

The reception of Charles S. Peirce in the Hispanic World: New Developments

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[*Oral Version*]

1. Introduction

A surprising fact in the historiography of 20th century Hispanic philosophy is its almost total opacity towards the American tradition. This deep rift between the two traditions is even more striking when one realizes the almost total neglect in the Hispanic world of such an outstanding Hispanic-American thinker as George Santayana, or the real affinity between the central questions of American pragmatism and the topics and problems addressed by the most relevant Hispanic thinkers of the last century: Miguel de Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset, Eugenio d'Ors, Carlos Vaz Ferreira, José Ferrater Mora, etc.

In the last decade this situation has started to change dramatically, as this wonderful First International Conference on Pragmatism and the Hispanic/Latino World publicly testifies. Let me put this in somehow a personal vein. When I started to study Peirce in the early 90's I was struck immediately by the recognition of a peculiar affinity between the founder of pragmatism and the most cherished Spanish philosophers whose originality and independence from any foreign influence had been always proclaimed. The total reciprocal ignorance between both traditions, in spite of the clear fact of being in tune and sharing common themes was for me highly surprising. If my memory does not fail, I think that Goyo Pappas was the first real philosopher I met that shared a similar conviction and who had started to publish in that direction. In fact, Goyo arranged for the SAAP meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a symposium on "American Philosophy and the Hispanic World" on 1997 in which, alongside the two of us, two other respected scholars like Douglas Browning and Herman Saatkamp tried to explore this neglected issue of the confluence or overlapping of American pragmatism and Hispanic philosophy. We were fortunate that Peter H. Hare, who was the editor of the *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, attended the meeting and at the end of the session asked us to prepare a whole set with the four papers for the journal.

The symposium appeared in the volume of winter of 1998 and it was preceded by a two-page presentation by Peter in which he called vibrantly for a deeper understanding of the

¹ I have been working for almost 18 years from time to time on this topic. My presentation of today relies partially upon my "C. S. Peirce and the Hispanic Philosophy of the Twentieth Century" in *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 24/1, (1998): 31-49, and the book co-authored with Fernando Zalamea, *Peirce y el mundo hispánico. Lo que C. S. Peirce dijo sobre España y lo que el mundo hispánico ha dicho sobre Peirce* (Pamplona: Euns, 2006). I owe gratitude to Erik Norvelle for polishing my English

real impact of the Hispanic thought in American philosophy. Let me recall his words:

We need to look closely at the relations between the Hispanic world and the American tradition. This need is urgent for many reasons. Hispanic civilization, after all, has been present in this part of the world longer than we conventionally consider European civilization. Only the Native American population has been here longer. American intellectual historians have given little attention to the influence, direct and indirect, that early Hispanic civilization had on the development of American thought. But more important is the demographic reason that soon the Hispanic population will be the largest minority in America.²

In that same year, I took part in a session of the Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought in the World Conference of Philosophy held in Boston in August of 1998, under the general title of *Crossing Borders*, with Jorge Gracia, Edward Demenchonok and Goyo Pappas. Five years later Goyo arranged also a special plenary session at the 30th Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy, in Denver, Colorado where I was an invited speaker with Jorge Gracia and Nelson Maldonado-Torres. During these years we have prepared several publications together, a special issue on "Hispanic Pragmatism" of the journal *Anuario Filosófico* and other projects that are in press. With all this enumeration what I want to say is that Goyo has been the real driving force in order to establish this emerging new field of research. I am deeply grateful to him for all that he has done over all these years for developing this area and also for supporting me. *Muchas gracias, Goyo, de todo corazón.*

In my presentation today what I want to accomplish is: 1) to summarize in a very general way, avoiding tedious lists of names and years, the reception of Charles Peirce in the Hispanic world along the 20th century; 2) to present the new discoveries or findings in this field collected after the publication of Fernando Zalamea's impressive catalogue *Bibliografía Peirceana Hispánica (1883-2000)*; 3) to provide a personal suggestion about the new directions that might be developed in this new field of Hispanic/Latino Pragmatism.

