilização Brasileira.

Looking at this exchange, the correspondence between these two scientists reveals a Herskovits interested in obtaining data, information, and knowledge about black people in Brazil, mainly through the books Ramos sends him, whereas the latter, if at first motivated by a similar interest about North American black people, quickly becomes interested in nurturing his desire to deepen his knowledge of the study of cultural anthropology by seeking a place with Herskovits at Northwestern University. Already in 1936, Herskovits makes clear his intention to influence the development of anthropology in Brazil when he writes:

I shall also look forward to the works on the various aspects of Brazilian Negro culture which are coming out in your series. As I said in my last letter, it is almost impossible for us who are students of the New World Negro to obtain information on the non-religious aspects of Negro life, and therefore material in this field takes on additional value. (June 8, 1936)

On the other hand, symptomatic of Ramos’s importance to Herskovits is the letter in which Herskovits asks for permission to reproduce, in the French edition of his book *The Negro in the New World*, the famous photos published in *O Negro Brasileiro*:

I wonder whether I might ask a great favor of you? As I think I have told you, I am preparing a book for a French publisher on the Negro in the New World and this, of course, will include a chapter on the work you and your colleagues have been doing in Brazil. The publisher is being quite liberal with illustrations, and if it were possible to have some photographs to go with the material, that would also be highly desirable. If you would care to extend permission to reprint a few of the photos in your *O Negro Brasileiro*, they would be excellent. I refer particularly to Figure 4 (to show the carry-over of African art traditions in Brazil); Figure 14 (to show the drum types); Figure 19 (to show the religious syncretism) and Figures 26, 27, 31 and 32 (to show the forms of possession).” (10 April 1937)

But it wasn’t only this. Ramos does not present himself as a mere conveyor of information.¹⁴ The medical doctor’s modesty is calculated, since in 1936 he had already sent to Herskovits Edison Carneiro’s “As Religiões Negras” presenting

him as “um discípulo meu ... que faz algumas pesquisas complementares às que eu mesmo realizei na Bahia” (a disciple of mine ... he does some research that is complementary to the research I did in Bahia) (Ramos to Herskovits, dated 1 December 1936). With regard to institutional inequality and the consequent disparity in scientific knowledge between the two friends, this can already be seen by 1937. Herskovits is at that time preparing one of his students to do some fieldwork among the Yoruba in Nigeria, and remembers to offer help to Ramos:

In view of the fact that so much of Brazilian Negro culture shows survivals of Yoruban custom, I am wondering whether there are any points that have arisen out of your own research that might be clarified by investigation on the spot in Africa by him.

Whether to preserve his authority, or to assure Ramos that he would be responsible for collecting and passing on information, Herskovits adds:

If you would care to send me a list of points on which information from Africa would be of special value to you and other students of Brazilian Negro customs, I should be most happy to see that it is placed in the hands of this student, Mr. William Bascom.

Ramos replies to this letter dated 8 May only on 17 August, in a document that shows either the small amount of knowledge the doctor had about the Yoruba, or a reluctance to share the sources of his own research. After stating that it was difficult for him to select points since “que todas as formas culturaes yorubas” (all forms of Yoruba culture) interest him, Ramos lists ten:

1. What is the percentage of peoples who speak Yoruba in Nigeria?
2. Has Yoruba remained pure, or has it been deformed by cultural contact (with other neighboring languages)?
3. What is the extent of the written literature (e.g. in Lagos)? Are there any reading books in the Nagô language?
4. To what extent have religious cultures remained pure up to the present day?
5. Have the Yoruba myths been preserved in oral tradition to the present day?
6. Is it possible to assess whether there has been secondary contamination, in religion and folklore, due to commercial activities?
7. Do the popular tales of the tortoise cycle (*awon*) have a totemic origin?

8. Is the slave trade to Brazil still in the memories of the black people in Nigeria?
9. If so, does it survive in oral tradition?
10. I would like to have information about collections of tales, proverbs, epigrams, that survive today between the blacks of Nigeria. (17 August 1937)

Herskovits's reply reveals that by that time North American anthropology had consolidated its professional knowledge in this area, unlike its Brazilian counterpart.

I can answer a number of your questions from my own field experience in Nigeria. Yoruba (Nago) is spoken by the large group of peoples who inhabit the southwestern portion of the present British colony of Nigeria. What their numbers are, I do not know, but it should not be difficult to obtain this from the official census reports. Naturally all languages change, and all peoples are in contact with their neighbors, so I doubt whether Yoruba is any "purer" than any other language. It has certainly not been affected by contact with Europeans to any perceptible extent. Whatever is written in Nago has been done under European influence, and by "educated" Yoruba. The religion is practically unaffected by European contact, though, of course, individual natives have been converted to Christianity. Yoruba mythology is as alive as ever; you can find numerous folk-tales in Frobenius' collection in volume X (I think) of his series of works. The exact reference can be found in the bibliography of our "Suriname Folklore." I doubt contact with Brazil has affected Yoruban culture, but the Yoruba certainly know of the slave trade by the Portuguese, though whether or not they know of Brazil I also cannot say. Whether the tortoise tales are totemic in origin or not I also cannot say, but my feeling is that problems of this sort are practically impossible of solution. (14 November 1937)

In the same letter, after replying to his correspondent's queries, Herskovits returns to his usual egalitarian tone, encouraging him to participate in the Anthropology Congress that would take place in Copenhagen in August 1938. Dr. Ramos might not have known a lot about Yoruba culture, but he was still the world's greatest authority on Yoruban survival in Brazil.

