Missing Voices: An Analysis of the 20th century Spanish American Works in World Literature Anthologies

Danielle Lamb
University of Alberta

Equality will arrive the day a mediocre woman triumphs to the same extent that a mediocre man has triumphed—Celia Correas de Zapata

What is the first thing that you do when you receive that world literature anthology in your hands? Do you take a moment, first to pause and admire the cover, or do you quickly open it up, cracking the spine, and move on to the table of contents? It can be exciting, curious, interesting, and at times even perturbing to see which literary works are included, and those that are not. The purpose of this essay is to revisit the concept of world literature by asking the questions, do world literature anthologies adequately represent 20th century Spanish American works? This discussion is limited to the most widely used world literature textbooks in Canada and the United States: The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces and The Norton Anthology of World Literature, The Longman Anthology of World Literature, The Bedford Anthology of World Literature, and The HarperCollins World Reader. The term Spanish American is used instead of either Latino or Hispanic,1 because the scope of this paper includes writers from the entire American continent—as far south as Tierra del Fuego to the most northern point of North America, Ellesmere Island. Using contemporary world literature theories and an extensive analysis of world literature anthologies, this paper demonstrates that 20th century Spanish American works have been critically undermined. Furthermore, it draws attention to the Spanish American women’s literary tradition that has been relatively ignored in world literature anthologies.

The Norton, The Longman, The Bedford, and The HarperCollins all outline their respective objective in creating a world literature anthology. The choice to include or exclude a work is determined not only by the editor but also the publisher. Copyright, cost, and even translations can also prove problematic. Lynn Bloom explains that in addition to being well written, to have a shot at canonicity, the work must reinforce the anthologies’ cultural, political and social political orientation (28). Whether or not a work is included in a world literature anthology has more to do with the publisher than actual theories that define world literature.

Alan Schrift’s “Confessions of an Anthology Editor” provides firsthand the complexity of editing anthologies. He notes that “First and foremost is the intellectual coherence: for an anthology to work, the pieces must hang together, they must build on
each other and if not articulate a thesis, at least give a voice to several theses” (Schrift 169). In addition, the editor must carefully consider not only the anticipated audience, but also the publisher’s concerns for a market (Schrift 169). Bloom writes, “It would be easy to say that the editors of textbook anthologies, themselves composition teachers, determine the existence of the essay canon and its changes over time. But that would be too simple” because publishers “have a significant but more subtle influence” (31). Schrift describes the complexity in deciding ‘what should be in the collection’ in terms of the goal of the project versus “weighing the issues of the classroom,” keeping in mind affordability and readability (171). Textual finitude limits the number of pieces that can be included. This means making the difficult decision between Jorge Luis Borges and Alfonso Storni, in which Borges is never omitted.

The Western Canon (1995) written by Harold Bloom provides the names of authors that should be included in a world literature anthology. Much like David Damrosch’s hypercanon, three Spanish American male writers that Bloom lists are those he considers essential to the foundation. Damrosch states, “My claim is that world literature is not an infinite, ungraspable masterpiece, but rather a mode of circulation and of reading, a mode that is applicable to individual works and bodies of material, available for reading established classics and new discoveries alike” (What is World Literature? 5). He anatomizes world literature not as a set canon but rather for its variability and possibilities. According to Damrosch, world literature has been seen in one or more of the following ways: “as an established body of classics, as an evolving canon of masterpieces, or as multiple windows on the world” (15). Damrosch explains the twofold nature of how a work enters into world literature: first it must be read as literature; and second it must circulate beyond its national boundary (6). While Damrosch explains that a work can enter and fall out of the scope of canon (6), he later notes in “World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age” that certain works are always included. He points out that over the years the world literature canon has moved away from a two-tiered system of “major” and “minor” authors to a three tiered system of a hypercanon, a countercanon, and a shadow canon (45). For Harold Bloom, Jorge Luis Borges, Pablo Neruda, and Alejo Carpentier would be considered part of the hypercanon. From these three male writers “a host of major figures emerged: novelists as varied as Julio Cortázar, Gabriel García Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Carlos Fuentes; poets of international importance César Vallejo, Octavio Paz, and Nicolás Guillén” (Bloom 431). However, the problem with Bloom’s analysis is that he fails to recognize any female writers.