2. A general overview of a century

Germany, United Kingdom, France and, perhaps to a lesser extent, Italy are the European countries which are mentioned most frequently in Peirce's writings. References to Spain or other countries of the Hispanic world are scarce and on most occasions of a negative tone, in keeping with the insignificant role which these countries played in the scientific and cultural community of Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, Peirce visited Spain briefly in 1870, and the circumstances of that journey bear witness to the wide scope of Peirce's interests. In 1861, when finishing his studies in the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, Peirce started to work as an aide to his father, Benjamin, in the U. S. Coast Survey. In 1869 Charles S. Peirce was a member of one of the teams in Kentucky studying the total eclipse of the sun on August 7th. The observation of the solar corona and its protuberances through telescopes, and the detection of helium by use of the spectroscope, led the American astronomers to formulate new theories on the composition of the sun that were received with a certain skepticism by European astronomers. Since no other occasion as favorable was going to arise in the nineteenth century, Benjamin Peirce, the third Superintendent of the Coast Survey, obtained an appropriation from

² Peter H. Hare, "Introduction. American Philosophy and the Hispanic World, *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 24/1, (1998): 30.

Congress to organize an expedition to observe the next solar eclipse, which was to take place at midday on 22 December 1870 over the Mediterranean Sea. To ensure the success of the project and also to help Charles's international profile as a scientist, Benjamin sent his son to organize the preparations in Europe six months beforehand. Charles had to make adequate arrangements for two teams of observers, and was asked by his father to establish links with such eminent European scientists as Augustus de Morgan, Stanley Jevons and others. As Peirce would write more than thirty years later,

Philosophy is a study which needs a very protracted concentrated study before one, so much as, begins to be at all expert in the handling of it, if one is to be precise, systematic, and scientific. I gave ten years to it before I ventured to offer half a dozen brief contributions of my own. Three years later, when I had produced something more elaborated, I went abroad and in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, learned from their own mouths what certain students at once of science and of philosophy were turning in their minds.³

With the Grupo de Estudios Peirceanos, based in Navarra, Spain, we have been collecting in the recent years all the available evidence of Peirce's first trip through Europe, paying special attention to his letters: there are plenty of revealing details and of extremely valuable information about Peirce and his thought, that until now has been almost always neglected. Since all that we have found is now available in the web⁴, I will not pay attention to the details. I want to come back to the last quotation that reflects Peirce's spirit: he was eager to learn from students at once of science and of philosophy. This description fits him perfectly well.

The only Spaniard with whom Peirce corresponded was Ventura Reyes y Prósper (1863-1922). Reyes was a Spanish mathematician and professor of mathematics in Toledo who corresponded widely with the most well-known mathematicians of his time, whose works he wished to publicize in Spain⁵. In fact, a lost letter or envelope sending several off-prints from Peirce to Reyes before June 1892 is perhaps the earliest occasion in which Charles S. Peirce uses voluntarily the middle name "Santiago" instead of "Sanders". Reyes writes with surprise in a footnote of his paper "Charles Santiago Peirce y Oscar Howard Mitchell": "Although it may seem strange, his first name is in English and his second is in Spanish; I do not know why"⁶. In fact this paper is the second reference to Peirce included in the *Bibliografía Peirceana Hispánica (1883-2000)* that Fernando Zalamea and myself published in 2006. The only previous reference was a short article entitled "Irregularidades en las oscilaciones del péndulo" published on 25 October 1883 in the journal *Crónica Científica* of Barcelona, which is a translation of the observations published by Peirce the previous year in *The American Journal of Science*. It seems to me especially meaningful that the early Hispanic references to Peirce correspond to his work as a scientist.

For more than a decade in Navarre we had been collecting all the secondary bibliography related with the reception of Peirce in the Spanish-speaking world. Thanks to the

³ C. S. Peirce, "Letter to *The Sun*", MS 325, p. 4, c.1907.

⁴ [<http://www.unav.es/gep/CorrespondenciaEuropeaCSP.html>]

⁵ Jesús Cobo, *Ventura Reyes Prósper* (Badajoz: Departamento de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Badajoz, 1991); Jesús Cobo and Jaime Nubiola, "The Spanish Mathematician Ventura Reyes Prósper and his connections with Charles S. Peirce and Christine Ladd-Franklin", *Arisbe: The Peirce Gateway*, 2000, [<http://www.cspeirce.com/menu/library/aboutcsp/nubiola/reyes.htm>]

⁶ V. Reyes y Prósper, "Charles Santiago Peirce y Oscar Howard Mitchell", *El Progreso Matemático*, 2 (1892), p. 173. In the bibliography of the first volume of Schröder's *Vorlesungen ueber die Algebra der Logik* of 1890 (Leipzig, Teubner, vol. 1, p. 710) it is listed the name Peirce, Charles S(antiago), but the source of that is not known.

tenacity and masterly ability of Fernando Zalamea, we were able to prepare a catalogue with a total of 139 entries including a description and an evaluation of each one of the items. The catalogue covers from 1883 until the year 2000. It includes 96 papers, 25 books, 10 doctoral dissertations and 8 forewords of Peirce's translations, all of them written in Spanish and published in the Spanish-speaking countries. Fernando presented a thorough quantitative and chronological study, showing also the geographical distribution of the production and a wonderful qualitative study of the topics dealt with in these items. I reproduce below the geographical table with the production over the years.