We cannot be certain about what effect such an episode had upon Arthur Ramos, but it may have been more than mere coincidence that after this episode

the doctor from Alagoas started to feel an “immediate need to be in direct contact with American universities, and especially with the Northwestern and Chicago Universities, so as to unify methodological efforts to study race and culture in the New World” (Ramos to Herskovits, dated 30 May 38). The greatest impediment, as Dr. Ramos recognized, was that “as nossas instituições culturais não têm fundos para financiar longas viagens” (our cultural institutions do not have funding to finance long trips), as seemed to be the case with American institutions, in particular with regard to the Guggenheim Foundation.

Brazilian anthropologists would still have to wait some time to improve their knowledge of Africa. Despite the inspiration brought about by Pierre Verger’s residency in Bahia in the 1950s, it was only during the 1960s that the first Brazilian anthropologists, historians and linguists would go to Africa.¹⁵

Preparation for the trip to the United States

Ramos’s wish to study at Northwestern was fulfilled after Herskovits made a great effort to enable the Brazilian Africanist to spend some time with him in Evanston. He used his influence to convince the Guggenheim Foundation to extend grants to Latin-American scholars and also sought other funding sources, such as the Rockefeller Foundation.

During the rest of 1938, and up to 1940, Ramos and Herskovits always found some space in their letters to update this pressing matter: a grant for Ramos. In 1939, Guggenheim finally opened its grants program to Brazilians, and Dr. Ramos was able to apply. But by then, he no longer needed it as much for he had already received a truly professional and irrefutable offer from someone who was not as important as Herskovits but who was just as interested in strengthening ties with Brazil – Dr. T. Lynn Smith, head of the sociology department at Louisiana State University. Ramos was invited to teach in Baton Rouge between February and March 1940, and he sought to optimize friendships and invitations in order to extend his stay in the United States as long as possible.

Whether a coincidence or not, in 1940 there was a change that might have passed undetected in the correspondence between the two of them. From 1940 onwards, the graduate from the Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia (National Faculty of Philosophy) changed his letterhead by removing the title “Dr.” and the word “physician” from the left-hand corner of the paper, and adding his personal address under his name.

Remember that during the same period, Ramos was already corresponding with equal intensity with two other researchers who were decisive in his being accepted among North American scholars – T. Lynn Smith and Richard Patee –

as can be seen in the Arthur Ramos Archives, in the National Library (Faillace 2004). Even before his arrival in the country, Ramos was renowned by others in the United States for his anthropological knowledge. Herskovits's letter dated 16 January 1940 refers to Ramos's expertise:

I wonder what you can tell me about the work of Miss Ruth Landes in Brazil? I have had some correspondence with her and have wondered quite a bit about her work, and any opinion you can give me I will hold confidential, but it would be helpful for me to have your reactions.

Actually, Ramos had been formally contracted by the Carnegie Corporation to give his opinions on "The Ethos of the Negro in the New World," an article written by Ruth Landes for a research project by Carnegie in the United States, under Gunnar Myrdal's supervision. Landes took it upon herself to let Ramos know about this in December 1939, also advising him that the same article would be sent to Herskovits, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Otto Klineberg, and Ralf Linton (see Landes to Ramos, transcribed in Barros 2002, 203). On 14 March 1940, in a reply to Herskovits, Ramos sent a copy of his assessment, which did not flatter the work of Landes and coincided with the cultural anthropologist's opinion.¹⁶

In the following letter, repeating what had become commonplace in their correspondence, Ramos makes a new request: "Antecipadamente lhe agradeço quaisquer arranjos ou facilidades para uma estadia de três meses de estudos em sua Universidade. Obtive da Guggenheim Foundation apenas 25% da quantia destinada aos fellowships para estudiosos do Brasil, em vista do estipêndio que vou receber da Louisiana State University." (I thank you in advance for any arrangements and other provisions you have made for my three months' stay at your university. I obtained from the Guggenheim Foundation only 25 per cent of the funds destined for fellowships to Brazilian academics, because of the stipend I will receive from Louisiana State University) (1 August 1940).