As editor of The Longman Masterplots, Damrosch argues that substitution for “today’s narcissistic triumphalism for yesterday’s” is not the solution, but instead editors must have the responsibility to seek out works that address certain subjects (“Reflections” 211). Sarah Lawall, a section editor of The Norton Anthology of World Literature, explains the process of choosing pieces for any anthology:

As the editor of a modern literature section, I frequently run into demands that I explain how a proposed work is not merely (as opposed to also) representative of current trends. The explanation is never simple, both because it cannot be and because we all know that the term masterpiece is related to a hidden hierarchy of patriarchal values—a hierarchy that, if accepted and applied, reduces even its own prized ‘works’ to a single dimension. (“Canon” 26)

It is difficult for editors to explain their choice of contemporary works that “challenge the traditional canon without forcing them into pre-existing categories and denying their relation to history” (26). Obviously no world literature anthology can incorporate all the works of world literature; nevertheless, the works selected for the anthology reflect certain biases. Anthologies are not the same as the canon. While both inevitably have to do with pedagogy, Christopher Kruipers explains that the canon is not necessarily as transient as the anthologies (51). Kruipers reference to pedagogy as a determinant to the creation of an anthology resonates well with John Pizer’s definition. The anthology is in many ways a partial abstraction of the whole corpus of literature while the canon is presented as a system. Drawing on the works of Kurt Lewin, the key founder of social and organizational psychology, Kruipers distinguishes between the anthology as a “literary storage and communication form: a textbook, (now) digital archive, (once) a commonplace book, (perhaps still) the poems one has memorized for pleasure” and the canon as a “literary-disciplinary dynamic” (51). The differences between the canon and the anthology are important to keep in mind when looking at not only the restrictive works that are included in the anthology, but also those that are excluded.

From the beginning of the 20th century through to the 1950s, most of the anthologies were influenced by almost entirely white men, including The Best of the World’s Classics (1909), The Harvard Classics (1910), The Story of the World’s Literature (1925), and An Anthology of World Literature 3rd ed. (1951). These anthologies not only focused on mainly Western literature, but also reserved the majority of their space exclusively for male writers. By the middle of the 20th century, the map of world literature was beginning to change and the United States emerged as a new place to publish world literature anthologies. Frank Magill’s Masterpieces of World Literature in Digest (also known as Masterplots), first published in 1949, was comprised of more than 510 major works (Damrosch, What is World Literature? 124). Despite the title that alluded to a collection from around the world, the anthology was almost completely restricted to the literary tradition of Western European and the United States.

Soon after Magill’s compilation, The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces, probably the most widely used anthology, was first published in 1956 under the editorship of Maynard Mack. From the outset, the first three editions mirrored the works geographically represented in the Masterplots. While the fourth edition brought about change with the inclusion of Spanish American tradition, as we see later in this essay, from the beginning until 1995, The Norton Anthology included the subtitle “Literature of the Western Culture.” Wail Hassan points out that the titular World Masterpieces fails to replicate the works that are included, or perhaps better yet those that are excluded: “The confusion would not have occurred if had the Norton avoided the universalist pretenses of the title ‘World Masterpieces,’ and renamed its anthology for what it is: a library of Western literature” (39). Previous to the publication of the anthology between 1949 and 1950, Mack and a group of interested colleagues came together to create an anthology, but soon discovered that their desire to create such a collection was hindered by the publisher (Lawall, “Canon” 26). Lawall explains that the publisher easily approved of the earlier works selected but resisted some of their later choices (26). The publisher wanted to take a census of prospective users to determine
what should be included, but by 1953, things were at a stalemate, and Mack eventually turned to the Norton Publishing Company. According to Lawall, “The subject of commercial imitation and amusing parody and the focus of attacks on the canon was in fact difficult to produce in the 1950s because it represented neither familiar principles of selection nor current practice in the teaching of literature” (26). Despite attempts to create a collection of “world masterpieces,” a quick glance at the first edition’s table of contents reflects the emphasis on European mainly Anglo, French, German, and Slavic traditions, with the first three editions containing no Spanish American works.

Before proceeding to the second half of this essay, the analysis of the four world literature anthologies as set out in the introduction, it is important to consider that by the middle of the 20th century, many Spanish American literary works had already been translated into English as well as other languages. Therefore the exclusion of this group cannot be attributed to lack of translation. On the contrary, articles by Donald Devenish Walsh entitled “Spanish American Literature in 1946” (1947) as well as Celia Correas de Zapata’s “One Hundred Years of Women Writers in Latin America” (1975), the Borzoi Anthology of Latin American Literature (1977), edited by Emir Rodríguez Monegal; The Latin American Literature in the 20th Century (1986), edited by Leonard S. Klein; as well as many articles and books, unfortunately too many to name here, all prove the accessibility to Spanish American literary tradition.