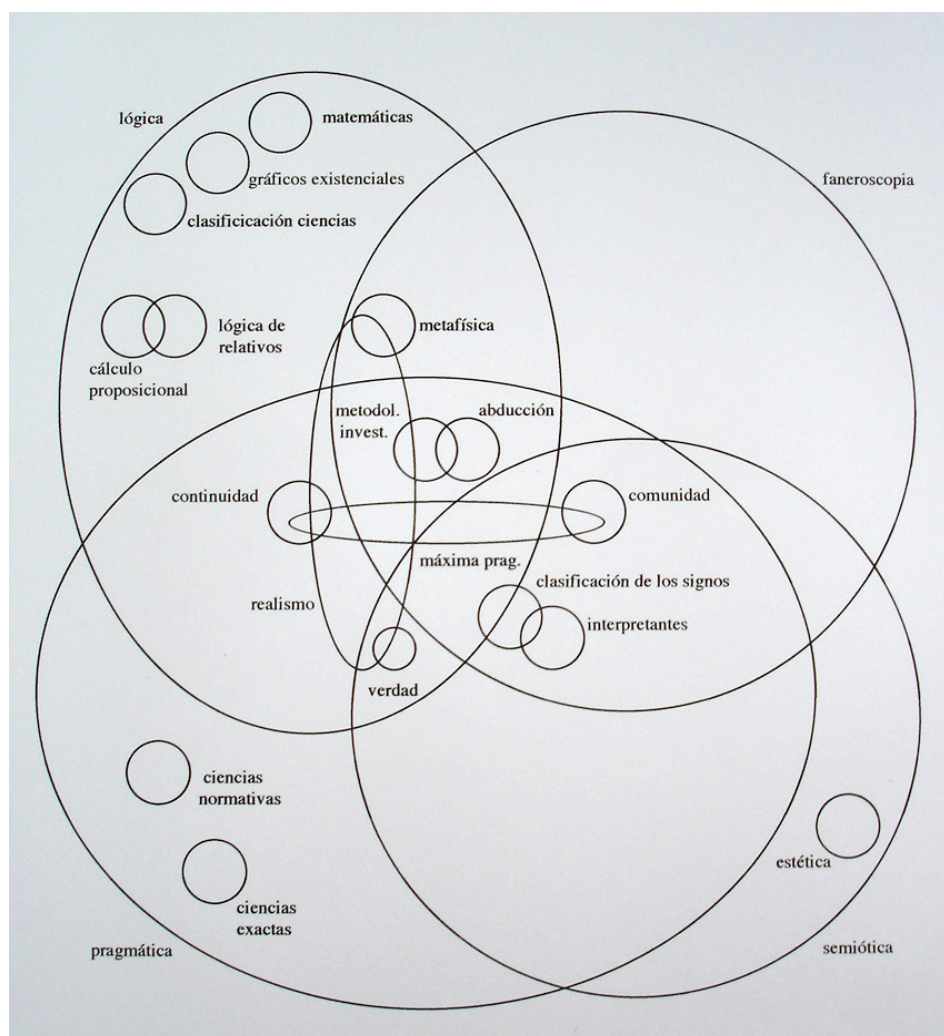
	1883-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1995	1996-2000	Total
España	9	1	21	29	29	89
Uruguay	1	0	2	1	1	5
Argentina	1	4	3	0	6	14
Puerto Rico	1	1	0	0	1	3
México	0	1	3	5	4	13
Venezuela	0	0	1	0	0	1
Colombia	0	0	0	3	10	13
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	12	7	30	38	52	139

It is evident from the table that more than 90 items of the total 139 were written in the last decade of the century. It is a clear sign of the resurgence of Peirce and pragmatism in the Hispanic world.