In a letter dated 8 September 1940, Herskovits revealed his plans to his friend: he wanted to invite him to conduct a seminar in the second semester about races and peoples of Brazil, for which he is applying for the modest sum of 500 dollars, an invitation which Ramos accepted in a letter dated September 1940, written from Baton Rouge. Administrative deadlines, however, prevented Herskovits from receiving this funding from Northwestern University, forcing him to look elsewhere for financial support: the Institute of International Education, which refused (see the exchange of letters between Herskovits and Stephen Duggan) and Guggenheim, which accepted.

Anxious to get to know his Brazilian correspondent and introduce him to colleagues, the Evanston academic invited Ramos to participate in the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in Philadelphia during the 1940 Christmas recess. Ramos, however, complained of the “high cost of living in the North” and accepted the invitation provided he would receive extra funding.¹⁷ On 17 October, Herskovits made another request to Guggenheim on Ramos’s behalf, hoping to receive the financial support. However, this time his efforts were frustrated and Arthur Ramos missed the opportunity to meet up with the cream of North-American anthropologists. Henry Allen Moe, Guggenheim’s secretary, wrote to Herskovits on 22 October 1940:

This is private, in answer to your letter of October 17 about Dr. Ramos. When I looked into his financial situation last Spring I learned that he will receive \$4,000 from L.S.U. for his lectures there, which is high pay by any professorial standards considering the shortness of time he will be at work. It seemed clear that with such a stipend from L.S.U. he didn’t need Fellowship money to enable him to spend a couple of extra months with you. Nevertheless, in view of his ability, the Committee of Selection authorized me to grant him a small stipend if I thought he made a case for it. In subsequent correspondence with Dr. Ramos it appeared that he needed money for his ocean passages and so I granted him \$500 which was the limit of what I was authorized to do. If you think you can make a case for his needing more than \$4,500 I’d like to hear what the case is! And I’d try to do something about it too.

It seems Mr. Moe managed to convince Herskovits that Dr. Ramos’s salary at Louisiana was sufficient. Some years before, more precisely in 1937, Herskovits offered Alfred Métraux a salary of \$2,700 to take up a six-month course at Northwestern and Métraux found the amount reasonable (Herskovits to Métraux, dated 8 December 1937). His comment to Moe was short: “It would seem that either Ramos has the Uncle-Sam-the millionaire stereotype pretty firmly in his mind, or has been made a bit panicky by the cost of living in this country – even Louisiana – as compared to what he knows in Rio” (Herskovits to Moe, dated 25 October 1940).

An agent for Dr. Ramos

The Northwestern academic seems to have preferred to believe the second possibility, although he still did not know Arthur Ramos or his spending habits personally. He not only maintained his friendship with Ramos but came to like him even more during his stay in Evanston. This once again seems to indicate the importance that Ramos held within Herskovits's legitimacy strategy in the American academic world, in view of his polemic position with respect to the "myth of the negro past."

During the months of February and March Herskovits wrote 31 letters to friends and colleagues, to ensure that his Brazilian partner would get to know some of the best anthropology departments on the East coast, such as those at the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Yale, and Howard. He also wrote to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and the Institute of International Education in New York, doing his best to make sure that Ramos met with the great names of American anthropology.

Arthur Ramos's tour started in New York, where Ralph Linton from Columbia University arranged a conference on 19 April 1941. Indeed, Herskovits had asked Linton to arrange a second seminar at the Ethnological Society, through Cora DuBois, which would help Ramos "fill the coffers," but this was not possible. He also requested accommodation at International House, but this also did not work out.

In Philadelphia, where Arthur Ramos visited the University Museum, it was also not possible to arrange a conference. D. S. Davidson, head of the Anthropology Department, to whom Herskovits wrote, offered him a chance to talk to two different groups for \$50, where both audiences would be made up of non-specialists, whereas the Museum, via Alden Mason offered him \$15 if his agenda was not yet closed. Herskovits preferred to let the matter drop. Yale University, on the other hand, offered Dr. Ramos a conference and a round-table on 22 and 23 April, but the letter we have does not include the value of the stipend.

In Washington, Herskovits contacted Abram L. Harris and Chas Thompson from Howard University, and Carter Woodson from *The Journal of Negro History*. They all received the proposal warmly, especially Thompson who had already invited Ramos to write an article for a *Yearbook on Racial Minorities in the Present International Crisis* and to participate in a conference in May. In fact, Thompson confessed to Herskovits, in a letter dated 17 March, that he had already been contacted by Dr. Hank from the Hispano-American Foundation of the Library of Congress and by Richard Pattee, of the U.S. State Department, with the same aim: to receive Ramos in Washington.¹⁸ One obstacle was

overcome by a change in the initial itinerary, instead of starting in Washington on 17 April, Ramos went first to New York and then later, on 22 and 23 April, visited Washington due to collective holidays at the *Journal*.

In general, Herskovits's letters follow the same pattern: a proposal for Ramos to talk at a conference with a token payment of \$50 per talk to meet current costs. The following piece, addressed to Abram Harris from Howard University on 24 February 1941, is typical:

He [Ramos] and his wife who are here for a couple of months, are anxious to have an opportunity to swing to through the East and since it will be necessary for their expenses to be met from fees of this kind, I am trying to arrange a number of such talks for him.