The preface of the Borzoi Anthology provides insight to the situation of Spanish American works. The editor writes, “for too long, Latin America suffered from a feeling of having come too late to the world’s banquet table” because “their fate, or so it seemed, was always to repeat what had already been done in Europe or in the United States” (Rodríguez Monegal xiii). The Borzoi Anthology is separated into two volumes; the second, which is exclusively devoted to the 20th century, is divided into two sections: “The Modern Masters” and “A New Writing.” From the table of contents, it is obvious that despite an attempt to provide an overview of Latin American Literature, Rodriguez Monegal compiled a list of namely male writers with the exception of three women: Peruvian Blanca Varela along with Brazilians Clarice Lispector and Nêlida Piñón. The same attitude towards women’s literary tradition can be seen in The Latin American Literature in the 20th Century. While it provides a comprehensive list of over one hundred authors and their works from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America; and a brief description of the literature of each country, only Gabriela Mistral from Chile and Rosario Castellanos from Mexico are included. Thus, while the Spanish American literary tradition was being ignored by the American publisher, the Uruguayan editor marginalized women’s writings.

When comparing the Borzoi Anthology to The Norton Anthology 4th edition (1979), it can be seen that, like Rodríguez Monegal, who limited the representation of women’s works, Mack included only Borges. Inside the first pages of the third, fourth, and fifth editions, Mack makes reference to the supplement “companion volume” entitled Masterpieces of the Orient. Hassan problematizes this division of works when he explains, “Even more than the subtitle of the anthology itself, this strange, optional supplement at an additional cost uneasily, and grudgingly, acknowledges the Eurocentrism of the anthology” (41). While this point deserves to be investigated, it is not within the scope of this paper. I only draw attention to the additional anthology to suggest the absurdity and ask where the Latin American supplement was.

It was not until 1979, in the 4th edition of the Norton Anthology, that Borges’ fantasy short story “The Lottery in Babylon” appeared. For the next three editions published in 1985, 1992, and 1995, Norton replaced Borges’ “The Lottery in Babylon” with “The Garden of the Forking Paths” and added García Márquez’s “Death Constant Beyond Love,” a short story that shows how the Latin American writer is not included. Yet, in that same year that Lawall expressed the inclusion of women and minority writers, no Spanish American women’s writing was incorporated. While both Borges and García Márquez are worthy of mention in world literature anthologies, one might question if García Márquez winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982 influenced the editor and publisher. If García Márquez’ inclusion was influenced by his laureate standing, it is difficult to understand why Mistral, the Chilean poet and the first Latin American to win the Nobel Prize for Literature almost forty years earlier, was not included. Marshall McLuhan notes in The Nobel Prize Treasury that the laureate is awarded to “the person who shall have produced in the field of literature the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency” (v). This is not to say that all who win the Nobel Prize should be included in a world literature anthology, but at the same time, it is curious that Mistral is never included despite her literary achievements.

In 1995, Damrosch explains how The Norton Anthology “awoke from its European slumber and came out with an ‘Expanded Edition’ adding thousands of pages of Western and non-Western works (What is World Literature? 128). Yet, with the exception of the cover displaying Frida Kahlo’s ‘Self Portrait with Monkey,’ no additional Spanish American works were included. Borges and García Márquez remained the sole works. A few years later, Prentice-Hall introduced a companion to their Literature of the Western World with the creation of Literatures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America edited by Willis and Tony Barnstone. While the Barnstone and Barnstone edition generously favors Latin American writers with over thirty works, including some living in the diaspora, the blatant division leads readers to wonder why the only Spanish American author to appear in the “Western” anthology is Borges. In 2002, The Norton Anthology dropped the “Masterpieces,” revised the title to The Norton Anthology of World Literature and added Lawall as the new editor (Damrosch, World Literature 129).