Zalamea develops also a wonderful map with the main polarities and aggrupations of the topics dealt with in those 139 items that reflects well the main interests in Peirce throughout the 20th century. The bibliographical production in Spanish is centered around three main poles of interest: logic (66), semiotics (65) and pragmatism (61). In this sense it might be said that the reception of Peirce's work in Spanish repeats the same canons of Peirce's reception in the rest of the world: Peirce is understood primarily as a generic "father" of pragmatism, as the founder of modern semiotics and as a great logician (whose contributions to logic are, however, little known).

A lot of those texts have an introductory character; the most valuable of them might be, in retrospect, some careful case studies of a specific topic and concerned in the elucidation of the Peircean legacy: to name a few examples, the creative musement (Barrena 1996),

formal abduction (Aliseda 1998) or the existential graphs (Poveda 2000)⁷. However, beyond the specific contributions of each case, the Peircean Hispanic Bibliography was growing thanks to the gradual stabilization of an atmosphere of seriousness and rigor of argumentation, evident in this beautiful figure prepared by Zalamea:



I cannot go now into more detail. There is an abridged version of Zalamea's main conclusions available on line in his "Bibliografía Peirceana Hispánica 1891-2000"⁸.

But, to bring to a close this section on Peirce's reception in the past century, I want to remark is the wonderful work developed in the Hispanic world over the last 15 years translating Peirce into Spanish and making Peirce's texts available in the web with free access to all people interested. At present there are more texts of Peirce online in Spanish than in English. All this work of translation has been coordinated by Sara Barrena and has been developed by Peirce scholars from most of the Spanish-speaking countries besides Spain: México, Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Puerto Rico and Bolivia⁹. Other good news is

⁷ S. Barrena, "Prólogo" e "Introducción" en C. S. Peirce: *Un argumento olvidado en favor de la realidad de Dios*, Pamplona, Cuadernos de Anuario Filosófico, 34, 1996, 5-68; A. Aliseda, "La abducción como cambio epistémico: C. S. Peirce y las teorías epistémicas en inteligencia artificial", *Analogía* 12 (1998), pp. 125-144; Y. Poveda, "Los gráficos existenciales de Peirce en los sistemas Alfa° y Alfa°", *Boletín de Matemáticas*, Nueva Serie 7 (2000), pp. 5-17.

⁸ *Anthropos*, n° 212 (2006), pp. 186-203 [<http://www.unav.es/gep/ZalameaAnthropos.html>].

⁹ [<http://www.unav.es/gep/Peirce-esp.html>].

that a complete translation into Spanish of the two volumes of *The Essential Peirce* is soon to appear from the Mexican publisher Fondo de Cultura Económica: the translation has been prepared by Darin McNabb and Sara Barrena.

3. New recent discoveries

In order to prepare the *Bibliografía Peirceana Hispánica (1883-2000)* Fernando Zalamea and myself made an almost exhaustive search for all the printed texts and doctoral dissertations related with Charles S. Peirce written in Spanish by Hispanic authors before the year 2000. It was clear from the beginning that after the publication of our catalogue some new authors and items would appear. What I want now is to describe briefly these recent discoveries. I will do that not by the chronological order of discovery (which at last is irrelevant), but by the date of original publication.

1880. Thanks to the digitalization of the old journals and series of the Spanish National Library it has been possible to identify references to Peirce in the Spanish press earlier than the brief translation of 1883 known until now. These earlier references are in the reports of the scientist Ricardo Becerro de Bengoa "Las ciencias en 1879" and "Las ciencias en 1880", published in *La Revista Contemporánea*, (Madrid, March and November 1880), reviewing Peirce's *Photometric Researches* and describing Peirce's work as a geodist in Paris, respectively¹⁰.

1910. Almost by chance, like most of the discoveries, I found a wonderful lecture with the title *El pragmatismo*, by José María Izquierdo y Martínez, published by the Ateneo of Seville in March of 1910. This is a 60-page volume with the text of the oral lecture and 15 pages of notes and bibliography. What is most impressive about this text is the clear understanding of pragmatism by this young lawyer and poet of Seville, who died in 1922, and in particular the great number of bibliographic references, most of them coming from France. Paris in the first decade of the twentieth century was the European capital of pragmatism. In Spain pragmatism raised suspicions among the authors of scholastic training, and it is striking to see the enormous enthusiasm (the Spanish *ilusión*) of José María Izquierdo about this new way of thinking: "See how pragmatism, rather than a philosophy of common sense, is philosophy of the highly refined, who, fed from philosophizing, yearn to live by it" (p. 36). The booklet is available on the web and thanks to the initiative of the Ateneo of Seville it has been possible to publish in the year 2009 a facsimile edition with two introductory studies¹¹.