His efforts were so aggressive that they created at least one misunderstanding, revealed in a letter received from *Time Inc.*, in which they show willingness to act as an agent for Ramos in the towns where he would be traveling:

I was glad to have the information you sent with your letter of March 8th on Dr. Ramos. And we will certainly keep him in mind if we are asked to help in arranging any engagements occurring in cities along the route he is to travel. (19 March 1941)

Herskovits was forced to correct the misunderstanding:

I am afraid that I am not a lecture bureau "handling" speakers of South America. Dr. Ramos is here as a guest of the University, and I have offered my friendly offices. (Herskovits to Pratt, *Time Inc.*, dated 21 March 1941)

However, as well as going East, Arthur Ramos also used his stay in the United States to make important professional contacts in the Midwest. The first of these contacts was Stuart Chapin from the department of sociology at the University of Minnesota, which was arranged through T. Lynn Smith's intervention. Herskovits's reply to Stuart Chapin on 27 January 1941 tells us what was in store for Ramos at Northwestern in lieu of the seminar, which according to Herskovits earlier plans, he should have conducted:

for, while he [Ramos] is not teaching here but coming rather to study our methods and findings in our program of Negro research, he will be sitting in some seminars and classes that will, I imagine,

hold him here during the major part of the week. (Herskovits to Chapin, dated 27 January 1941)

Chapin wanted him to be present at two events: a round-table on “American and European Influences on South American Politics” and a public conference on “Races and Cultures in Brazil,” for which he was offered \$50. Herskovits is emphatic in representing his friend’s interests: Ramos should give a single talk to the value of \$50, and argues: “We are having him speak here during Inter-racial Week, and I insisted on a fee of \$50 for this – and there are no traveling expenses.” Chapin, either very sharp or very short of money, arranged two talks for \$75. Herskovits took the opportunity to introduce the Brazilian academic to the head of the anthropology department, David Mandelbaum, and to the Dean, Malcolm Willey.

Herskovits’s commitment to help Arthur Ramos survive in the United States shows us something else: even if the academic distance between Brazil and the United States was considerable, both institutional and in terms of knowledge acquired, Nina Rodrigues’s disciple knew, either through his class origin, or his political-intellectual position in Brazil, how to negotiate his own introduction into the American academic world earning him the same level of respect and equality. In Chicago, Arthur Ramos attended the American Association of Physical Anthropologists congress held 7-8 April. Herskovits also introduced him to the American Anthropological Association, of which he became a member, and also put him in touch with an important tape recorder trader from Sound Specialities Company in Connecticut, since Ramos, it seemed, was very impressed by the techniques Herskovits used in the field. However, the most important intervention on Ramos’s behalf in the United States happened in the interior of Illinois. Let us see.

Arthur Ramos and democracy

Arthur Ramos’s stay did more than turn him into the most important Brazilian anthropologist, it transformed him into one of the international leaders of the anti-racism and pro-democracy struggle, whose coalition came into being in the United States. Let us remind ourselves of Arthur Ramos’s intellectual strategy. When he arrived in the United States, his book *Negro in Brazil* had already been published in English, an abridged translation by Richard Pattee in 1939. He would also leave four articles to be published there in 1941 (see Ramos 1945, 35 and 36). Ramos liked to call them “publicity” articles.

Unlike the generation of academics before him, who, with brief placements in famous laboratories abroad aimed to obtain legitimacy and international “recognition”¹⁹ for career advancement, Arthur Ramos arrived in the United States as a specialist, a Brazilian Africanist. His stay in Evanston and attendance at the acculturation seminar given by Herskovits had the practical purpose of introducing him to the modern techniques used in cultural anthropology, while the course he conducted in Louisiana as well as his conferences and talks abroad served to give him legitimacy and fame.

However, what he learned from Herskovits did not help to increase the number of disciples in Brazil. Herskovits himself, as we saw, would recruit his own pupils in Brazil, the first being Octávio Eduardo, who would say in his obituary in 1950 when talking about *As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo*, 1937, that it is the first work in which Ramos gets close to modern cultural anthropology.

Arthur Ramos’s new book was probably inspired by the North American anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits’s work “Social History of the Negro,” which it resembles in orientation and presentation, and is therefore not, in its conception, an original work; nevertheless, Arthur Ramos’ new book gives him due credit for other reasons. (Fernandes, Eduardo, Baldus 1950, 448)

However, it was through his political and institutional activities that Arthur Ramos achieved fame, at least until his death. From the time he returned to Brazil up to the end of the war, the University of Brazil professor published a series of political articles that engaged anthropology in the struggle against racism and the postwar democratic rebuilding of democracy (see Ramos 1945, 36-37). This militancy later led Ramos to become head of the Social Sciences Department at UNESCO. His militancy in the United States started at the Onwentsia Conference in April 1941, when he was invited by an organization called World Citizens Association to participate in a meeting of experts in international relations at Lake Forest, Illinois, not far from Evanston. His interventions in this conference are published in English (*World Citizens Association* [WCA] 1941) and in Portuguese (Ramos 1943).