Even with its new title, the only Spanish American added to The Norton Anthology was the Central American Darío. According to José Juan Colín’s “A Survey of Central American Literature,” Central American works have been slow to gain status in Latin American literary circles. He explains that the lack of economic and political support for the work of the writers remain unknown outside of their countries (34). It was not until the second edition in 2002 that the faces of Spanish American writers began to emerge in The Norton Anthology. In addition to Borges, García Márquez, and the recent work by Dario, the Argentinean poet Alfonsina Storni, Neruda, and Mexican Juan Rulfo were included. Storni represents not only the first Spanish American woman in The Norton collections but also “the first woman
to be accepted by Argentina’s male-dominant literary establishment” (Lawall, Norton World 2nd 2121). Despite attempts to broaden the inclusion of the Spanish American tradition, The Norton Anthology (2009) “shorter second edition” dropped Stormi, Neruda, and Rulfo—leaving only Borges and García Márquez—echoing the content of the 1986 edition. In 2004, under the helm of Damrosch, the first edition of The Longman appeared. In the preface of this multivolume anthology, Damrosch explains, “A generation ago, when the term ‘world literature’ was used in North America, it largely meant master works by European writers from Homer onwards, together with a few favored North American writers, heirs to European (Longman xvii). He goes on to say, “However, today, it is generally recognized that Europe is only part of the story of the world’s literatures” (xvii). The Longman is divided into three kinds of groupings: crosscurrents, perspectives, and resonances. The crosscurrents brings together, at the beginning of each volume, the key works of the given time period, while resonances are included to demonstrate how texts from one era influence texts from another. For example, in volume F (20th century), García Márquez’ I Sell My Dreams appears as a resonance in the works of Borges to illustrate how García Márquez drew inspiration from Borges. Perspectives, on the other hand, thematically groups works together: Modernist Memory, Poetry about their country of origin. In addition to the individual works, the editors demonstrate the fluidity of national boundaries in the era of globalization. At the same time, it is important to note that the large Spanish speaking population in the United States is likely the reason for including Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. By acknowledging these diasporic writers like Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. The most unique aspect of The Bedford is the inclusion of diasporic writers like Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. Like Cisneros, Baca, and Espada, the editors demonstrate the fluidity of national boundaries in the era of globalization. At the same time, it is important to note that the large Spanish speaking population in the United States is likely the reason for including Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. Looking back to the world literature theorists, it is evident that The Bedford, more so than perhaps either The Norton anthologies or The Longman, seeks to incorporate Johann Goethe's

cal, economic, and social conditions imposed on them by the dominant mestizo population (Damrosch, What is World Literature? 232). Damrosch devotes thirty pages to discussing Menchú’s work (32). They acknowledge that former world literature anthologies focused on Western literary traditions ignoring works from Latin America and other areas. Like The Norton and The Longman, The Bedford consists of six different books, each with a distinct identity. The Bedford features two literary groupings: “In the World” and “In the Tradition” which thematically bring together different literary traditions. The comparative timelines, maps, and extensive illustrations set The Bedford apart for its wide variety of supplementary material.

All members of The Bedford editorial team are professors at the University of New Mexico, and therefore it is not surprising that Chicano/a works have been included in the anthology. A poem by Chicana Sandra Cisneros and four poems by Chicano Jimmy Santiago Baca are included in “In the Tradition,” and they are entitled “American Borderlands: Voices from the United States’ [sic] Many Cultures,” it also incorporates three poems by the Puerto Rican, Martín Espada. Born in Panama to Mexican parents, Fuentes’ “The Prisoners of Las Lomas” takes place in Mexico while Mexican born Paz’ “Three Visits to India,” an excerpt from In Light of India, takes place in Bombay. The anthology also contains Borges’ “The Garden of Forking Paths,” García Márquez’ “A Very Old Man with Enormous Wings,” and nine poems by Neruda. Geographically, North American, Central American, and South American writings are incorporated in The Bedford, making it more inclusive. However, Cisneros remains the only woman. Nonetheless, Lynn Bloom observes that The Bedford is different: “Bedford (and its affiliates, St. Martin’s) expends a great deal of editorial time developing and promoting first editions that reflect individual features and distinctive personalities and do not look like clones of competitors’ books” (31).

The most unique aspect of The Bedford is the inclusion of diasporic writers like Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. By acknowledging these writers, the editors demonstrate the fluidity of national boundaries in the era of globalization. At the same time, it is important to note that the large Spanish speaking population in the United States is likely the reason for including Cisneros, Baca, and Espada.
The Harper-Collins is divided into fifteen parts with two sections of particular interest: “Oral Literature Today,” which combines oral traditions; and “Writing Across Boundaries,” which focuses on writers in exile or self-exile (Caws and Prendergast xxii). While the almost 3,000 page collection draws on old works from the Ancient Meditation World to contemporary pieces, the section titled “The Americas” provides a comprehensive compilation from Tierra del Fuego to Ellesmere Island. In addition to its large geographical representation of Spanish American writers and the usual suspects Borges, Neruda, García Márquez, and Cortázar; the anthology includes numerous women’s writing as well as a few works by indigenous people.