1924. Probably the most relevant absence in our catalogue of the *Bibliografía Peirceana Hispánica (1883-2000)* was the figure and work of Pedro S. Zulen (1889-1925), the Peruvian philosopher who has been studied by our colleague and friend Pablo Quintanilla. Quintanilla was also the person who pointed out his absence in our catalogue. Zulen stayed at Harvard and prepared there a doctoral dissertation that was published with the title *Del Neohegelianismo al Neorrealismo* (Lima, 1924). The book is a study about the origins of American philosophy from the School of St. Louis, through the neo-Hegelianism of Josiah Royce, and including Peirce, pragmatism and neo-realism. The section on Peirce (pp. 26-33)¹²

¹⁰ Those texts are available at [<http://www.unav.es/gep/BecerroDeBengoa.html>].

¹¹ The text is available at [<http://www.unav.es/gep/IzquierdoDelpragmatismo.pdf>]. Copies of the recent edition of Jose M^a Izquierdo, *Del Pragmatismo*, (Sevilla: Ateneo de Sevilla, 2009), may be obtained from the editor Enrique Barrero González, president of the Ateneo (ATENEO.SEVILLA@terra.es).

¹² It is available at [<http://www.unav.es/gep/ZulenPeirce.html>].

is well informed and is a personal reflection about Peirce's philosophy relating it to James' conceptions. It is not a long book (86 pages), but it has interesting information. Overall what is relevant is that this book on American philosophy was published in Peru at that time.

1946. An important book for the reception of American philosophy in the Spanish-speaking world, and particularly in México, is the volume *Historia de la filosofía en Norte-América*, published by Francisco Larroyo in 1946 (Stylo, México). The book—which is devoted "To the eminent North-American philosopher and educator John Dewey as a testimony of admiration"—provides in eleven chapters an overview of the development of philosophy in the United States in the previous centuries starting with the colonial period. Let me quote extensively from the prologue since it is relevant for the topic of our conference¹³:

The relations between the United States of North-America and Latin-American have been until now, predominantly, of a political and commercial character. There is even a copious literature about these international relations. The discussion around the way of conceiving and taking sides on the problem of Pan-Americanism is a living example of this state of things.

The cultural links, in contrast, are, as a whole, poor and deficient. Perhaps only in the domain of art has there been promoted and enhanced an interchange worthy of consideration.

Amongst the cultural links, the philosophical relations in particular have been extremely stunted. Apart from the philosophical movement of pragmatism, of global significance, North-American philosophy is very little known in the countries of Latin-America. It is not a hyperbole to point that, in general, professional philosophers of one side and the other of the Río Bravo mutually ignore each other.

And, nevertheless, nothing would be more fruitful for the evolution and progress of philosophy in the New World than a common effort and cooperation in this branch of knowledge. (...)

1957. Luis Rodríguez Aranda, well-known among Hispanic scholars, since he had translated William James into Spanish (*Pragmatismo*, Madrid, Aguilar, 1954; *El significado de la verdad*, Madrid, Aguilar, 1957), wrote an article with the title "El espíritu del pragmatismo americano" in *Atlántico. Revista de Cultura Contemporánea* [nº 6, pp. 33-52], a cultural magazine published by the American House of the United States Embassy in Madrid. The article is a well informed presentation of pragmatism dealing with the contrasts between Peirce, James and Dewey.

These are the five relevant items discovered in the last ten years that should complete by now our catalogue of the century. The brief presentation that I have made does not do justice to their individual value, but the collection presents, in my opinion, a good approach to the typical results of Spanish scholars working for decades in relative isolation and in an environment of hostility or at least resistance to American philosophy.