From then on, Ramos became the major Brazilian intellectual to describe Brazil as a “racial democracy” and a “laboratory of civilization.”²⁰ Inspired by Gilberto Freyre’s 1938 conferences in Lisbon and London on Brazilian “social democracy” and the Lusitanian cultural matrix, Ramos also transformed “*mes-tiçagem*” (mixing of races) into a mechanism for integration and social mobility of colonized peoples. Like Freyre in his own conferences in the States (Freyre 1940), Ramos emphasized the formation of Brazilian culture and personality,

rather than political forms to define democracy. In the same way, like his rival from Pernambuco, he believed that the roots for this type of culture could be traced back to Portuguese colonizers, and he also took up the “democracy” banner to divulge Brazilian culture, despite the fact that Brazil was, at that time, under a dictatorship that sympathized with fascism. Let us look at the published account of Ramos’s intervention at the Onwentsia Conference:

A living example of the possibility of combining different cultures with resulting harmony was given by Professor Ramos, who found it in the intellectual life of his own country, Brazil. “Fortunately for us, the tradition in the treatment of minorities in Brazil is a wonderful example of the Portuguese way of life. The contact of races is such that we don’t have groups which view themselves as minorities. We have today not only European culture, not only African culture, but all these cultures, and also a new combination that I think is a new culture of the new world. We don’t have to emphasize or to try to impose European culture upon the world, but to find out what are the new combinations of culture from several sources that meet in the New World.”

On another point Professor Ramos did not agree with the great majority of his colleagues who thought the fundamental concepts of a democratic way of life are the necessary basis for a progressive education. He had not been convinced by a lecture given in Chicago two weeks before by an educator, in which experiments with children trained in a democratic environment as opposed to children educated in a totalitarian community were recounted, according to which the totalitarian way produced violent types of individuals. Professor Ramos had asked the lecturer to define for him his concept of a democracy, because in such matters one has to distinguish among several concepts, political, social, racial, and religious democracy. “I don’t know,” he said, “what democracy is.” What is important is the influence of cultural environment on the personality rather than the political background. “In Brazil, we have an interesting example; even when you have attempts at personal government, as is common in the countries of South America it is impossible for the government to go against the tradition of cultural freedom and religion.”

If this point of view of Professor Ramos on democracy was not accepted by the majority of participants, the example of Portuguese and Brazilian tolerance in matters of race and culture

was unanimously recognized as a proof that there may be an ideology of world civilization in spite of the divergence of cultural patterns. (WCA 1941, 2723-)

If Ramos could not change the concept of democracy, he could at least convince the world about the existence of a racial democracy. Like Freyre, Arthur Ramos intended to transform both cultural and biological miscegenation, which he believed characterized Brazil, into a foundation stone of a post-racist world that was fast approaching. Arthur Ramos, like Freyre, had close links with black leaders in Rio and São Paulo, where he was highly respected. In September 1936, for example, he was invited by Francisco Lucrecio to participate at a conference commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front). His negative reply to the invitation indicates that he had already visited the FNB headquarters in São Paulo a year earlier.²¹ In fact, his thinking influenced many militants up to the 1950s, when a new generation of black intellectuals, led by Guerreiro Ramos (1957), would break with his ideas; as the social sciences were buried, so culturalist studies would also be buried (Corrêa 1998).

However, the expression “racial democracy” used by Ramos as synonymous with Freyre’s “ethnic democracy” would survive as a black demand, and even during the great political turnaround in 1968, Abdias do Nascimento (1968, 43) remembered the academic from Alagoas with admiration:

Whilst in the same closing session (Black National Conference, 1949) professor Arthur Ramos gave perhaps one of his last speeches before taking up the position as Director of the Social Sciences Department at UNESCO in Paris, where he died. His closing speech was an instructive lesson.

Certainly, this demonstration of public recognition is not due to Ramos’s total adherence to the ideas of black political organizations, as Abdias seems to suggest in another passage, published in *Quilombo* (Nascimento 1950, 1).

Arthur Ramos, a person whose loss has opened up a gap that is impossible to fill within our culture, had for a long time been talking about the responsibility black leaders have in adopting measures which aimed to improve the living conditions of the black population. In this way, blacks would cease to be raw materials for researchers, to become shapers of their own behaviour, their own fate.

On the contrary, Ramos seems to have been as critical and as perturbed as Freyre²² was with the concept of “negritude” which was being sketched at the Black Experimental Theatre (*Teatro Experimental do Negro*), which flirted with, though was not fully immersed in, the racial and cultural ideals of Brazilian Modernism. Perhaps, Abdias’s words reveal a further characteristic of Arthur Ramos’s personality: his sociability when dealing with people, which so impressed Herskovits during their time together in Evanston. But perhaps they also reveal how important this contact with the black political militancy was for Arthur Ramos during the last stages of his life.