The first 20th century pieces included is that of Peruvian Clorinda Matto de Turner. Her letter to the director and owner of the newspaper entitled “What a Decree!” echoes the ideas revealed in her novel Aves sin nido (Birds without a Nest) published in 1889, which blends together Folk tales in Guatemala, “And Then Along Came a Lizard,” as told by the storyteller Nicolás Murcia, a devout Christian and Kaqchikel Mayan priest, is the second Guatemalan piece included. While Mucías’s tale allows one to better understand Menchu’s story, her testimonio can be compared to “Ma Lucia, the great storyteller,” which is taken from The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave. It is the story of a Cuban slave named Es teban Menchejo as told to anthropologist Miguel Barnet. The process of creating is the same for Menchejo and Menchu because neither of them actually performs the task of writing their narrative; instead, they rely on someone else to craft their testimony.

The diverse collection of literature is accompanied by Gloria Anzaldúa’s poem, “What We Call Greasers,” which demonstrates the difficulty for Mexicans living in the diaspora to locate and situate themselves not only in their new homeland, but also in the consciousness of their past, navigating linguistic, and culture hybridity. Similar sentiments are echoed in the poetry of Cubans Guillén and Mirta Yáñez in the section “Writing Across Boundaries.”

While Damrosch is critical of The Harper-Collins stating that “[it] proceeds essentially by exploding the ‘old world,’ making room for a vivid gallery of snapshots of the ‘whole world,’ yet the result is fragmentary, inconsistent, a disorienting series of abrupt leaps from one brief section to another” (What is World Literature? 130), it could be argued that The Harper-Collins collection reflects more favorably the works of Spanish American authors than The Norton, The Bedford, or The Longman anthologies. The inclusion of women, indigenous people, and those in the diaspora, as well as a comprehensive geographical representation, demonstrates The Harper-Collins dedication to world literature.

Joan Lipman Brown suggests that the reason why women’s literature has been neglected is that in the past men’s works were seen as better than those of women. She suggests that in addition to the hierarchical nature of literature, Spanish American women’s works are not taught because of the absence of a strong tradition of female-authored literature and the presumed inaccessibility of this literature for male readers (1173). While her argument is compelling in some ways, it seems Lipman Brown justifies the exclusion of women writers in world literature anthologies despite her attempt to resolve the situation. Unlike Lipman Brown’s critical article that negates a strong custom of women’s writing, Correas de Zapata’s “One Hundred Years of Women Writers in Latin America” and the collected essays in Latin American Writers: Yesterday and Today (1975) trace the lengthy and noteworthy literary tradition of Spanish American women.

Correas de Zapata begins her article with Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz—the Tenth Muse of America—rendering homage to this exception al woman. She traces the literary tradition of women’s writers from the later part of the 19th century into the 20th century drawing attention to names like Cuban Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, and Peruvians Matteo de Turner and Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera, who all contributed to opening the doors for future women writers. Referring to the two noteworthy Peruvian novelists, Alberto ZumFelde writes:

Other novels later surpassed in mastery those of this courageous co-founder of realism in the Pacific (Matteo de Turner), but to her goes the merit of these first fruits in her novel’s dual face of relative narrative credibility and social protest. As in the case of her colleague, Carbonera, the other illustrious woman of the 19th Century Peruvian letters—both excommunicated by conservative, literary and human figures standing intellectually between George Sand and Pardo Bazán—her ideal realism amounts to a protest and a reformist ideal. (qtd. in Correas de Zapata 10)

Matto de Turner and Carbonera influenced the works of the 20th century Chilean novelist María Luisa Bombal and Venezuelan Teresa de la Parra. While Parra is best known for her works Iglesia or The Diary of a Young Lady’s Boredom, which draw attention to the division of class in Caracas, Bombal’s The House of Mist (1935) gained recognition for its amorous sur render (13).

Over the past decades, the representative works of Spanish American authors have dramatically changed in world literature anthologies. However, despite the wider geographical and literary range, the Spanish American women’s literary tradition has been relatively ignored. It is important that the corpus of Spanish American works not be reduced to a small group of
Notes
1 Hispanic geographically denotes decedents from the Iberian Peninsula while Latino refers to a person from Latin America, thus including the Portuguese-speaking population.
2 María Eugenia Mudrovic’s “Reading Latin American Literature Abroad: Agency and Canon Formation in the Sixties and Seventies” as well as Maarten Steenmeijer’s “How the West Was Won: Translations of Spanish American Fiction in Europe and the United States” demonstrate the multiplicity of Spanish American works translated into English.
3 Testimonio is a genre of literature that blends history and literature to retell historical events using literary elements.

Works Cited
The history of American literature can be divided into five periods: Colonial and Early National, Romantic, Realism and Naturalism, Modernist, and Contemporary. Each has its own unique characteristics, notable authors, and representative works. The United States, which emerged from World War II confident and economically strong, entered the Cold War in the late 1940s. Prior to the last decades of the 20th century, American literature was largely the story of dead white men who had created Art and of living white men doing the same.