4. New directions

In the last section of my lecture what I want to do is to share with you my suggestions about possible avenues for exploration and research in order to strengthen this emerging field of research on the overlapping of the Hispanic/Latino world with pragmatism. As you well

¹³ It is available at [http://www.filosoficas.unam.mx/~afmbib/BibVirtual/Textos/Larroyo_Hist_norteamerica/CAP1/CO4601-8.JPG].

know, Ortega —without any doubt the most international of the Spanish-speaking philosophers of the past century— was publicly hostile to pragmatism, but nevertheless he could not ignore the peculiar affinity between his views and American pragmatism¹⁴. Let me bring you only one quotation from his well-known *What is Philosophy?*:

(...) in the infant dawning of our century, a philosophy was made out of this idea [truth as the intellectual precipitate of practical utility] which is called pragmatism. With that amiable cynicism which is characteristic of the Yankees, characteristic of every new people (...), pragmatism in North America dares to proclaim this thesis— "There is no other truth than success in dealing with things." And with this thesis, as audacious as it is ingenuous, and so ingenuously audacious, the Northern lobe of the American continent made its entrance into the age-old history of philosophy.

Do not confuse the small esteem which pragmatism merits, as a philosophy and a general thesis of life, with any preconceived, arbitrary and bigoted disdain toward the fact of human practicality as contrasted with pure contemplation, and favoring the latter.¹⁵

For me what is more relevant, besides this caricature of American pragmatism, is what Ortega writes in a footnote to the first paragraph of this quotation: "With this I suggest that in pragmatism, and especially in its audacity and naïveté *there is something profoundly true*, even though it be centrifugal" [my italics].

If I understand correctly this passage, what Ortega is trying to say is that pragmatism is a valuable philosophical tradition, but it is alien, foreign ("centrifugal") to the mainstream of European philosophy. Moreover, as Graham noted¹⁶, there is an autobiographical text of Ortega in which he seems to assert that Pragmatism, which started off of the European stage, did not reach its full maturity until it was integrated in the framework of German philosophy, that is, in the mainstream of his own philosophical position¹⁷. This is for me one of the main avenues for further exploration on the overlapping of pragmatism and Hispanic philosophy: if one understands Ortega's thought as a German flourishing of pragmatist roots it is possible to bring closer the most distinctive traits of Hispanic philosophy and American philosophy, as Pappas and others have started to highlight¹⁸.

A *second* avenue for exploration is the reception of American pragmatism in the Catholic cultural and philosophical milieu of the Spanish-speaking countries in the early decades of the twentieth century. A good number of the Catholic readers of William James were enthusiastic about the fresh air that James' books were offering to the somehow stale Scholastic tradition. Let us mention, with Joseph Louis Perrier, the author of *The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century* (1908) and a student of John Dewey in Columbia University, "the enthusiasm with which some eminent Catholics of the same country [France] have welcomed the appearance of Pragmatism"¹⁹. Let me quote from the

¹⁴ Cf. John T. Graham, *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Life in Ortega y Gasset*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, MS. Graham has studied with great attention the relevant debt of Ortega to William James and pragmatism in general: see pp. 145-186.

¹⁵ José Ortega y Gasset, *What is Philosophy*, transl. by Mildred Adams, Norton, New York, 1964, pp. 44-45

¹⁶ John T. Graham, *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Life in Ortega y Gasset*, p. 146.

¹⁷ José Ortega y Gasset, "Medio siglo de filosofía", *Revista de Occidente*, 3 (1980), p. 14.

¹⁸ Graham gives evidence that Ortega read James early in his career, and that Ortega was aware that James had anticipated "razón vital," the notion central to his philosophy (pp. 147-152). His evidence of James' influences on Ortega by German sources themselves influenced by James is specially convincing (Cf. Antón Donoso, "Review of Graham's *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Life in Ortega y Gasset*", *Hispania* 78 (1995), p. 499). Along this line, Gregory F. Pappas studied the remarkable similarities between Peirce and Ortega on the distinction between indubitable and doubtful beliefs (Gregory F. Pappas, "Peirce y Ortega", *Anuario Filosófico* 29 (1996), pp. 1225-1237).

¹⁹ Joseph Louis Perrier, *The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University

preface of this volume something relevant for the topic of our conference:

I have likewise studied South American republics in connection with the neo-Scholastic movement in Spain. It is into races, rather than into arbitrary tracts of land, that the world is divided. In spite of the ridiculous principle we call the Monroe doctrine, South American nations are and will always be essentially Spanish. With Spain they speak, they think and they pray. They regard us as strangers, sometimes as barbarians. They emphatically refuse to accept the protection we would force upon them²⁰.