After Herskovits’s return

Stocking Jr. (2002) shows us how the whole of American anthropology turned towards the war efforts in 1941, not just the Boasians. Herskovits, as we have seen, limited his collaboration in the war effort to participating in assessment committees, refusing to take part in any science that might be contaminated by “social engineering,” just as he mistrusted “immediatist anti-racist” policies, tending to isolate himself politically (Jackson 1986). His culturalism, which emphasized the African roots of black culture in the new world, became less politically attractive to Afro-American leaders who were more interested in fighting for social integration. Once the war was over, Herskovits returned to ethnographical research in Africa, unlike Ramos who on his return to Brazil started to advocate and practice applied anthropology more and more.

Perhaps it is exactly here that we find the possible causes for the “cooling” of their relationship, since Ramos was no longer a researcher, or at least stopped controlling valuable ethnographic sources as he did before the war. Whilst Herskovits refused the path of “applied anthropology” (Herskovits 1936) taken by other disciples of Franz Boas, such as Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead (Stocking Jr. 2002; Jackson 1986), Ramos meddled more and more in purely political matters. Symptomatic of their “cooling” relationship is not only the long interval after 7 August 1945 until 5 December 1947 when they did not correspond at all, but also the fact that in his efforts to include Brazilian anthropology in the postwar democratic world, Arthur Ramos, in 1949, would accept the help of a ferocious critic of Herskovits’s culturalist position, Franklin Frazier, who assisted him with the definition of policies related to racism to be adopted by the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO (May 1997).

On the one hand, Ramos’s interests no longer lay in field research, but in academic politics, especially the institutionalization of anthropology as a university discipline, and the world agenda of anti-racist reconstruction, which at

the time was called “applied anthropology” (Stocking Jr. 2002; Corrêa 1998; Barros 2000). This certainly diminished Herskovits’s impetus, as he was always extremely centered on research.

Herskovits however, despite his extreme disdain for “applied anthropology,” had always been close to funding agencies, always trying to influence the funding of research about “the negro” as well as entities that sponsored research for “application,” such as the Carnegie Corporation and Unesco (Yelvington 2004). In fact, it is after Ramos’s nomination to the Directorship of the Department of Social Sciences at Unesco that their correspondence increased again.

However, at least two factors may have played a part in the overall decline in their correspondence. Firstly, after the war, Herskovits concentrated his energies on studies about West Africa, which culminated in the establishment in 1948 of the African Studies Program at Northwestern; secondly, Ramos had distanced himself from Bahia since 1934 and Herskovits had, during his fieldwork, woven closer relationships with other Brazilian intellectuals, with whom, in fact, he would continue to correspond: José Valladares, with whom Herskovits established an intense correspondence from 1943,²³ and Thales de Azevedo in Bahia,²⁴ René Ribeiro in Pernambuco, and Roger Bastide in São Paulo. The young anthropologists with whom Herskovits would form close relationships also came from São Paulo and Recife.

A good example of Ramos’s physical and intellectual distance from the “Afro-Bahian field” and with the type of anthropology being done by Bastide, Eduardo, and others, can be seen in the letter that Bastide wrote to Herskovits. Bastide probably confused Thales with another Bahian teacher, Nelson de Souza Sampaio, who studied at Northwestern in 1946, when he wrote:

I have also learnt that among your students there was another of our Brazilian friends, Thales de Azevedo – and as he lives in one of the most important centers for Afro-American studies, I am pleased to hear that he will be working with you and be able to build the foundations for future studies in Brazil. (Bastide to Herskovits, 15 February 1946, HP Box 37, folder 13)

We know that this student was not Thales, who at the time was 42 years old and teaching anthropology at the University of Bahia, but was much more likely to be Nelson Sampaio, a lawyer who taught sociology at the same university and who would study political science and not anthropology, but who took with him a letter of introduction from José Valladares. It is however, indicative that Bastide took Thales to be one of Herskovits’s potential anthropology students (which only reflects the underdevelopment of the Africanist field in Brazil) and

became encouraged with the prospect that the knowledge acquired in Evanston could change the future of Afro-Brazilian studies in Bahia. In reality, as we have seen, only the generation following Thales, during the 1960s, would acquire field knowledge of Africa.

In conclusion we could say that until 1949, when Ramos took up his position at the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO, Herskovits's main interest in Ramos was his central role in Africanist studies in Brazil. This role diminished from 1942, not only because of Herskovits's own fieldwork, but also because of the studies of new social scientists with a more systematic anthropological education such as Roger Bastide, Eduardo Octávio, and René Ribeiro. On the other hand, Ramos's interest in Herskovits does not seem to have ceased even after he dedicated more and more time to the institutionalization of anthropology in Brazil and engaged this new science in the struggle against racism and in favor of "racial democracy." Perhaps Ramos remained interested because he was still using the same intellectual weapons he learned at Evanston, culturalism, in his fight for both the institutionalization of anthropology and against racism. His political engagement, therefore, never signified an intellectual break with Herskovits nor a position against him in the North American debate. On the contrary, it seems that Ramos became eclectically close to both sides of this debate: racial democracy was for him a transition of Frazier's integrationist ideals, since the Luso-Brazilian ethos of race relations meant exactly that; however, contrary to what was going on in the United States, he considered such integration to have already been reached by black culture in Brazil.

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NOTES

1. This version expands and corrects some of the points of the text "Comentários à correspondência entre Melville Herskovits e Arthur Ramos (1935-1941)" (Commentaries on the correspondence between Melville Herskovits and Arthur Ramos, 1935–1941), in *Antropologia, história, experiências*, edited by Belo Horizonte, UFMG, 2004, pp. 169-198. Presented at the Seminar Politics, Culture, and Race in Brazil: a conference honoring Thomas Skidmore. Translated from the Portuguese by Phillip Wigan and Julia Spatuzzi Felmanas.
2. "I have written to my publishers in São Paulo, Editora Nacional, to send you the books. They have published on the anthropology and sociology of the Negro and of Brazil in general, including 'Nina Rodrigues,' 'Os africanos no Brasil,' 'Evaristo de Moraes,' 'A Escravidão no Brasil,' and Arthur Ramos' 'O Negro Brasileiro'." (Freyre to Herskovits, Rio, July 18, 1935). As far as I know, the books were received by Herskovits with a letter from Ramos. I should note that *O Negro Brasileiro*, 1934, was published by Editora Civilização Brasileira and not by Editora Nacional, as were the other two mentioned by Freyre. The important thing to note, however, is that Herskovits first knew about Ramos' book from Freyre.
3. This invitation is addressed to Arthur Ramos in a letter dated 13 October 1939. See Arthur Ramos Archives at Biblioteca Nacional, I-36, 4,2,445.
4. Conferences and round-tables on the East coast: 2 February 1941, Berkeley, "The general characteristics of Brazilian Civilization"; 3 February 1941, Berkeley, "Problems of acculturation in Brazil"; 4 February 1941, Berkeley, "Negro cultures of Brazil"; 12 February 1941, Brigham Young University, Utah, "Races and Cultures of Brazil." Conferências na costa Leste: 18 April 1941, Columbia, "Acculturation among Negroes"; 19 April 1941, Yale, "Cultural syncretism in Brazil"; 22 and 23 April 1941, Howard University, "The Negro in Brazil." See Ramos (1945).

5. Gershenhorn says about this field trip: "The Herskovitses' last major ethnographic field trip was their Brazil trip. Funded by a \$10,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Herskovitses spent one year in Brazil from September 1941 to August 1942. They carried out fieldwork for six months in Bahia in northern Brazil and one month in Porto Alegre in southern Brazil. Besides fieldwork, Herskovits also visited several educational institutions and government officials for the purpose of assessing the state of the social sciences in Brazil as part of a program of improving American-Brazilian cooperation in social science research. This was part of a larger Rockefeller Foundation program designed to improve American-Latin American relations. Despite suffering a heart attack on this trip, Herskovits completed his work and published a number of articles, although no book, detailing the important African cultural influence in Bahia and other regions of Brazil." (Gershenhorn 2004, 86)
6. Available at the Congress Library in Washington: "AFS 6777-6892: One hundred sixteen 12-inch discs of Afro-Bahian songs recorded by Melville and Frances Herskovits in Bahia, 1941-42, for the Library of Congress. (Tape copy on LWO 4872 reels 427B-436B) Selections from this collection have been published by the Library of Congress on cassette number AFS L13, Afro-Bahian Religious Songs from Brazil."
7. This dating follows the dates of the letters of introduction as well as references to other letters and articles published by Herskovits.
8. "I ask you to introduce him to other members of Professor Ulisses Pernambucano's group, providing him with guidance on what he may need." (Ramos to Pedro Cavalcanti, 15 May 1942. AAR, I-35,14,90)
9. "Herskovits's daughter, Jean, believes that her father wrote less about Brazil than his other field trips because of the scary association of Brazil with his heart attack. Due to Herskovits's work for the Bureau of Economic Warfare during World War II, his all-consuming focus on the Program of African Studies after the war, and his reluctance to interrupt his daughter's schooling, he never undertook another ethnographic fieldtrip after Brazil." (Gershenhorn 2004, 259-260) Bastide (1974:111-2) has another explanation: "When asked why he [Herskovits] didn't publish a book on Brazil, Herskovits answered that he would first have to do some research in Portugal, so that he would not mistake the origins of cultural traits he had patiently inventoried among blacks."
10. Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963) Papers, 1906-1963; Africana Manuscripts 6, Series 35/6, Box 19, Folder 14.
11. "I asked Mr. Mário de Andrade to send you his essays that deal with the Brazilian negro art. Also Professor Arthur Ramos. Ramos is perhaps over-enthusiastic about psychoanalysis, but he has written some good pages on the Brazilian negro." (Freyre to Herskovits, Rio, November 1, 1935)
12. As will become clear later in this text, to speak of a racial democracy before 1930 seems to be a historical anachronism.
13. "In Haiti, the ceremonies of the Voodoo cult have been the subject of study for a long time. It has been some decades since Dr. E. Lhérisson noted phenomena of strange possession that occur during Voodoo dances. "
14. An example of this modesty is the way that Arthur introduces his *The Negro in Brazil* to his American colleague: "It is only a quick summary about the history of Black people