In the following year 1909, Perrier writes in Spanish a 16-page paper in the Colombian journal *Revista del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario* with the title "El Pragmatismo". I want to cite here (translated into English) his opening paragraph:

Few philosophical movements have been embraced more enthusiastically than pragmatism. Completely unknown a few years ago, nowadays it has supporters everywhere. With its bright colored flag and its name somewhat barbarian, has gone around the world. It has been acclaimed not only among Anglo-Saxons: it has attracted attention and aroused the enthusiasm of the Latin races. In France, the *Revue de Philosophie*, of Catholic and Thomistic approach, recently announced its intention to publish articles written by pragmatists themselves. In Belgium, the *Revue Neo-Scholastique* gave in 1907 a highly instructive historical study. At the same time, the discussions were multiplied. Now the theories of James and Dewey were extolled; now they were condemned without mercy. In Germany itself, which seems to have been determined to remain unaware of the new movement, Pragmatism has penetrated by contraband. Just remember the names of Simmel, Mach, Oswald, to be convinced that this philosophy, the philosophy of cooking as it was derisively labeled by devotees of Kant and Hegel, has taken deep roots in the Germanic soil.²¹

The paper is a very general confrontation between pragmatism and Scholastic philosophy, but for the contemporary reader it is very illuminating about the enthusiasms and the reluctances that pragmatism raised in the Hispanic world. Something similar, but more scholarly based, was published by the Spanish Dominican Marcelino Arnáiz in *Cultura Española* under the title "Pragmatismo y Humanismo" in 1907²². For instance, the Spanish poet mentioned earlier, José María Izquierdo, in endnote 21 of his lecture of 1910 says of Arnáiz's paper: "If instead of finding this paper, as I did, after having planned my lecture, I had known it before, it would have changed my work or perhaps I would not have not done it". I have no time to go into more detail now, but what I want to stress is that the Hispanic world is still in need of a full-length study similar to the recent book *The Reception of Pragmatism in France & The Rise of Roman Catholic Modernism, 1890-1914*²³, dealing with the reception of pragmatism in the Spanish-speaking Catholic world and the suspicions of modernism which followed upon it. In order to do this work, I want to remark on the great interest for the historian of ideas of the journals and magazines in Spanish of those decades that are starting to be available on line, with easy access through electronic tools²⁴. They are a

Press, 1909), p. 6 [<http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924029028103#page/n21/mode/2up>].

²⁰ Joseph Louis Perrier, *The Revival...*, p. v [<http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924029028103#page/n11/mode/2up>].

²¹ Joseph Louis Perrier, "El Pragmatismo", *Revista del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, V, n° 45 (1909), pp. 257-271 [<http://www.unav.es/gep/PerrierRevistaRosario.pdf>].

²² Marcelino Arnáiz, "Pragmatismo y humanismo", *Cultura Española*, vols. 5-6 (1907), pp. 617-627 y vols. 7-8 (1907), pp. 855-867.

²³ David G. Schultenover, ed. *The Reception of Pragmatism in France & The Rise of Roman Catholic Modernism, 1890-1914*, (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009).

²⁴ See for instance, Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques [<http://www.bnc.es/digital/arca/index.html>]; Hemeroteca de la Biblioteca Nacional [<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/cgi-bin/Pandora.exe>], La Vanguardia [<http://www.lavanguardia.es/hemeroteca/>], etc.

real treasure of hitherto buried secrets that is worthwhile to uncover to understand better the affinities and contrasts between Pragmatism and the Hispanic world.

Besides these two wide avenues for further explorations, I want to mention briefly two other names that require much more attention. The first of them is the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941), who is always in the middle of the dialogue or confrontation between Pragmatism and Scholasticism. The second name is José Ferrater Mora (1912-1991), a student of the Spanish pragmatist Eugeni d'Ors. As all of you know, Ferrater has had an immense influence in the Spanish-speaking world thanks particularly to his *Diccionario*. His own philosophy, which Ferrater calls "integracionismo", is a peculiar blend of pragmatism and most European mainstream movements²⁵.

5. Conclusion

It's time to stop, but I cannot conclude without giving thanks again to Goyo Pappas for arranging this wonderful conference and, moreover, for being the driving-force of this emerging field to which I am really proud to belong.

²⁵ Cf. M. Torregrosa and J. Nubiola, "A vueltas con el pragmatismo: Ferrater Mora y Eugenio d'Ors", *Simposi Internacional Eugeni d'Ors*, Girona, 27th November 2008 [<http://www.unav.es/users/FerraterMoraEugenidOrs.pdf>].