- in Brazil... It has no anthropological interest, it is only a modest aperçu directed at the average American reader..." (letter dated 20 June 1939)
15. They are Vivaldo da Costa Lima (anthropology, Nigeria, 1960); Pedro Moacir Maia (literature, Senegal, Dakar, 1961); Yeda Pessoa Castro (linguistics, Nigeria, 1962), Guilherme Castro (literature, Nigeria, 1962) and Waldir Oliveira (history, Senegal, 1962).
 16. The letters exchanged between them as well as Ramos's assessment are translated and published in Barros 2002. There are commentaries by her and Corrêa (2003), therefore dispensing any major commentaries by me.
 17. "Quanto à reunião da Anthropological Association, em Philadelphia, durante as férias de Natal, seria realmente muito interessante se pudesse conseguir qualquer auxílio para as despesas de viagem, tendo em vista a grande distância daqui lá. Só nestas condições, eu poderia ter a oportunidade de fazer, que seria impossível de outro modo, em vista do alto custo de vida no Norte." (With regard to the meeting of the Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, during the Christmas recess, I would be very grateful if you could get me some help with expenses for the trip, seeing that it is far from here. Only with this help would I be able to take this opportunity, it would be otherwise impossible, taking into account the high cost of living in the North). (Ramos to Herskovits, dated 12 October 1940)
 18. Stocking Jr. tells us that during the 1940s, and therefore a little after Arthur Ramos had left Washington, "Julian Steward organized the Institute of Social Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution to capitalize on (and to further) the State Department's 'good neighbor' policy by sending anthropologists to teach and organize research in a number of Latin American countries." (Stocking Jr. 2002, 51)
 19. See Corrêa 1998, 216-266, about legitimacy strategies used by scholars from the Schools of Medicine, esp. Afrânio Peixoto.
 20. See Campos (2002) on "racial democracy" in Ramos. To consider Brazil a privileged "laboratory" for the study of Africanisms or race relations, is an idea expressed in 1935 by Gilberto Freyre in a letter he sent to Herskovits, dated 11 December. "Both of us [Freyre and Dr. Kehr, a mutual friend that lived in Rio de Janeiro] think that your next trip ought to be Brazil – a splendid laboratory for your work." (Box 7, Folder 40). The idea of the New World as a laboratory for studying Africana was already expressed by Herskovits in 1930, as Frances Herskovits (1966) justly says. But the expression was used for the first time in relation to Brazil by Rüdiger Bilden, in 1929 in an article worthy of its fame, entitled: Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization. See Maio (1997) and Pallares-Burke (2005).
 21. "Dear comrade, as I have already had the opportunity of saying to you in person when visiting the headquarters of the Frente Negra Brasileira, I would have great satisfaction to have the opportunity to say publicly what the movement you belong to means to me." Ramos to Lucrécio, 29 August 1936, AAR I-35,16,239.
 22. "Today some groups of Negroes in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo are seeking to organize themselves into special associations for their economic and social rights, along the line of the Negro groups in the United States. There is a certain artificiality in these endeavors – although the competitive economic causes are present in São Paulo – and they are developing and precipitating a color line to a certain degree. (Ramos 1951, 146)

23. José Valladares, who directed the Museu do Estado da Bahia, would do a masters in museology in New York, from 1942.
24. Luitgarde Barros (2000, 82) does not mention José Valladares among those who received introduction letters from Ramos for Herskovits: “Doing likewise, [Ramos] introduces Herskovits to Estácio de Lima and Gonçalves Fernandes, asking them to assist the anthropologist.” Another indicator of the familiarity that Herskovits developed with regard to Bahia is that years later, when Octávio Eduardo went through Salvador, returning from his fieldwork in São Luis, Herskovits suggested that he look for Thales, go to the candomblés, and get in touch with a driver called Raymundo, who helped him a lot during his fieldwork in 1941-1942. Raymundo is mentioned many times in Herskovits’s fieldwork notes (see Melville and Francês Herskovits Papers, Box 20, Field Notes, at the Schomburg Center for Research and Black Culture, New York).